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CONTENTS

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOOK-NOTICES.

SUPPLEMENTS.

FLAG, MAPS AND PLATES.

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THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E

(*Continued from Vol. XLIX, p. 224.*)

XLIV—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REASONS FOR THE OVERTHROW OF 'ALÎ BARÎD SHÂH'S POWER, AND OF THE CAPTURE FROM HIM OF KANDHÂR.

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat; and thus it came about that 'Alî Barîd Shah committed foolish and base acts. First there was the facetiousness of Khân Jahân at the expense of Shâh Ṭâhir,[111] then 'Alî Barîd Shâh's alliance with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, next his attempt to conquer Telingâna, which things led in the end to the loss of most of his kingdom. Yet did not the king at once seek his overthrow, but remembered the services of his father.

In A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542-43), as some say, the king again bethought himself of recapturing Sholâpûr, which had been taken from his troops, and the desire for recovering which had been a continual source of strife. He therefore assembled his army with the object of attacking Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and marched to the bank of the Gang (Godaveri), where he encamped. As soon as Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh heard of the approach of the royal army, he assembled his troops and joined the king, having the honour of being admitted to an audience. Burhân Niẓâm Shâh now decided to give 'Alî Barîd Shâh one more chance of strengthening himself, by entering into an alliance with him and by submitting himself to his court, and therefore sent Shâh Ṭâhir on an embassy to Bîdar. Before Shâh Ṭâhir's arrival, the envoy of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had come to summon 'Alî Barîd Shâh, and 'Alî Barîd Shâh had agreed to wait on Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh; but after Shâh Ṭâhir's arrival, 'Alî Barîd Shâh withdrew from this engagement and dismissed the envoy of Bijâpûr, who returned without accomplishing his object. Shâh Ṭâhir then succeeded in persuading 'Alî Barîd Shâh to enter into a treaty, and 'Alî Barîd accompanied Shâh Ṭâhir on his return to the royal camp, and, all his anxiety having been removed, appeared before the king and made his obeisance.

111 See *ante*, XLIX, 220 Khân Jahân's jest was coarse and foolish. He said to Shâh Ṭâhir, "Is the dung[1] of Bukhârâ clean (*tâhir*) or unclean?" Shâh Ṭâhir replied that he had not his books with him and so could not refer to them for the answer, but that he would look the question up when he returned to Aḥmadnagar and let Khân Jahân know. The threat was well understood.

Both the date and Burhân's objective as given in this section are wrong, for the section refers to the campaign which ended in the treaty by which Burhân was to be permitted to capture Kandhâr and this campaign occurred in 1544. Burhân, at the instigation of Sadâshivarâya, marched to Gulbarga and besieged it. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh marched to the relief of the place, but was delayed for two months on the banks of the Bhîma, which was swollen with the rains and the line of which was held by Burhân's troops. In October he succeeded in forcing a passage and utterly defeated Burhân. About this time Sholâpûr also appears to have been recovered by Ibrâhîm.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh heard that the army of Ahmadnagar had been assembled with the object of recapturing Sholâpûr, he assembled his army and marched from Bîjâpûr to take the field.

Now, although 'Alî Barîd Shâh was professedly the faithful servant of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, he secretly inclined towards Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with whom he maintained correspondence, and as will be seen, behaved with disgraceful treachery, which in the end brought about his downfall

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh with his army approached Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army, 'Alî Barîd Shâh attempted to separate himself from Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and thus weaken his army; but he struck with his axe only his own leg. He sent his brother, Khân Jahân, to Burhân Nizâm Shâh to say that the army of Bîdar was weak, exhausted, and scattered, and to implore Burhân Nizâm Shâh to consider his own army and to make peace and to give him permission to return to Bîdar in order that he might devote himself to the reorganization of his army and thus be ready to join the king whenever he should again set forth to war.

Bhopâl Râî, who was one of the Brâhmans of 'Alî Barîd Shâh, and had accompanied Khân Jahân on his mission was, by the guidance of his own good fortune, a well-wisher of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and used his influence to guide the negotiations into channels favourable to Burhân Nizâm Shâh. He openly put to Khân Jahan this question, "When you are content and at ease, are your enemies content and at ease or not ?" This apposite question attracted the king's attention to him, and the king, by means of judicious favours, induced the Brâhman to forsake 'Alî Barîd Shâh's service and enter his own, in which he was distinguished by the royal favour; but at last he displayed the treachery and ingratitude which are inseparably connected with infidels, and surrendered the fortress of Kaliyâni, of which he was *kotwâl*, to the 'Âdil Shâhî troops, as will be related in the history of the reign of Husain Nizâm Shâh

Burhân Nizâm Shâh was well aware, from what Khân Jahân said, that 'Alî Barîd Shâh meditated treachery, and was very angry within himself, but, owing to the treaty which he had made, he refrained from openly taking vengeance on Khân Jahân, and gave him leave to depart. He then took counsel with Shâh Tâhir in the matter of 'Alî Barîd Shâh. Shâh Tâhir said that as 'Alî Barîd Shâh was ever at variance with Ahmadnagar and constantly opposed the king and allied himself with his enemies, the wisest course was to put him out of the way now, while opportunity offered, as, if he escaped, he would not again be easily seized, but would gain power day by day and would become prouder than ever, for the only object which he had in view was independent sovereignty, to gain which he ever stirred up strife and caused much suffering to the land and its inhabitants.

While this discussion was in progress news was brought to the king that 'Alî Barîd Shâh had now thrown off all disguise and had caused the envoy of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh to be trampled to death by an elephant, and that Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh had drawn up his troops and was about to attack 'Alî Barîd Shâh. Burhân Nizâm Shâh sent for Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, and did his best to compose the strife, saying that 'Alî Barîd Shâh had been induced to join the army on the strength of his treaty with Ahmadnagar, which was a safe conduct to him, and that if the treaty were broken by the imprisonment of 'Alî Barîd Shâh, no one would henceforth place any trust in treaties entered into by Ahmadnagar. The king said that it was advisable to leave the faithless treaty-breaker, 'Alî Barîd Shâh, alone for the present, and then, having made peace with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, to devote their whole attention to punishing 'Alî Barîd Shâh. Both Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and Shâh Tâhir expressed admiration for the wisdom of the king's advice, and loyally accepted it.

'Alî Barîd Shâh, having received leave to depart, retired with all speed to Bîdar, and Shâh Ṭâhîr and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh sent envoys to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh with proposals for peace. They said that it was a pity that the fortress of Sholâpûr had so long been a source of strife between Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and Burhân Niẓâm Shâh and that 'Alî Barîd Shâh had thus had an opportunity, of which he had never failed to take advantage, of stirring up strife to serve his own ends. They suggested that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh should raise no objection to the capture of Kandhâr by Burhân Niẓâm Shâh from 'Alî Barîd Shâh, as compensation for the loss of Sholâpûr, and said that Burhân on his part would raise no objection to the conquest by Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh of as much of the dominions of Vijayanagar as he could take from the infidels. These terms were most acceptable to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh Indeed, it was on this principle that he had always wished to settle the quarrel. He therefore gladly accepted them and sent an envoy to Burhân Niẓâm Shâh bearing valuable gifts and a letter confirming his acceptance of the terms of peace. Burhân Niẓâm Shâh received the envoy and formally accepted the terms of peace. He there dismissed the envoy and marched, with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, towards Kandhâr, while Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh marched with his army against Vijayanagar.

As soon as Burhân Niẓâm Shâh reached Kandhâr, he laid siege to it.[112] The garrison at first defended it bravely but, in spite of the great strength of the fortress, were not long able to withstand the army of Aḥmadnagar, and as the besiegers had so surrounded the fortress that there was no way of escape, the garrison besought Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh to intercede with Burhân Niẓâm Shâh for them, that their lives and goods might be spared. Daryâ Imâd Shâh undertook the task, and when the garrison were assured that his intercession had prevailed, they came forth and surrendered the fortress. Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, as in the case of the other forts which he had captured, placed one of his trusted officers in command of the fort and in charge of the administration of the district dependent on it, and returned to Aḥmadnagar On his way to the capital he gave Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh permission to depart to Berar.

XLV.—THE DEATH OF SHÂH ṬÂHIR.

In A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546–47) Shâh Ṭâhir was sent as an ambassador by Burhân Niẓâm Shâh to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh of Berar, and while absent on his mission, died.[113] The king was much grieved on hearing of his death, but found no remedy for his grief but resignation. Some of the learned men of the age composed a *qasîdah* on his death, one couplet of which contained four chronograms. The couplet was as follows:—

عارف اسرارعلم کاشف اسرارملک   واقف آثار دین مانع اشرارملک

By the king's command Shâh Ṭâhir's coffin was taken to Mashhad, and was there buried near the shrine of the 'Imâm Ḥusaín, the son of 'Ali.

XLVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESSES OF AUSA AND ÛDGIR.

A year or more after the capture of Kandhâr,[114] Burhân Niẓâm Shâh formed the resolve of conquering the fortresses of Ausa and Ûdgir, and ordered his army to assemble

112 Firishta (ii. 229) places the siege of Kandhâr after the sieges of Ausa and Ûdgir.

113 Firishta (ii. 230) places the death of Shâh Tâhir in A.H. 956 (A.D 1549), but he appears to be wrong, for each of the four ingenious chronograms here given gives the date 953. The Mashhad here Kentioned is not the city of that name in Khurâsân but the *mashhad* (place of martyrdom) of Ḥusain at arbatâ. Shâh Ṭâhir left four sons, (1) Shâh Ḥaidar, born in 'Irâq, and (2) Shâh Rafî-'ud-din Ḥusain (3) Shâh Abûl Ḥasan, and (4) Shâh Abû Ṭâlib, born in the Dakan.

114 The campaign against the Bîdar Kingdom was undertaken, according to Firishta (ii. 56 229 in A.H. 955 (A. D. 1548) for the purpose of avenging the insult offered to Shâh Ṭâhir by Khân Jahân. Burhân besieged Ausa and 'Ali Barîd Shâh purchased the help of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh by ceding to him

Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, in accordance with the terms of his treaty of alliance with Burhân Nizâm Shâh, brought his army to the king's assistance as soon as he heard of his intention of attacking these two fortresses. When the army was assembled, the king marched first on Ausa and, having encamped before that fortress, laid siege to it.

Some historians say that when Jamshîd Qutb Shâh heard of the intention of Burhân Nizâm Shâh to march against Ausa and Ûdgîr, he assembled his army and marched to oppose him, but that on reaching a hill whence a full view of the army of Ahmadnagar could be obtained, he was so alarmed at its strength that he fled with all haste to Telingâna. But God knows whether this be true or not.

In accordance with the king's command the army surrounded Ausa and not only made constant attacks on the fort, but also carried mines beneath the bastions and curtains, while the artillery maintained a constant fire on the walls. The garrison, confident in the strength of the fortress, resisted all attacks with great firmness and valour. Among those of Burhân Nizâm Shâh's army who especially distinguished themselves by bravery and activity, was Gharîb Khân the Foreigner, who was known as Redbeard.

At length the heavy artillery fire demolished one face of the wall, and the troops were drawn up and marched towards the breach with the object of taking the place by storm.

The garrison now followed the example that had been set them by the garrison of Kandhâr and cried for quarter, making Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh of Berar their intercessor with the king, who, at Daryâ's instance, pardoned the garrison for the offence of opposing him. The commandant of the fort, one of the *amîrs* of 'Alî Barîd Shâh, then came and made his submission to the king, and was taken into his service.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then appointed one of his trusted officers to the command of the fort and the government of the district dependent on it, and marched towards Ûdgîr.

When the army had halted and encamped at Ûdgîr, the fortress was carried by one determined assault and Burhân Nizâm Shâh, in accordance with the terms of a treaty which he had made, handed it over to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and returned to Ahmadnagar.

Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, however, had pity on 'Alî Barîd Shâh and restored Ûdgîr to him. Thus the fortress remained in the possession of the Barîd Shâhî dynasty until the reign of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I, when it came into the possession of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, as will be related hereafter.

XLVII.—DEATH OF JAMSHÎD QUTB SHÂH.

At this time Jamshîd Qutb Shâh died,[115] and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was related to the Qutb Shâhî family and was distinguished among all the *amîrs* of the Dakan for his valour and power, raised to the throne one of Jamshîd's sons and ruled the kingdom as an absolute monarch in his name.

The Sayyid Mustafâ Khân and the other *amîrs* and officers of state could not endure the domination of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and therefore sent a message to Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, who was then with Râm Râj Râya of Vijayanagar, inviting him to take possession of the

Kaliyâni. Ibrâhîm and 'Alî Barîd attacked Burhân near Ausa but were defeated, and Ausa fell. Burhân then advanced to Ûdgîr (18° 24′ N. and 77° 7′ E.) which he captured, and then to Kandhâr, 33 miles N. of Ûdgîr. Here he was again attacked by Ibrâhîm and 'Alî Barîd but defeated them, captured Kandhâr, and returned to Ahmadnagar. Firishta in one passage places this campaign in A.H. 952 (A.D., 1545-46).

115 Jamshîd Qutb Shâh died in A. D. 1550 and Mustafâ Khân raised to the throne his infant son Subhân Qulî Qutb Shâh. As the kingdom was ruled in fact by Mustafâ, there was much discontent, and Ibrâhîm, Jamshîd's brother, who had taken refuge in Vijayanagar, returned to Golconda (where a strong party supported his claim) and seized the throne.

throne. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh marched to Golconda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Telingâna, and Murtaẓâ Khân and the *amîrs* hearing of his approach, sped forth to waiton him and to welcome him. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, finding himself unable to resist Ibrâhîm and the *amîrs* who had espoused his cause, fled and took refuge with Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, while Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh ascended the throne in Golconda.

XLVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF BURHÂN NIẒÂM SHÂH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST SHOLÂPUR, OF HIS BATTLE WITH IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH BEFORE KALIYÂNI, OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY AND THE CAPTURE OF KALIYÂNI.

It has already been mentioned that Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, ever since Sholâpûr had passed out of his possession into that of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, had been revolving schemes for its recapture, and for taking vengeance on his enemies and that he had been making attempts to recapture it whenever he was unoccupied with other enemies.

In A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547),[116] when he found himself unoccupied with any other campaign, he marched with his army to Sholâpûr with the object of recapturing it. On reaching Sholâpûr he sat down before it and laid siege to the fortress.

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, trusting to the strength of the fortress and to the extent to which it was garrisoned and provisioned, did not march against Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, but remained in his capital, and Burhân very soon realized that Ibrâhîm's confidence in the strength of the fortress was not misplaced, and that its capture would be extremely difficult. He therefore thought that it would be better to attack first the fortress of Kaliyâni, which could be captured with greater ease, and having called a council of his *amîrs* and officers of state, acquainted them with his design, which was unanimously approved. The army then abandoned the siege of Sholâpûr and marched on to Kaliyâni, and laid siege to that fortress.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh heard that Burhân Niẓâm Shâh was besieging Kaliyâni in the strength of which place he had no confidence, he marched with a large army to its relief, encamped over against the army of Aḥmadnagar, and entrenched himself, besides forming a laager.

According to some historians, Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh reached Kaliyâni before the arrival of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh and marched on towards Sholâpûr, halting before he reached that place and entrenching himself as already described, in order to guard against night attacks by Burhân Niẓâm Shâh ; but God knows whether this be true or not ; but however this may be, the two armies lay opposite to each other for a long time until grain and other food rose to a very high price in the camp of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, and the *amîrs* and officers of the army, tired of lying inactive before the enemy, had no stomach for fighting, but wished to return to Aḥmadnagar. When Burhân Niẓâm Shâh heard of this, he summoned Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had now entered his service, and the other *amîrs*, to a council of war. The king asked 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was distinguished for wisdom and resourcefulness, as well as for bravery and valour, his opinion on the question of fighting or retiring, and he replied that it would be disgraceful for Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's army to retire before Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and that they should attack the enemy and fight bravely. These words removed

116 The date of this campaign is most uncertain. Here it is given as A.D. 1547, but is placed after the death of Jamshîd Quṭb Shâh, which occurred in A.D. 1550. Firishta (ii. 59) places it after the death of Asad Khân Lârî, which occurred on Jan. 30, 1549 and, in another passage, after the death of Shâh Ṭâhir, which he places in A. H. 956 (A.D. 1549). It seems most probable that the campaign occurred in 1551.

all fear from the hearts of *amîrs* and *vazîrs* and they asked that they might be led against the enemy. The king then abandoned the idea of retiring.

XLIX.—THE BATTLE, AND THE CAPTURE OF KALIYÂNI.

On the following day, which was the *'Îd-ul-Fitr*,[117] 'Ain-ul-Mulk and the whole army having assembled, as was the custom in the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, on the occasion of *'Îds*, appeared before the king to offer him their congratulations. Spies now brought information that the whole of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's army was asleep and that there were no guards over Ibrâhîm's tents, or even over the laager of waggons which was usually guarded with great care both by night and day, but that all had gone to their quarters to take their ease. Even Ibrâhîm himself, neglecting all precautions, was taking his rest. On receipt of this news, the king ordered an instant attack on the enemy, and the army penetrated to the midst of the camp and laager of the Bijâpûris and took them completely by surprise. No way of escape had been left, and the slaughter was great. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was bathing when he heard of the attack and was so overcome with fear and trepidation, that he made no attempt to resist it, and had not even time to dress himself, but, naked as he was, mounted a horse and fled precipitately, leaving his umbrella, *âftâbgîr*, and all his insignia of royalty, his crown, throne, tents, sleeping apartments, camp equipage, treasure, furniture, elephants and horses in the hands of the victors. When the army of Bijâpûr saw that their king was fled and that their officers were slain, they made their escape as best they could, pursued by the troops of Aḥmadnagar, who slew large numbers of them and took many others captive. Among the prisoners was that chief of renegades, Râî Chaitpâl, who had formerly been in the service of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, but had fled and entered the service of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. He was executed as an example to other traitors.

The army of Aḥmadnagar collected all that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and his army had left and presented all before Burhân Niẓâm Shâh. The king alighted from his horse to render thanks to God for this great victory, and his *amîrs* and officers and his whole army tendered him their congratulations on his victory. Honours were then bestowed on those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, but especially on 'Ain-ul-Mulk, to whom the victory was, in fact, due. The spoils taken from the enemy were abandoned by the king to the army.

The *kotwâl* of Kaliyâni was much alarmed by the complete and crushing defeat inflicted on Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and sent a petition to the royal camp begging that his life and goods might be spared on condition of his surrendering the fortress. Burhân Niẓâm Shâh granted these terms and the fort was surrendered. The *kotwâl* and the officers of the garrison came before the king with swords and shrouds suspended round their necks and were honourably received. A robe of honour was granted to the *kotwâl* and he was enrolled among the servants of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh. The news of the king's victory over Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and of his capture of Kaliyâni was noised abroad.

Burhân Niẓâm Shâh then appointed one of his trusted officers to the command of Kaliyâni and the government of the country dependent on it, and returned in triumph

[117] If the date given in note [116] for this campaign be correct, this was Shawwâl 1. A. H. 958 (Oct, 2, 1551). The mention of 'Ain-ul-Mulk as one of Burhân's principal *amîrs* seems to settle the question, for 'Ain-ul-Mulk did not enter Burhân's service until 1550. The army of Aḥmadnagar was reduced to great straits owing to its supplies being cut off by the Marâtha troops of Bijâpûr.

to his capital, where he passed his time in enjoying himself, in administering justice, and in distributing largesse. [118]

L.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN RÂM RÂJ (SADASHIVARÂYA) RULER OF VIJAYANAGAR AND BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH WITH REGARD TO THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESSES OF RÂICHÛR AND SHOLÂPÛR.

A. D. 1552. It has already been mentioned that Burhân Nizâm Shâh was ever meditating the recapture of Sholâpûr He now, by the advice of some of his officers of state, entered into a treaty with Râm Râj (Sadâshivarâya) of Vijayanagar, by the terms of which he was to assist Sadâshivarâya in taking the fortress of Râichûr from Ibrâhîm Âdil Shâh and Sadâshivarâya was, in return for this aid, to assist him in recovering Sholapur from Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. [119]

As soon as this treaty had been concluded, Sadâshivarâya assembled a large army and invaded the kingdom of Bîjâpûr, and when Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard that he had marched into Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's dominions, he assembled his army at the capital and marched to Humâyûnpûr, where he halted for some days to complete his arrangements.

When the king was halting at Humâyûnpûr, he heard that the Sayyid, Shâh Haidar, whom he had sent on an embassy to Shâh Tahmâsb, son of Shâh Ismâ'îl, Shâh of Persia, had returned, and had landed at the port of Murtazâ-âbâd Chaul. The king sent Maulânâ 'Alî Kal Astarâbâdî, one of his most intimate courtiers, to receive Shâh Haidar, and to bring him to court. The army had not marched from Humâyûnpûr when Shâh Haidar arrived and, after having been received with the greatest honour, presented to the king the gifts which he had brought for him from the court of Persia, and a letter written to him by Shâh Tahmâsb.

After this, Burhân Nizâm Shâh gave Shâh Haidar leave to return to Ahmadnagar in order that he might rest there after the fatigues of his journey, and the army marched from Humâyûnpûr towards Râichûr. On the arrival of the army at Raichûr, it was found that Sadâshivarâya had already reached that place from Vijayanagar. Sadâshivarâya had the honour of meeting Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and the army of Vijayanagar besieged Riâchûr on the east, while the army of Ahmadnagar besieged it on the west. But the fortress of Râichûr is famous throughout the Dakan for its strength, and, although the two armies closely besieged it for a long time, there appeared to be but little prospect of success. Burhân Nizâm Shâh, therefore, came to the conclusion that as the fortress could not be taken for a long time, in the course of which the rainy season would begin, the energies of two armies were being wasted in the attempt to reduce it; and he decided that it would be better to leave Sadâshivarâya to continue the siege of Râichûr, while he, with the army, marched to

118 Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I, after his defeat at Kaliyâni, invaded the Ahmadnagar kingdom by another *route*, laid waste Bîr and some other districts and, on his homeward journey, appeared suddenly before Parenda, found the gates open, occupied the fort and drove out Khvâja Jahân's garrison. He then placed one of his own Dakanî officers in command of the fortress and retired to Bîjâpûr. The Dakanî commandant was a coward and lived in perpetual terror of being attacked by Burhân Nizâm Shâh. One night he was awakened by the buzzing of a mosquito and imagined that he had heard the enemy's trumpets. He leapt out of bed, caused the gates to be opened, and fled in terror, followed by the garrison. Burhân, on his arrival, found the fort empty and occupied. Ibrâhîm caused the Dakanî commandant to be beheaded for his cowardice.

119 Sayyid 'Alî's account of this campaign, which occurred in A. H. 959 (A.D. 1552) is substantially the same as that given by Firishta, who, however, adds that Sadâshivarâya captured both Râichûr and Mudgal.

Sholâpûr and laid siege to that fortress, for, he argued, there was the probability of one, if not both, of the fortresses being captured, and the fall of either would weaken Bîjâpûr, and, to the same extent, strengthen Bîjâpûr's enemies. This design, which was, in fact, the best for both parties, was discussed between Burhân Niẕâm Shâh and Sadâshivarâya, and was agreed upon, and the army of Aḥmadnagar marched from Râichûr to Sholâpûr.

Burhân Niẕâm Shâh, having reached Sholâpûr, laid siege to it, and the garrison, relying on the strength of the fortress, defended it with resolution and bravery. The king then ordered Rûmî K͟hân Ṣâḥib, superintendent of the artillery, to bring up the big guns and lay them against the fort. The guns, however made no impression on the walls, and the king in his wrath sent for Rûmî K͟hân, who was haled before him. He was so enraged that he drew his sword and made for Rûmî K͟hân as though to slay him with his own hands, but Shâhzâda Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir and the other princes and *amîrs* restrained him, representing that it was not becoming that he should slay Rûmî K͟hân with his own hand. They said that if his death had been decided on, orders should be issued for his execution to proper persons; but if the king would pardon him they would engage that he should do better in future and atone for past faults. The king pardoned Rûmî K͟hân on condition that he breached the wall of the fortress in twelve days' time. Rûmî K͟hân then left the presence and set about his business, and so well were the guns served that within the stipulated period of twelve days one face of the fort wall was levelled with the ground. The army was then ordered to attack the place, and though the garrison made a most determined stand in the breaches, the fort was carried by storm and the royal army entered the town. There was much slaughter in the streets and the corpses were piled up in heaps. At length the king in his mercy commanded the troops to stay their hands from slaying, and the survivors, both of the garrison, and of the inhabitants, had the honour of submitting to the king.

Burhân Niẕâm Shâh, before leaving Sholâpûr, repaired its defences, and when he was satisfied that it was as strong as before, he marched to Parenda

Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk now, without any cause whatever, began to apprehend that the king had designs upon him, and he therefore fled and entered the service of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. Some historians give a later date for his flight from the king's service but God know the truth of the matter.

(*To be continued.*)

THE EARLY COURSE OF THE GANGES.

BY NUNDOLAL DEY, M.A., B.L.; CALCUTTA.

Legend about the Ganges.

The Ganges is the largest and holiest of all rivers in India. According to the legend mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa*, *Mahâbhârata*, and the *Purâṇas*, the goddess Gaṅgâ (the Ganges), the daughter of the Himâlaya, resided in heaven. Sagara, king of Ayodhyâ (Oudh), performed a horse sacrifice and let loose the sacrificial horse which was stolen by Indra. Sagara ordered his sixty-thousand sons to search for it. They looked for it everywhere on this earth, but unable to find it, resolved to seek for it in Rasâtala (Pâtâla), the lower regions. They dug and delved and pierced the earth on all sides, and at last entered Rasâtala through a chasm made in the north-eastern quarter. They found the horse browsing by the side of an ascetic named Kapila Muni. Believing him to be the stealer of the horse, they tried to attack him. But the sage burnt them to ashes by a glance of his eyes. On account of their

long absence, Sagara sent his grandson Aṁśumân to find them out. He entered Rasâtala by the path they had made, found them reduced to ashes and recovered the horse; but he was told by Garuḍa that without the purification of their ashes by the water of the holy river Ganges, there could be no salvation for their manes. He brought back the horse and completed the sacrifice. After Sagara's death, Aṁśumân ascended the throne of Ayodhyâ, and, leaving the reins of Government in the hands of his son Dilîpa, went to the Himâlaya to perform asceticism. Dilîpa was likewise unable to devise any means for bringing down the Ganges, and was succeeded after his decease by his son Bhagîratha, who also practised austerities for the purpose for many years at *Gokarṇa*. He was advised by Brahmâ to propitiate Mahâdeva with a view to hold Gaṅgâ on his head, and thus break the force of her fall from heaven and so save the earth from destruction. Bhagîratha followed his advice. Mahâdeva was pleased by his austerities, and instructed Bhagîratha to request Gaṅgâ to fall upon his (Mahâdeva's) head. The goddess had her own vanity to satisfy: she conceived the idea of entering Rasâtala by drawing him along with her current. But the omniscient god read her thought and caught her in the tangle of his matted hair. She was thus unable to find an outlet; but on Bhagîratha's intercession, Mahâdeva allowed her to fall into the Bindu-sarovara. At this place Gaṅgâ branched into seven streams, three of which went to the west, three to the east, and the last followed Bhagîratha who, seated on his chariot, led her on. During the journey, she flooded Jahnu's hermitage and was drunk off at one draught. Bhagîratha, however propitiated the ascetic by his entreaties, and thus she became the daughter of Jahnu, and since then she has been called Jâhnavî, as she is called Bhâgirathî or the daughter of Bhagîratha, being brought down from heaven by the latter. Gaṅgâ followed Bhagîratha in her course and joined with Sâgara or the ocean, and entered that part of Rasâtala where the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara had been reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila; she flooded their remains with the sacred water, and obtained for them salvation. At this time Brahmâ declared that she would be known by the name of "Tripathagâ," on account of her having passed through the three paths of *Swarga* (heaven), *Martta* (earth) and Rasâtala (the nether region).[1]

General agreement of ancient works.

I have related the story of the descent of Gaṅgâ or the river Ganges, as given in the *Râmâyaṇa*, at some length, in view of its bearing upon facts connected with her course. I should here observe that the main feature of the story is the same in the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Purâṇas* and the *Upa Purâṇas*, the differences being confined to minor details and names of places here and there. All the aforesaid works, however, agree in three points, *viz.*, the source of the Ganges, he junction with the Yamunâ (Jumna), and her fall into the ocean at Sâgara-saṅgama or Kapila-âśrama (the hermitage of Kapila Muni).

Bhagiratha's place of asceticism.

Before proceeding further, I should make some remarks regarding the place where Bhagîratha performed asceticism with the object of bringing down Gaṅgâ from heaven. The *Râmâyaṇa* states that he performed austerities at Gokarṇa.[2] The *Mahâbhârata* simply says that Bhagîratha's place of asceticism was in the Himâlaya,[3] while some of the *Purâṇas* mention that

1 *Râmâyaṇa*, I, chs. 38—44

2 *Râmâyaṇa*, I, ch. 42:—

Mantrishvâdhâya tadrâjyam Gaṅgâvataraṇe rataḥ
Tapo dîrghaṁ samâtishṭhad Gokarṇe Raghunandanaḥ 12.

3 *Mahâbhârata*, Vana Parva, ch. 108.

he performed asceticism at Bindu-sarovara in the Himâlaya.[4] It will be observed that the *Râmâyaṇa* mentions only Gokarṇa, without definitely assigning its situation. A celebrated place known as Gokarṇa is situated in North Kanara between Kârwâr and Kumṭâ in the Bombay Presidency. The *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas* refer to it as a most sacred place of Śiva worship, containing the temple of Mahâbâleśvara. But this Gokarṇa could not have been the Gokarṇa of the *Râmâyaṇa*, which, from all accounts, was situated in the Himâlaya. The *Bṛihat-Nâradîya Purâṇa* [5] in its confused attempt to reconcile the two statements contained in the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* caused Bhagîratha to deviate from his direct path from Ayodhyâ to the Himâlaya while going there to perform asceticism, and brought him to the banks of the Godâvarî. It should be stated that Gokaraṇa was the hermitage of Gautama,[6] after whom the Godâvarî is called the Gautamî.[7] According to this *Purâṇa*, Bhagîratha went from the Godâvarî to Nâdisvara in the Himâlaya and performed austerities there. Bindu-sarovara is situated two miles to the south of Gangotri, and close to Gangotri is Gomukhi.[8] Hence Bindu-sarovara and Gomukhi are very close to each other. *Go-karṇa* (or cow's ear) of the *Râmâyaṇa*, therefore, has evidently been transformed into the modern *Go-mukhî* (or cow's mouth) where Bhagîratha performed asceticism. In fact, Fraser states in his *Himâlâ Mountains* [9] that the present temple of the goddess Gaṅgâ or Bhâgîrathi near Gaurîkuṇda, "a gunshot below Gungotree," is situated precisely on the sacred stone on which Bhâgîratha used to worship Mahâdeva. Nâdisvara is evidently the same as Bindu-sara or Bindu-sarovara.

Source of the Ganges.

As already pointed out, all the ancient works agree on three points regarding the course of the Ganges. They state that she is the daughter of the Himâlaya,[10] which indicates that her source is in the Himâlaya. The *Râmâyaṇa*,[11] which is the earliest of all the works which contain the legend about the Ganges, states that the river got the name of Bhâgîrathi in consequence of her having been brought to the earth by Bhâgîratha. The Bhâgîrathi, therefore, which rises at Gangotri in the mountains of Garwal, is the primary and the holiest source of the Ganges. But the *Mahâbhârata*[12] places the source at Badarikâśrama, and by some of the *Purâṇas*[13] the main

4 *Matsya P.*, ch. 120, v. 27; *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 51.

5 *Bṛihat-Nâradîya Purâṇa*, Pt. I, ch. 16 :—
Bhagîratho mahârâjo jaṭâchîradharo mune
Gachchhan himâdrim tapase prâpto Godâvarî-taṭam. 2.

6 *Kûrma Purâṇa*, I, ch. 20.

7 *Śiva Purâṇa*, I, ch. 54.

8 Major Thorn's *Memoir of the War in India*, p. 504· "Two miles lower down (the stream the Bhâgrathî at its source) is a large rock or stone, called by the Hindus Gau Mukhi, or the cow's mouth for its supposed resemblance to the head and body of that animal."

9 ch. XXVIII, pp. 466—468.

10 Iyam Haimavatî jyeshṭhâ Gaṅgâ Himavataḥ sutâ. (This Gaṅgâ is the eldest daughter of Himâlaya.) *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 42, v. 23; see also *Mbh.*, Anuśâsana, ch. 26.

11 Iyañcha duhitâ jyeshṭhâ tava Gaṅgâ bhavishyati
Tvatkṛitena cha nâmnâtha loke sthâshyati viśrutâ. 5.
Gaṅgâ trîpathagâ nâma divyâ Bhâgirathî cha
Trîn patho bhâvayantîti tasmât tripathagâ Smritâ 6.
(This Gaṅgâ shall be your [Bhâgîratha's] eldest daughter, and she shall be celebrated in the world by the name conferred by you. This heavenly Bhâgîrathi shall also be known by the name of "Tripathagâ"; because she goes by the three paths, therefore she would be celebrated as "Tripathagâ") *Râmâyaṇa* Âdi, ch. 44.

12 Badarîprabhâva râjan devâryaganasevitâ. 4. [Oh king ! she (Gaṅgâ) whose source is at Badari is worshipped by the Devas and Ṛishis]. *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 142.

13 *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 56; *Kûrma P.*, I. ch. 46; *Varâha P.*, ch. 82.

stream of the river is considered to be the Alakânandâ which rises at Badarikâśrama near the temple of Badrinâtha.[14] According to the *Brahmavaivartta Purâṇa*,[15] however, the Mandâkinî which rises at Kedâranâtha near the temple of Kedâranât ha, is the main head-water of the Ganges. The Mandâkinî has also been described as Svarga-Gaṅgâ or the Ganges of heaven in the *Amarakosha*.[16] In the *Mahâbhârata*,[17] it is called Âkâsa-Gaṅgâ or the Ganges of the sky. Its other name is Kâlî-Gaṅgâ. In fact, one stream does not form the Ganges : several streams combine to form the river, and though their sources are different, yet they are all situated in the mountains of Garwal. But the principal sources at Gangotri is described by Mr. Fraser in his *Journal of a Tour through the Himâlâ Mountains*[18] as being not more than five miles horizontal distance from the temple, and in a direction 85° nearly, and is situated in the loftiest and greatest mountain of the snowy range in this quarter known by the name of Rudra Himâlaya which "is held to be the throne or residence of Mahâdeo himself." It is also called Pañcha Parvata, from its five peaks called Rudra Himâlaya, Brahmapuri, Bishnupuri, Udagari-kaṇtha and Svargamohinî. "These form a sort of semi-circular hollow of very considerable extent, filled with eternal snow, from the gradual dissolution of the lower parts of which, the principal part of the stream is generated : probably there may be smaller hollows beyond the point to the right above Gungotree, which also supply a portion."

The Bhâgîrathi after issuing from Gangotri is joined at Bhairavaghati by the Jâhnavî, which also rises in the Garwal mountains.[18] The *Râmâyaṇa*[19] relates that shortly after her descent, she flooded the hermitage of Jahnu Muni who in a rage swallowed her up, but let her out again, and thus she acquired the name of Jâhnavî.[20] Subsequently, she was joined by the Alakânandâ at Deva-Prayâga, which is as famous for its sanctity as Gangotri. From Deva-Prayâga, the united stream, in its onward course towards the south, takes the name of Gaṅgâ or the Ganges, which pierces the Himâlaya mountain and enters the plain at Gaṅgâdvâra,[21] now generally known as Haridvâra. The Alakânandâ, which is considered by some as the main stream of the Ganges, has been traced by Captain Raper to its sourc at Varshadhârâ, which is a waterfall situated a little beyond Badrinâth. It is itself formed by the union of five rivers, Mandâkinî, Vishṇugaṅgâ (Dhauli), Sarasvati[22] and others, and their junctions are considered as sacred spots, collectively called Pañcha-Prayâgas, *viz.* Rudra-Prayâga, Nanda-Prayâga, Vishṇu-Prayâga, Deva-Prayâga and Karṇa-Prayâga.

Names of the Garwal Mountain.

All these rivers, which go to swell the volume of waters of the Ganges, have their sources in the Garwal mountain. The wild and majestic grandeur of this region has fired the imagination of the pious Hindu to crowd it with events and deeds of the gods and goddesses. At Gourî Kuṇḍa, which is one day's journey from Kedâranâtha.[23] Gourî performed asceticism to obtain Mahâdeva for her husband;[24] at Agnisatyapada,[25] called also Kṛiśânu,[26] she was married : at Reta

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[14] *Asiatic Researches*, vol XI, Captain Raper's *Survey of the Ganges*.

[15] *Brahmavaivartta P.*, Krishṇa-Janma kh., ch. 34 :—Pradhânadhârâ yâ svarge sâ Mandâkinî smṛitâ (The principal stream which is in heaven is called Mandâkinî) See Fraser's *Himâlâ Mountains*, p. 381.

[16] *Amarakosha*, Svarga varga, v. 44.

[17] *Mahâbhârata*, Vana Parva, ch. 127.

[18] Fraser's *Himâlâ Mountains*, pp. 470, 471.

[19] *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 43.

[20] Fraser's *Himâlâ Mountains*, p. 476.

[21] *Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 91

[22] *Agni P.*, ch. 109, v. 17 : Gouri Prasad Miśra's *Kedâranâtha Badari-Biśâla Yâtrâ*, p. 7.

[23] Fraser's *Himâlâ Mountains*, p. 381.

[24] Gouri Prasad Miśra's *Kedâranâtha Badari-Biśâla Yâtrâ*, p. 6.

[25] *Varâha P.*, ch. 141.

[26] Kedâranâtha, *Badari-Biśâla Yâtrâ*, p. 6.

Kuṇḍa, Kârtikeya was born; at Kûrma-vana (corrupted into Kumaon which is a part of the region), Nârâyaṇa became incarnate as the tortoise (Kûrm-âvatâra) to hold the Mandâra mountain on his back during the churning of the ocean; at Kumâravana in Kumaon, the Nymph Urvaśî was transformed into a creeper;[27] at Manal near the source of the Alakânandâ was the hermitage of Vyâsa where he is said to have divided the Vedas into four parts, and composed the *Mahâbhârata*; and at Svargarohiṇî, which is the westernmost of the five peaks of the Pañcha-Parvata, four of the Pâṇḍavas and their wife Draupadî died. The Garwal mountain is called Gandhamâdana,[28] and its eastern portion forms a part of the Mandâra range.[29] It is also called Sumeru[30] and Kailâsa.[31] Mr. Fraser says "This mountain [in which the Ganges has its source], which is considered to be the loftiest and greatest of the snowy range in this quarter, and probably yields to none in the whole Himalaya, obtains the name of Roodroo Himâlâ, and is held to be the throne or residence of Mahâdeo himself. It is also indiscriminately called Pâuch [Pañch] Purbut, from its five peaks; and Soomeroo Purbut, which is not to be confounded with the mountain so called near Bunderpouch; and sometimes the general appellation of Kylâs is given, which literally signifies any snowy hill, but is applied to this mountain by way of pre-eminence."[32] According to the *Mahâbhârata*,[33] the three principal sources of the Ganges and Bindu-sarovara are situated in Badarikâ Âśrama.

The three streams of the Ganges.

In the *Râmâyaṇa*, it is related that on the intercession of Bhagîratha, Mahâdeva released Gaṅgâ from his matted hair, where she had been confined for her arrogance, into the Bindu-sarovara, and from Bindu-sarovara, she went out in seven[34] streams, three to the east, three to the west and one to the south. "Seven" is a sacred number.[35] In the *Mahâbhârata*[36], however it is said that she fell in three streams from Mahâdeva's forehead on her way to the ocean but it will be observed that the seven streams of the *Râmâyaṇa* issued out in three sets. These three streams are evidently the three headwaters of the Ganges, namely the Mandâkinî, the Alakânandâ, and the Bhâgîrati, and from them Gaṅgâ acquired the name of "Tripathagâ".[37] The first is the Mandâkinî, which is called the river of heaven;[38] the second is the Alakânandâ, the river of the earth,[39] and the third the Bhâgîrathî,[40] which following Bhâgîratha, entered Pâtâla when she is called Bhogavatî.[41]

Pañcha Parvata.

The Garwal mountain forms a part of the Rudra-Himâlaya, and the Pañcha Parvata, as stated before, contains the source of the Ganges. The five peaks of the Pañcha Parvata, or Sumeru as it is called, with their heads capped with eternal snow, and their sides corrugated by the perpetual

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27 *Vikramorvasî Nâṭaka*, Act IV.

28 *Mbh.*, Vana, chs 141, 146, 152; *Vikramorvasî*, Act IV; *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch., 56.

29 *Ibid.*, Vana, ch. 163; *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 219.

30 *Devî Bhâgavata*, VIII, ch 7; *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 56; *Liṅga P.*, I, ch. 52.

31 *Matsya P.*, ch. 120, v. 4; *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 43, v. 14; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 145.

32 *Himâlâ Mountains*, p. 470.

33 *Mbh.*, Vana, chs. 142, 145.

34 Perhaps the word "seven" is used, as it is a sacred number (see Max Müller's *Ṛig Veda Saṃhitâ*, p. 240).

35 Max Müller's *Ṛig Veda Saṃhitâ*, p. 240.

36 Vana, ch. 109.

37 *Râmâyaṇa*, I, ch. 44, *Brihat Dharmma P.*, Púrva kh., ch. 5.

38 *Brahmavaivartta P.*, Krishṇa Janma kh., ch. 34.

39 *Ibid.*, ch. 34; *Varâha P.*, ch. 82.

40 *Matsya P.*, ch. 120.

41 *Devî-Bhâgavata*, IX, ch. 12; *Brahmavaivartta P.*, Krishṇa-Janma kh., ch. 34.

drippings of water congealed at places into icicles and stalactites, rise high up in the skies, and form, as it were, a stepping-stone to heaven. The poetic imagination of the religious Hindu sees in these five peaks the five heads of Mahâdeva, called also Pañchânana on account of his five faces. With the hanging icicles on their corrugated sides looking like his matted hair, they tower high to receive, as it were, the heavenly Ganges.

Prayâga.

The two epics and the *Purâṇas* agree that the Ganges joins the Jumnâ at Prayâga or Allahabad, which is considered one of the most holy places in India. At the time of the *Râmâyaṇa*[42] " Prayâga Tirtha " had already acquired celebrity for sanctity, especially as it contained the hermitage of Rishi Bharadvâja. At the time of the *Mahâbhârata*[43] it was considered holy. But neither in these two epics nor in the *Rig-Veda* is there any mention whatsoever that the Sarasvatî ever joined the Ganges and the Jamunâ at Prayâga or any where else. Even the earlier *Purâṇas* such as the *Matsya*, the *Vishṇu*, etc. do not say that the Sarasvatî joined these two rivers at Prayâga. It was evidently with the object of attracting larger numbers of pilgrims by conferring further sanctity upon the place, that the latter *Purâṇas*,[44] conceived the idea of joining the Sarasvatî, the " lost river," with the other two rivers through a subterranean passage; and hence the Sarasvatî at Prayâga is called " Gupta (hidden) Sarasvatî " in the *Bṛihad Dharmma Purâṇa*.[45] This conception was further utilized for the creation of a new place of sanctity in Bengal, and that place is Triveṇî, about two miles to the north of Hugli. Advantage was taken of the divarication of the Ganges at some later period, by throwing out two arms, one to the west and the other to the east of Triveṇî, to call them Sarasvatî and Yamunâ respectively, and to proclaim that the three rivers Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ and Sarasvatî which joined at Allahabad, separated at Triveṇî in the district of Hugli and thus a place as sacred as Prayâga was secured for Bengal. Hence the junction of the three rivers at Allahabad is called Yukta-Veṇî or "junction of the rivers," and the separation of the three rivers at Triveṇi is called Mukta-Veṇî or "disjunction of the rivers." The *Mahâbhârata* does not mention the name of Triveṇî in Bengal, though Yudhishṭhira visited Gaṅgâ-Sâgara, the place where the Ganges entered the ocean.[46] But the mouth of the Ganges at that time was evidently much higher up than it is at present. The *Mahâ-Purâṇas* also do not mention the name of Triveṇî near Hugli. It appears for the first time in the *Bṛihad-Dharmma Purâṇa*[47] which is an *Upa-Purâṇa*. The names of Yukta-Veṇî and Mukta-Veṇî also do not appear in any of the *Purâṇas*, nor even in the *Padma Purâṇa*,[48] which only calls the confluence at Allahabad by the name of Triveṇi. Pandit Raghunandana of Nadia in his *Prâyaśchitta-Tattvam*, in commenting upon the word " Dakshiṇa-Prayâga " occurring according to him in a passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, says it is also called " Mukta-Veṇi, " which is another name for Triveṇî near Hugli.[49] There can be no doubt therefore that the Ganges flowed by the

42 Ayodhyâ K., ch. 54.

43 *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 85; Anuśâsana, ch. 25.

44 *Padma P.*, Kriyâyogasâra, ch. 3, v. 5; Uttara, ch. 14; *Bṛihad-Dharmma P.*, I, ch. 6.

45 *Bṛihad-Dharmma P.*, II, ch. 22, v. 13.

46 Vana, ch. 144.

47 *Bṛihad-Dharmma P.*, I, ch. 22, v. 33:—Triveṇî nâma tîrthañcha prithagbhûte cha yatra vai, Sarasvatî cha Yamunâ Prayâga phaladâyakam (where the Ganges separated from the Sarasvatî and Yamunâ at the Tîrtha named Triveṇî, it is as efficacious as Prayâga).

48 *Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 14.

49 *Prâyaśchittatattvam*, Gaṅgâ-Mâhâtmya, p. 100:—Pradyumnna-nagarât yâmye Sarasvatyastathottare, Dakhsina-Prayâgastu unmuktaveṇî saptagrâmâkhya dakshiṇadeśe Triveṇîtikhyâte ["On the south of Pradyumna-nagara and on the north of Sarasvatî is Dakshiṇa-Prayâga (southern Prayâga)

side of Trîveṇî on the north of Hugli, which is said to be the counterpart of the Triveṇî at Prayâga or Allahabad.

Gaṅgâ-Sâgara.

The place where the Ganges joins the Ocean is called Gaṅgâ-Sâgara or Sâgara-Saṅgama. As, according to the legend, it was the point where Gaṅgâ entered Pâtâla to give salvation to the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara (who were cursed by Kapila Muni and reduced to ashes) by washing them with her holy water, it is always associated with the hermitage of Kapila. Hence, the point where the river enters the ocean is also called Kapilâśrama. This is one of the most sacred spots in India, like its source in the Garwal mountains, and was considered as a place of pilgrimage even at the time of the *Mahâbhârata*.[50] But the place where the Ganges debouches into the ocean is not always fixed. The Gaṅgâ-Sâgara of the *Mahâbhârata* was not the Gaṅgâ-Sâgara of the time of Ptolemy in the second century A. D., which again is not the Gaṅgâ-Sâgara of the present day. This spot has always shifted with the gradual extension of the deltaic formation from the north to the south. But at whatever point the main channel of the Ganges may have entered the sea, it is always designated by the names of Kapilâśrama and Gaṅgâ-Sâgara, and it is considered to be the most holy. At present, Kapilâśrama is situated where the Hugli river, which is the main channel of the Ganges, joins the ocean near the Sagar island. But there was a time when the Ganges entered the ocean at Shibganj near Gaur, and Hamilton has recorded this tradition in his *East Indian Gazetteer*.[51] He says, "At a most early period of antiquity, this place (Gaur) is said to have been the residence of a saint named Jahnu, who one day swallowed the Ganges, as Bhagîratha was bringing it down from the mountains to water Bengal; since then, there has always existed here a path to the infernal region, the mouth of which may be seen at Sheebguṅgâ." The "infernal region" mentioned means Pâtâla, where Sagar's sixty-thousand sons were reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila Muni. Of course, it is very difficult to say now where the Ganges joined the ocean when it was visited by Yudhishṭhira, who after visiting Kauśiki or the river Kosi went to Gaṅgâ-Sâgara, and from the latter place, to Kaliṅga, no intermediate place being mentioned to locate the spot.[52] At the time of Ptolemy, *i. e.* in the second century, Gaṅgâ-Sâgara must have been much higher up than it is at present. According to him, there were five mouths of the Ganges indicated as follows [53] :—

"The Kambyson mouth, the most western.
Poloura. a town.
The second mouth called Mega.
The third called Kamberikhon.
Tilagrammon, a town.
The fourth mouth. Pseudostomon.
The fifth mouth, Antibole."

I should observe here that in his map [54] also he has placed the town of "Poloura" near the "Kambyson mouth" and "Tilagrammon" near the "Kambêrikhen mouth."

(*To be continued.*)

where the Yamunâ has issued out of the Ganges." "Dakshiṇa-Prayaga" is Mukta-veni, which is known as Triveṇi in the southern country named Saptagrâma]. See my *Notes on the History of the District of Hughli or the Ancient Râḍa in JASB*, 1910. pp. 611, 613.

[50] *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 114.

[51] *Sv.* Gour.

[52] *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 144.

[53] McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 72, 73.

[54] *Ibid.*, facing p. 8.

THE DESERT CROSSING OF HSÜAN-TSANG, 630 A.D.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

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IT was on my second Central-Asian expedition, in the autumn of 1907, that I travelled across the stony "Gobi" of the Pei-shan by the desert track which leads from the oasis of An-hsi to Hami and serves as the Chinese high-road connecting westernmost Kan-su with the province of *Hsin-chiang*, the "New Dominion," or Chinese Turkestan. I knew at the time that I was following that ancient "Northern Route," which, ever since the Chinese had first acquired a firm foothold at Hami in 73 A.D., had been used by them as a main line of access to their Central-Asian dominions whenever they were able to assert political or military control over those distant territories. This knowledge then helped to reconcile me to the fact of having been obliged by practical considerations to choose a route which since the days of Prjevalsky has been followed by more than one European traveller, and which in its great wastes of crumbling rock and gravel offers but little chance for new observations of interest.

But it was not until I came to deal with this ground in 'Serindia,' the detailed report on the scientific results of my second Central-Asian journey, completed in 1918 and, I hope, soon to be published by the Oxford University Press, that I paid adequate attention to the circumstances which give this desolate desert track a claim upon the special and quasi-personal interest of the student of the historical geography of Central Asia. It arises from a celebrated episode in the life of the great Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, our Buddhist Pausanias and Marco Polo combined, to whose travels from China across Central Asia to India and back in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. we owe such ample and so important records on the geography, history, antiquities, etc., of the vast regions he traversed. I mean the adventurous desert journey by which the pious traveller about the beginning of 630 A.D. made his escape from the jealously guarded north-west border of the Chinese Empire, as it then stood, into those "Western Regions" he was about to explore in his eager search for the sacred Law of Buddhism.

The story of this great adventure, which nearly caused Hsüan-tsang to perish of thirst in the desert, has not hitherto been examined in the light of exact topographical knowledge. It is not to be found in Hsüan-tsang's own 'Hsi-yü-chi,' or 'Records of the Western Countries' (these do not take up the relation until his start westwards from Turfan), but only in Hsüan-tsang's 'Life,' a work originally compiled by his disciple Hui-li and edited later under conditions which were bound to impair the critical value of its text.[1] Hence doubts as to the accuracy of the details contained in this narrative might well have arisen, particularly in view of the supernatural tinge which the story as related by the devout biographer in parts to certain incidents connected with the great pilgrim's quasi-miraculous rescue when lost in the waterless desert and faced by imminent death through thirst and exhaustion.

All the more interesting is the close agreement which a careful examination reveals between all precise details of the story and the topographical facts ascertained in the course of our survey from the tract of An-hsi to Hami. This exact agreement affords striking evidence of the faithfulness with which Hsüan-tsang himself must have remembered and related this famous initial episode of his wanderings. It helps to confirm afresh the

1 Cf. Stanislas Julien, 'Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang,' preface, pp. lxxvi. *sqq.*, regarding the conditions under which the text of the biography, originally compiled by the monk Hui-li, was recovered and edited.

subjective trustworthiness of his records, and as we have to use these so often when dealing with questions of ancient geography in Central Asia or India, the following notes on Hsüan-tsang's desert itinerary may find an appropriate place here.

Before, however, we attempt to trace the pious traveller's steps, it will be well to indicate briefly certain main topographical facts concerning his starting-point, the oasis of An-hsi, and as regards the ground which the present high-road thence to Hami traverses. In chapters xv. and xxvii. of my 'Serindia' I have had occasion fully to discuss the broad geographical features which have obliged the Chinese from the earliest expansion of their power westwards, in the last quarter of the second century B.C., down to the present day, to follow the north foot of the snowy Nan-shan as their main line of progress towards Central Asia. There alone can be found a succession of relatively well-watered fertile tracts, stretching from Liang-chou past Kan-chou to Su-chou, such as could serve as a secure base for trade and military movements across the great deserts intervening between Kan-su and Chinese Turkestan. Beyond Su-chou, where the mediæval Great Wall of the Empire ends, this line thins out westwards into a series of small oases, comprising the present Yü-mên-hsien, An-hsi, and Tun-huang. These are situated in the wide but for the most part utterly barren valley in which the lower course of the Su-lo Ho descends to its terminal basin in the desert east of the ancient Lop Sea bed. Map I. attached to my 'Ruins of Desert Cathay,' and first published in the *Geographical Journal* for March 1911 to illustrate the explorations of my second journey, will help to make clear these essential features.

As long as Chinese trade and military enterprise towards the Tarim Basin could continue the move westwards in a straight line along that earliest route which led through the clay and salt wilderness of the dried-up Lop Sea to the ruined Lou-lan settlements, and which I succeeded in tracking right through by my Lop Desert explorations of 1914-15,[2] Tun-huang, the last oasis within the ancient Chinese border of Han times, remained the starting-point and eastern bridgehead as it were for the great desert crossing. But when after the third century A.D. Lou-lan was abandoned to the desert, and this difficult but most direct route became impossible for traffic through total want of water, such intercourse with Central Asia as survived the downfall of Chinese political control over the "Western Regions" was bound to be diverted almost wholly to the routes crossing the Pei-shan "Gobi" to Hami.

Of these routes the one starting from the An-hsi oasis and leading in a nearly straight line north-westwards to the cultivable area of Hami at the southern foot of the Karlik-tagh must certainly have been at all times relatively the easiest and the most frequented. It follows the line on which the distance over absolute desert ground to be covered by travellers from or to China proper is the shortest. It crosses the stony desert of the Pei-shan in eleven marches which our survey showed to aggregate to a total marching distance of about 218 miles. Hami, owing to the irrigation facilities assured by its vicinity to the snows of the Karlik-tagh, has all through historical times been a place noted for its agricultural produce and a natural emporium for whatever traffic passed across the desert south-eastwards. An-hsi has not yet recovered from all the destruction caused by the great Tungan rebellion of the sixties of the last century. But even thus, scanty as its resources now are, they suffice to allow trade caravans and other travel parties to revictual locally. In earlier

2 Cf. for the line of this ancient Lou-lan route "A third journey of exploration in Central Asia, 1913-16," in *Geographical Journal*, 1916, 48, pp. 124-129; also 'Serindia,' chap. xiv., for a review of the Chinese historical notices bearing upon it.

times they are sure, as plenty of historical evidence shows, to have been considerably greater. What other routes there are, leading from Hami and the eastern extremity of the T'ien-shan towards the border tracts of Kan-su and China proper, all cross the barren wastes of the Pei-shan "Gobi" for considerably greater distances.[3] As my journey of September 1914 from Mao-mei to the Karlik-tagh showed (see "A third journey of exploration in Central Asia," *Geographical Journal*, 48, p. 200) they offer the same, if not greater, difficulties about water and grazing.

In view of these plain geographical facts it appears to me clear that the importance of the route leading from An-hsi to Hami cannot have undergone any material change during the periods while it was open for Chinese intercourse with Central Asia, and further that its track is not likely to have ever diverged far from the present one. The latter conclusion is all the more justified because, as can be seen from the map attached to 'Desert Cathay' and in fuller detail from sheets reproducing our surveys on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch,[4] the actual road, except for a small détour between the springs of Ta-ch'üan and Sha-ch'üan-tzŭ, due to necessities of water supply, leads in what practically is a straight line from An-hsi to the nearest outlying settlement of the Hami oasis.

An-hsi, the ancient *Kua-chou*, where that episode of Hsüan-tsang's travels starts with which we are concerned here, need not detain us long. In my 'Desert Cathay' I have already recorded what observations of its extant conditions I was able to gather during my stays in 1907 (cf. 'Desert Cathay,' 2, pp. 235 *sqq.*). The present *An-hsi-chou*, situated not far from the left bank of the Su-lo Ho, is, in spite of its grand name, "the City of the West-protecting [garrison]," scarcely more than a straggling street within a big enclosure of crumbling walls. It owes its importance, such as it is, solely to being the last halting-place with local supplies on the road to Hami. To the south of the "town" there stretches between the river-course and the foot of the outermost barren hills of the Nan-shan a wide scrub-covered plain, where strips of poor cultivation are broken up by extensive stretches of waste lands. Ruins of walled villages and towns abound in this desolate tract, attesting its former prosperity. Among them the largest and most central still bears the name of *Kuachou-ch'êng*, "the walled city of Kua-chou," and is known to local tradition as the site of the ancient chief place of the district.[5] Antiquarian reasons, which I have discussed in 'Serindia,' make it appear highly probable that this tradition is correct, and that we have

[3] Such routes leading across the Pei-shan east of the Hami-An-hsi line are indicated in sheets XXI., XXIII. of the Russian Asiatic Transfrontier Map, 40 versts to 1 inch, partly from the surveys of Russian explorers like Grum Grishmailo and Obrucheff, partly from "native information." A route-line distinct from the above and leading from Hami to the great bend of the Su-lo Ho was followed in 1898 by Prof Futterer, who has very carefully described it in "Geographische skizze der Wuste Gobi," Erganzungsheft No. 139, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1902. This memoir provides a very instructive account of the geology and physiography of the eastern Pei-shan ranges in general.

Of the several route-lines shown by the above Russian map as crossing the Pei-shan west of the An-hsi-Hami road only one can be considered as practicable and actually proved to exist. It is the one surveyed by Captain Roborovsky's expedition in 1893, which branches off from the Chinese high-road at K'u-shui, four marches from Hami, and leads due south to Tun-huang. Owing to difficulties about water, etc., it is but rarely followed nowadays, Chinese travellers from the last-named oasis preferring to join the high-road at Hung-liu-yüan the second station after leaving An-hsi. The existence of the other routes in view of information collected by Captain Roborovsky and Prof. Pelliot, appears very problematical.

[4] See Sheets Nos. 73, 76, 77, 80, 81 of the Atlas prepared by the Survey of India for my 'Serindia.' Advance copies of this Atlas were presented early in 1914 under the orders of Surveyor-General of India to the principal geographical institutions of Europe and America.

[5] See for the exact position of this ruined site and the topography of the An-hsi tract the inset map on 1/M scale, in Map 1 of 'Desert Cathay.'

to locate here the district headquarters of Kua-chou, where the 'Life' makes Hsüan-tsang arrive towards the close of 629 A.D.[6]

The learned Buddhist monk had set out from Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital, with the avowed object of "travelling to the west to search for the Law in the kingdom of the Brahmans," *i.e.* India. But though the great T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung (627-650 A.D.) was already engaged on that policy of expansion westwards which was destined before long to reassert Chinese power and authority in the Tarim Basin and even beyond after the lapse of long centuries, the traditional methods of Chinese seclusion against the barbarian West were still rigorously enforced on the Kan-su border. "At that time the administration of the country was still new, and the frontiers of the Empire did not extend far. The people were subjected to severe restrictions, and nobody was permitted to leave in order to visit foreign countries" (cf. Julien, 'Vie de H.,' p. 16).

So Hsüan-tsang had been obliged to leave Liang-chou secretly and to travel to Kua-chou by night marches. After his arrival there "the Master of the Law, on inquiring about the western routes, was told: 'At 50 *li* from here, marching to the north, one comes to the River *Hu-lu*, of which the lower course is wide and the upper one very contracted. Its waters are constantly whirling and flow with such impetuosity that they cannot be passed in a boat. It is near to the widest part that the *Yu-mân* Barrier has been established, by which one is obliged to pass, and which is the key of the western frontiers. To the north west, beyond this barrier, there are five signal-towers where the guards entrusted with keeping the look-out reside. They are a hundred *li* apart one from the other. In the space which separates them there is neither water nor herbage. Beyond these five towers there lie the desert of *Mo-ho-yen* and the frontiers of *I-wu* (Hami)."

The 'Life' gives a touching account of how the eager pilgrim came to brave the official prohibition and to venture into the dread desert beyond (see Julien, 'Vie de H.,' pp. 17-21). On receiving that information he had first become downcast, and having also suffered the loss of his horse, passed a month in distress. Then the local governor, who happened to be a man of piety, learned from spies of Hsüan-tsang's intentions, showed him secretly their report, but in the end, moved by his sincere fervour, decided to close an eye—*more Sinicoe* Still the saintly traveller's troubles increased through the defection of two young monks who were to have accompanied him, and through the difficulty of securing a guide. But auspicious dreams and omens gave him fresh courage, and a devout young native helped him to meet in secret an aged "barbarian" who had done the journey to *I-wu* fifteen times to and fro. The old man gave him the grave warning: "The western routes are bad and dangerous. At times streams of drift sand obstruct, at others demons and burning winds. If they are encountered no one can escape. Often big caravans lose themselves and perish."

But Hsüan-tsang remained firm and declared that if he did not reach the country of the Brahmans in the end he would never turn eastward again to China. "If I were to die on the way I should not regret it." Thereupon said the greybeard: "Master, since you are decided to start, you must mount my horse. More than fifteen times already, going and coming, he has done the way to *I-wu* (Hami). He is strong and knows the routes. Your horse, on the contrary, is weak and will never reach there." We shall see further on how

[6] Cf. Stan. Julien, 'Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang' (Paris, 1853), p. 17; also Beal, 'The Life of Hiuen-tsiang,' p. 13. In subsequent quotations from the 'Life' the version of the great French Sinologue will be followed, from which the latter work is in the main retranslated.

important a part this hardy mount, "lean and of russet colour," for which he exchanged his own, was destined to play in the pilgrim's final escape from death in the desert.[7]

Thus mounted and accompanied by the young native who was to act as guide, Hsüan-tsang started at night from Kua-chou. "In the third watch they came to the river and sighted the *Yü-mên* Barrier from a distance. At 10 *li* from the point where the barrier stood [8] the upper river-course had its banks not more than a *chang* (10 feet) apart." Here a crossing was effected by a rough foot-bridge which the "young barbarian" improvised with cut-down branches of trees, etc. Then, after resting by the river-bank, they set out with the first rays of the sun. But after going a short distance Hsüan-tsang's companion, frightened by the dangers ahead, refused to venture beyond, and left the brave pilgrim to pursue his adventure alone.

Before we proceed to follow Hsüan-tsang further, it will be convenient to sum up the indications derived from this brief account and from the local information previously reproduced and to compare them with the actual topography of An-hsi. Starting from the town of Kua-chou, the route to *I-wu* or Hami first led north for 50 *li* to the river *Hu-lu*, where the watch-station of *Yü-mên-kuan*, or the "Jade Gate Barrier," was then placed. From this point the route towards Hami turned to the north-west and passed towards the five signal-posts maintained in the desert for look-out purposes. Hsüan-tsang, having to avoid the "Jade Gate Barrier" where his unauthorized move beyond the border would have been stopped, set out from Kua-chou at night and reached the river at a point some 10 *li* above the watch-station. Having effected a crossing, unperceived, in the third watch, he thence picked up the track leading to the nearest of the watch-towers, and, as we shall presently see, arrived there after covering 80 *li*.

It is easy to demonstrate the full accord of these indications with the topographical facts as our survey shows them. By the river *Hu-lu* no other but the Sulo Ho can be meant.[9] From the ruined town of Kua-chou-ch'êng, which in view of its central position and surviving local tradition may safely be assumed to mark the approximate site of the *Kua-chou* of T'ang times, it is 8 miles almost exactly due north in a straight line to the point where the present road to Hami crosses the Su-lo Ho. If we assume that the river-course in Hsüan-tsang's days lay about 2 miles further to the north where our survey marks an old river-bed, the agreement in distance with the 50 *li* of the 'Life' becomes still closer: for the equation of 5 *li* to the mile is the one which my extensive experience of Hsüan-tsang's distance-reckonings along Central-Asian routes has proved to be the generally correct

[7] The mention of this experienced equine wayfarer seems to me to give a distinct touch of reality to the story as recorded in the 'Life.' Together with other points to be indicated below it creates a presumption in favour of the substantial veracity of the account as received and handed down by Hsuan-tsang's biographers.

At the same time the way in which the 'Life' connects the acquisition of this auspicious mount with a prognostic Hsüan-tsang had received from a diviner before his start from Ch'ang-an, shows the same quaint intermingling of sense of reality and naive credulity which characterizes the personality of my Chinese "patron saint"—like that of so many of his compatriots, ancient and modern—throughout his own 'Records'; cf., *e.g.*, 'Desert Cathay,' 2, 169 *sq.*, 180.

[8] I follow here Beal's interpretation; see 'Life of Hiuen-tsiang,' p. 10. Julien's version would imply that the point of crossing was at the barrier itself. But this obviously cannot be the sense intended since the passage had to be effected secretly. Besides, we have been told before that the Yü-mên Barrier stood where the river was widest, and consequently may be supposed to have been fordable.

[9] This identification with the Su-lo Ho, the Bulungir of the Mongols, was first correctly made by V. de Saint-Martin (cf. Julien, 'Mémoires de Hiouen-thsang,' 2, p. 262).

average. That the road to Hami after leaving the river leads steadily in a north-westerly direction is shown by a look at the map. Finally, the 80 *li* which Hsüan-tsang is said to have covered from the river-crossing to the first watch-tower agree in a striking fashion with the 16 miles or so which the map shows between the above-mentioned old bed and the first halting-place, Pei-tan-tzŭ, with its spring, on the present caravan road.

As to the exact position of the *Yu-mên* Barrier, as located at the time of Hsüan-tsang's departure, I am unable to state anything definite ; nor does it affect his itinerary with which we are concerned here. The discoveries made in the course of my explorations of 1907 along the ancient Chinese *Limes* have solved the question as to the original position and remains of this famous frontier station of the "Jade Gate," once far away to the west of Tun-huang,[10] and there is strong antiquarian reason to believe that even in Hsüan-tsang's times its transfer to the north of Kua-chou could not have been of old date.[11] To the strict watch over all trans-border traffic which was kept in ancient times at this western main gate through the original Great Wall, and which had its close analogy in the procedure observed down to recent times at the Chia-yü-kuan Gate west of Su-chou, I have had repeated occasions to refer elsewhere (see 'Desert Cathay,' 2. pp. 148, 154. 282 ; 'Serindia,' chap. xxvii., secs. i, ii).

It will help us better to appreciate the conditions under which Hsüan-tsang's desert-crossing was effected, if we cast a rapid glance at the general aspects of the route as it exists now and at the topographical features distinguishing certain of its stages. To the Chinese, with their strongly fixed notions of civilized existence, this desert route must have at all times been distinctly deterrent, whether they had to face it as soldiers, traders or casual travellers. It was easy to realize this as we moved along from one wretched little roadside station to another, each established with its refuse-filled mud hovels and tiny post of soldiers at a point where some shallow depression offers a scanty supply of water in spring or well. Only here and there do they offer patches of equally scanty grazing on scrub or reeds. The conditions of traffic I was able to observe while moving across the utterly barren wastes of gravel, crumbling rock or drift-sand which extend between these miserable halting-places could certainly have changed but little since ancient times.

The difficulties about securing a sufficiency of reed straw and water for animals, together with the equally great dearth of fuel, must have at all periods seriously hampered the use of the route whether for trade or troop movements. The very trying climatic conditions of the central Pei-shan, with its dreaded north-east blizzards frequent in the winter and spring and with its parching heat and dust-storms in the summer, were always bound to imply grave risks for individual travellers. There is danger for them now too, if unguided, of straying from the track along certain portions, and obviously this risk must have been far greater still during periods when the political seclusion of China prevented all regular traffic.

Uniformly barren and dreary as the ground crossed by the route is, it yet divides itself into certain distinct sections : in the detailed map-sheets accompanying 'Serindia' we can easily make them out, and even the map of 'Desert Cathay' suffices to mark their limits.

10 How long the "Jade Gate Barrier" remained near Kua-chou, and when and how the present *Yü-mên-hsien*, between Su-chou and An-hsi came by its designation derived from the ancient frontier station of Han times, is another question which must be left for future investigation (cf. 'Desert Cathay,' 2, pp. 115 *sqq.* ; 'Serindia,' chapter xix., secs. i-iii).

11 A passage of the T'ang Annals referring to the despatch in 610 A.D. of the famous Chinese Commissioner Pei Chü to *Yü-mên-kuan*, distinctly places this frontier "Barrier" at the town of Chin-ch'ang (cf. Chavannes, 'Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux, p. 18). Chinese antiquarians and local traditions of An-hsi seem to agree in considering Chin-chang as a sub-prefecture dependent on Kua-chou and situated to the east of the present An-hsi. But its exact pos tion still remains to be determined.

The first five marches from An-hsi lead across a succession of narrow hill ranges, all striking approximately east to west and rising but little above the wide plateau-like valleys between them. Water is found in springs at the first three stages (Pei-tan-tzŭ, Hung-liu-yüan, Ta-ch'üan), and subsoil drainage is reached by wells, not more than 6 to 8 feet deep at Ma-lien-ching-tzŭ and Hsing-hsing-hsia. It is probably not without reason that the boundary between the provinces of Kan-su and Hsin-chiang or Chinese Turkestan is fixed now close to Hsing-hsing-hsia ; for beyond, the character of the ground changes and distinctly for the worse. Much of bare rocky ledges and of detritus is passed on the next two marches to Sha-ch'üan-tzŭ and K'u-shui, there being a steady descent of some 2,000 feet from the average level of the preceding stages. Vegetation even of the humblest sort becomes increasingly rare and the water decidedly brackish, as the name of *K'u-shui* "Bitter Water," rightly indicates.

But it is the next march to the station of Yen-tun which is most dreaded of all by Chinese wayfarers. For a distance of some 35 miles it leads down over absolutely bare gravel slopes into a great depression or trough lying at its bottom some 1,500 feet below the level of K'u-shui. Totally devoid of water or shelter of any sort, this long march is attended with risks both on account of the great summer heat here experienced and the icy north-east gales to which it is exposed in the winter and spring. Carcases of transport animals mark the route all the way from K'u-shui ; nor are losses in human lives unknown here. From Yen-tun another march, over similar gravel wastes but much shorter, brings the traveller to the springs of Chang-liu shui (*Chang-liu-shin* in the 1 : 3,000,000 map is a misreading), at the southern edge of a wide belt of loess ground receiving subsoil water from the snows of the Karlik-tagh and covered with abundant scrub and reed-beds. At Chang-liu-shui the first tiny patch of Hami cultivation is met, and after two more marches the town of Hami or Kumul is reached in the central oasis.

With these topographical features of the route the essential points in the story of Hsüan tsang's desert journey can be proved to be in close accord. This agreement is all the more remarkable in view of the avowedly imperfect text of Hui-li's 'Life' and the impossibility of checking its statements from Hsüan-tsang's own travel records. A variety of details and personal touches strongly support the impression that Hui-li gathered his graphic account of the desert adventures from the Master's own lips and has reproduced it with faithfulness. We know too much of Hsuan-tsang's pious ardour and naive credulity to mistrust the few references to supernatural incidents ; they obviously reflect genuine subjective illusions such as conditions of intense strain and real peril were most likely to produce in a mind so devout and fervid.

From Hui-li's narrative of the journey we gather the following main facts (cf. Julien, 'Vie de H.,' pp. 23 *sqq.*; Beal, 'Life of H.,' pp. 18 *sqq.*). Forsaken a short distance beyond the Su-lo Ho, by the "young barbarian" who was to have acted as his guide, the pilgrim moved ahead alone, guiding himself by the bones of dead animals and the droppings of horses along the track. Visions of armed hosts moving in the distance caused him alarm. But seeing them disappear on closer approach, he recognized that they were vain images created by the demons. Obviously mirages are meant such as I frequently observed on my first few marches beyond An-hsi. After covering 80 *li* Hsüan-tsang arrived at the first signal-tower. In order to pass it unobserved he hid himself until nightfall. When he tried then to replenish his water-bottle from the water near the tower he was shot at with arrows by the men on guard. On declaring himself a monk come from the capital they took him before the commandant of the post.

This, a native of Tun-huang, Wang-hsiang by name, closely examined him. Having verified his identity with the would-be pilgrim in search of the Law, about whom a report had reached him from Liang-chou, he felt pity and gave him a kindly reception. Having failed to persuade him to return, he directed him in the morning to proceed to the *fourth* tower commanded by a relative of his. On arriving there the *same* night Hsüan-tsang passed through a similar experience. He was stopped by an arrow shot by the guard and then taken before the commandant. On receiving the message of Wang-hsiang the officer gave him hospitable welcome, but warned him not to approach the fifth and last watch-tower, as it was held by men of violent disposition. Instead he was advised to go to a spring, a hundred *li* off, called *Yeh-ma-ch'üan*,[12] "The Spring of the Wild Horses," and to replenish his water supply there.

"A short distance from there he entered the desert called *Mo-ho-yen*, which has a length of 800 *li* and which in ancient times was called *Sha-ho*, or the 'River of Sand.' One sees there neither birds nor quadrupeds, nor water nor pasture." In this desert the pious traveller was troubled again by demonic visions, *i.e.* mirages, from which he protected himself by reading his favourite sacred text, the Prajña-paramita Sutra. After having covered a hundred *li*, he lost his way and failed to find the "Spring of the Wild Horses." To add to his distress he dropped the big water-skin he had been given at the fourth tower and lost its precious contents. "Besides, as the route made long détours, he no longer knew which direction to follow. He then meant to turn back to the east, towards the fourth signal-tower." But after having thus proceeded for 10 *li* he thought of his oath not to take his way again eastwards until he had reached India. "Thereupon fervently praying to Kuan-yin (Avalo-kiteśvara) he directed himself to the north-west. Looking all round he saw only limitless plains without discovering a trace of men or horses." At night he was troubled by lights lit by wicked spirits, and in daytime by terrible sandstorms. "In the midst of these severe trials his heart remained a stranger to fear." But he suffered cruel torments from thirst.

After having thus travelled for four nights and five days without water he lay down exhausted. In the middle of the fifth night after fervent prayers to Avalokiteśvara he left refreshed by a cool breeze, and then found rest in short sleep. A divine vision seen in a dream roused him to a fresh effort. After about 10 *li* his horse, which also had found strength to get on its legs again, suddenly turned into another direction, and after a few more *li* carried him to a patch of green pasture. When he had allowed his horse to graze and was about to move on, he discovered a pool of clear water and realized that he was saved Having halted a day at this spot, he continued his journey with a fresh supply of water and fodder, and after two more days emerged from the desert and arrived at I-wu or Hami.

If we compare this summarized account of Hsüan-tsang's desert crossing with the actual topography of the route from An-hsi to Hami, we cannot fail to recognize their close accord in essential points as well as an obvious lacuna in the text of the 'Life.' This makes the pilgrim proceed in a single march from the first signal-tower to the fourth. But this is clearly in contradiction with the previously quoted passage of the 'Life,' which records the information given to Hsüan-tsang at Kua-chou: "To the north-west beyond this Barrier there are five signal-towers. . . . They are 100 *li* apart, one from the other." We are thus obliged to assume that Hsüan-tsang in reality had to cover four marches from the river before reaching the fourth tower, and that in the narrative presented by the extant text two of these marches have been left unrecorded.

12 *Yeh-ma-ch'üan* is still a frequent designation for desert localities beyond the Kansu border.

Once allowing for this lacuna, which unfortunately has its only too frequent counterparts in the 'Life' and is easily accounted for by the extant condition of its text, we can easily trace the stages and incidents of the desert journey. That the position indicated for the first signal-tower clearly points to the present Pei-tan-tzŭ, the first stage from An-hsi, has been shown above. The 480 *li* reckoned from the Su-lo Ho to the fifth signal-tower are in remarkably exact agreement with 96 miles marching distance recorded by cyclometer on our journey from the river to Hsing-hsing-hsia, the fifth halting-place on the present road. The statement about the dreaded Mo-ho-yen desert extending beyond the fifth signal-tower is in perfect accord with the marked change for the worse which the character of the ground exhibits after we leave Hsing-hsing-hsia. Nor is it difficult to prove that all the matter-of-fact indications which the narrative of Hsüan-tsang's experiences in this desert furnishes, are fully consistent with what the map shows us.

We read there that the traveller, having been advised to avoid the fifth signal-tower, *i.e.* Hsing-hsing-hsia, turned off from the main route at the fourth tower in order to reach the "Spring of the Wild Horses," at a distance of 100 *li*. When he failed to find this and thought of regaining the fourth tower, he is said to have turned back to the east for a short while. This makes it quite clear that the *Yeh-ma-ch'üan* spring to which he had been directed must have lain in a westerly direction. Now a look at the Russian Trans-frontier map shows that the route from Tun-huang to Hami, as surveyed by Captain Roborovsky's expedition, passes at a distance of about 30 miles west of Ma-lien-ching-tzŭ before joining the An-hsi--Hami road at K'u-shui, and that one of its halting-places with water is to be found at about that distance to the west-north-west of Ma-lien-ching-tzŭ. Thus the existence, in the past or present, of a spring approximately in the position indicated for the Yeh-ma-ch'üan which Hsüan-tsang vainly sought for, becomes very probable. That the pilgrim unguided failed to find it is an experience with which I became only too often and painfully familiar myself when we made our way in September 1914 across unexplored portions of the Eastern Pei-shan (cf. *Geographical Journal*. 48, p. 200).

In any case it is certain that if at the present day a wayfarer from An-hsi had reason to avoid observation at Hsing-hsing-hsia he could do no better than leave the main route at Ma-lien-ching-tzŭ and strike to the west-north-west. He would have to cross there a continuation of what appears to be the highest of the decayed hill ranges of the Pei-shan, the one which the main road passes in tortuous gorges just above Hsing-hsing-hsia. On such ground it would obviously be difficult to follow a straight line, and this circumstance may well account for the passage in the narrative telling us that "as the route made long détours he no longer knew which direction to follow." After vainly searching for the "Spring of the Wild Horses," and a brief attempt to regain the fourth tower, we are told that Hsüan-tsang turned resolutely to the north-west and continued his journey undaunted by thirst and the perils of the desert. It was a resolve needing all the religious fervour and courage of the great pilgrim, but it was also the wisest course to follow—for one who knew how to keep up that bearing. And that Hsüan-tsang fully possessed that instinct of the compass, so prevalent among Chinese of whatever condition, is abundantly proved by the topographical records he has left us in his 'Hsi-yü-chi.'

As the map shows, this course to the north-west was bound to carry the traveller across the utterly barren gravel glacis about K'u-shui down to the Yen-tun depression, and beyond this to the south-eastern edge of the loess belt, where subsoil drainage from the Karlik-tagh

supports vegetation. We are told that on his progress across the Mo-ho-yen desert he went without water for four nights and five days, until after the refreshing rest of the fifth night his hardy mount carried him a few miles beyond to pasture and water in a pool. Here we find once again the approximate distance reckoning, as indicated by the record of the 'Life,' as closely concordant with the actual topography as we could reasonably expect ; for we have seen that on the present caravan road five marches are needed to bring the traveller from Ma-lien-ching-tzŭ, *i.e.*, the fourth signal-tower, to Chang-liu-shui, the first place with spring water and verdure on the Hami side, the total marching distance amounting to 106 miles.

There are likely to have been wells then as now on the regular route leading from the fifth watch-station to Hami, in positions corresponding, or near, to Sha-ch'üan-tzŭ, K'u-shui, Yen-tun. But how difficult, if not impossible, it would have been for Hsüan-tsang, once off the caravan track, to find them I know only too well from my own personal experience on similar desert ground. The line he followed obviously lay more or less parallel to the route. Yet this might easily have remained hidden from him even if approached within a few miles.

That it was the scent or local sense of his horse which enabled Hsüan-tsang in the end to reach the saving spring before succumbing to thirst and exhaustion, distinctly strengthen my belief in the authenticity of the record as presented by Hui-li. We have been told in it before how Hsüan-tsang, when preparing for his adventure at Kua-chou, had wisely, by exchange for his own, secured this horse from an "old barbarian" who had ridden it more than fifteen times to Hami and back (see above, p. 18). The remarkable way in which horses and camels in the desert can scent water and grazing for considerable distances, or correctly locate such places remembered from previous visits is too well known to need my personal testimony. But I may well record this as regards the fact that a horse trained to desert travel may in the cold of a Central Asian winter well go on for five days without water. On my crossing of the Taklamakan to the Keriya River end our few ponies could not be watered for fully four days (see 'Desert Cathay,' 2, pp. 391 *sqq.*): yet, judging from their condition when we at last struck the river, they might probably have held out for a couple of days longer. (It is true, they were never ridden on this desert crossing.) It must also be noted that the going on the uniform gravel slopes and plateaus of the Pei-shan is far less tiring to horses and to men, too, than the crossing of dune-covered areas in Taklamakan.

The accuracy of the narrative preserved in the 'Life' asserts itself to the end ; for the two more days which it makes Hsüan-tsang spend *en route* before reaching Hami correspond exactly to the two marches now reckoned from Chang-liu-shui to Hami town, a distance of some 35 miles. Thus we close the story as handed down in the 'Life' with the gratifying assurance that even this initial chapter of the pilgrim's travels, which in view of the grave perils and quasi-miraculous escape it records might most readily have lent itself to exaggeration and fiction, has retained in Hui-li's narration the form in which the Master of the Law himself is likely to have told it.

Hsüan Tsang's Route —— Ruins ■ Great Wall ....

0 100 200 300 Miles

MAP SHOWING THE ROUTE OF HSÜAN-TSANG

FROM J.R.G.S.

C WHITTINGHAM & CRIGGS, COLL.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from* p. 8.)

LI.—AN ACCOUNT OF MAKHDŪM KHVÂJA JAHÂN'S ATTENDANCE ON THE KING, AND OF THE MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER TO ONE OF THE PRINCES.

It has already been mentioned that Ratan Khân, the brother of Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, had complained to the king of his brother's oppression and had taken refuge at court, and that Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, when the king went to punish him, had fled and taken refuge with 'Âdil Shâh, and had then fled to Gujarât. Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, having now obtained a passport and safe conduct by the influence of some of the courtiers, joined the court and made his submission to Burhân Niẓâm Shâh.

The king decided to restore to Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, Parenda, which was his fief, and by way of attaching him to himself, to obtain one of his daughters in marriage for Mîrân Shâh Ḥaidar. Having laid the matter before his *amîrs*, he ordered a pavilion fit for the marriage feast to be constructed in that neighbourhood. When this had been completed, the king occupied it and ordered the astrologers to fix an auspicious day for the wedding, and when this had been done, Mîrân Shâh Ḥaidar and the daughter of Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân were married according to the rites of Islâm and a great feast was held. A robe of honour was bestowed on Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, and the fortress of Parenda was restored to him by an order under the royal seal.

The king passed the rainy season of that year in peace and festivity at Parenda and when the rains were over, re-assembled his army and, having informed Sadâshivarâya of Vijayanagar of his intention, marched against Bîjâpûr.

Sadâshivarâya, who had been continuing his unsuccessful siege of Râichûr, when he heard of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's intention, marched on Bîjâpûr with his army and joined Burhân Niẓâm Shâh before Bîjâpûr.[120]

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, from fear of the army of Aḥmadnagar, shut himself up in the citadel of Bîjâpûr and was besieged there by the armies of Aḥmadnagar and Vijayanagar. The heavy artillery of Aḥmadnagar was brought against the citadel and maintained an incessant fire against its walls. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was in no wise slothful in his defence of the fortress, but displayed great valour and energy, and thus the siege continued. Every morning the fire of the siege guns began afresh and was silenced only at night.

LII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SICKNESS WHICH CAME UPON BURHÂN NIẒÂM SHÂH AND CAUSED HIS RETURN FROM BÎJÂPÛR.

While the siege was in progress, Burhân Niẓâm Shâh fell sick and had to take to his bed. The learned Persian physician Qâsim Beg, who enjoyed great confidence after the king's death, advised him that it was unwise to remain in the field or to continue the siege, and proposed that peace should be made and that the king should return to Aḥmadnagar. As this proposition was supported by the *amîrs* and the officers of the army, the king accepted it, and agreed to return to Aḥmadnagar and to remain there until God restored his health sufficiently to allow of his attacking Bîjâpûr again. He therefore sent a message to Sadâshivarâya informing him of his intention to abandon the siege, and Sadâshivarâya marched from Bîjâpûr for Vijayanagar.

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120 This invasion of the Bîjâpûr kingdom, in 1554, is described by Firishta as Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's last campaign against Bîjâpûr, but according to him Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh did not stand a siege in the citadel of Bîjâpûr, but fled to the fortress of Panhâla.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh then returned to Ahmadnagar, where he was received with much joy by his subjects, who came to pay their respects to him, but although he took his seat on his throne, his weakness increased day by day and he was attacked by a variety of diseases against which the skill of the physicians was of no avail.

LIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARRELS BETWEEN THE PRINCES BEFORE THE DEATH OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH, AND OF THE END OF THAT AFFAIR.

Historians of the Sultans of the Dakan relate that Burhân Nizâm Shâh had six sons,[121] each of whom was worthy of a crown and a throne. (1) Mirân Shâh Husain was the eldest son and was superior to his brothers in wisdom, generosity, and bravery. Most of the *amîrs* and officers of state, but especially Qâsim Beg and the rest of the foreigners, were in favour of his elevation to the throne. Next came (2) 'Abdul Qâdir, on whom Burhân Nizâm Shâh, for the love which he bore to him, had bestowed an *âftâbgîr* and an umbrella, and who had married a daughter of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh. The honour which the king had bestowed on him induced the people to think that he was destined for the throne, and his marriage had strengthened his position. Next came (3) Mirân Shâh 'Alî, who was, through his mother, the grandson of Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh. Next came (4) Mîran Shâh Haidar, whose marriage to the daughter of Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân has been mentioned. Then came (5) Mirân Muhammad Bâqir, who fled and took refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and is yet (A.H. 1,000—A.D. 1591) living. Then came (6) Mîrân Khudâbanda.

Of all these sons the two most worthy of the throne were Mîrân Shâh Husain and Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir, of whom the latter was at first the favourite of the king, who for the love that he bore him, bestowed on him an umbrella and an *âftâbgîr* and thus distinguished him above his brother. Later, however, when Burhân Nizâm Shâh was guided into the way of truth and became a convert to the religion of the twelve Imâms, Mîrân Shâh Husain, who was predestined to happiness in both worlds, and to the kingdom, followed his example, while Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir, led astray by the unworthy Maulânâ Pîr Muhammad, strenuously refused to accept the faith and became disaffected towards his father, and was awaiting an opportunity of rising in rebellion and throwing the kingdom into confusion. The king naturally withdrew his favour from Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir and now inclined wholly to Mîrân Shâh Husain, whom he treated with more honour both in public and in private, though as a matter of precaution, he still gave Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir a place beside himself in darbar and Mîrân Shâh Husain a place behind himself. He determined, at the same time, that Mîrân Shâh Husain should succeed him on the throne.

For this reason the two princes were extremely jealous of each other and there was perpetual enmity between them. The king gave the fort of Daulatâbâd to Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir, Junnâr to Mîrân Shâh Husain, and Pâlî to Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, and established a rule that whenever the royal army assembled for an expedition, the princes should be excused from

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[121] Firishta (ii, 235) gives the following list and description of the sons of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I. (1) Husain, and (2) 'Abdul Qâdir, by the courtesan Amîna; (3) Shâh 'Alî, by Bîbî Mariyam, daughter of Yûsuf 'Âdil Shâh; (4) Shâh Haidar, who married the daughter of Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân the Dakanî; (5) Mirân Muhammad Bâqir, who died in Bîjâpûr; and (6) Prince Sultan Muhammad Khudâbanda, who died in Bengal.

Sayyid 'Ali's account of the strife between the brothers does not differ materially from Firishta's (ii, 235). Firishta says that 'Abdul Qâdir was supported by his other brothers and that the Foreigners and Africans supported Husain, and the Dakanîs and Hindûs, 'Abdul Qâdir. The Dakanîs and the Africans usually followed the same policy. 'Abdul Qâdir took refuge with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh in Berar, where he died.

attending and should go to their forts, in order that they might have no opportunity of quarrelling and fighting.

Now that the king's health was failing and that he was weak. Qâsim Beg and the rest of the officers of state thought it advisable that the princes should go to their forts, as their presence in the capital was likely to lead to disturbances and strife, for, they said, should the king recover, all would be well, but should he die, they would be able, at their leisure, to elect to the throne that prince most fitted for the position and most acceptable to the army and the people. They therefore approached the king and represented that it would be well if the princes were sent to their forts, in order that there might be no fear of open strife between them, until the king should summon them again to the capital. The king accepted their advice and issued orders accordingly.

Mîrân Shâh 'Alî at once obeyed the order and retired to his fort of Pâlî ; but Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir was suspicious of the motives of the *amîrs* and delayed his departure, hoping that he would be able to remain in the capital until Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain had left for Junnâr, and would thus be in a position to make good his claims. Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain divined his intention and said that he would not leave the capital until Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir had, in accordance with custom, first departed for Daulatâbâd.

Qâsim Beg and others of the *amîrs* now secretly advised Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain not to leave the capital until Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir had departed, but to collect his troops and depart as soon as 'Abdul Qâdir had left, as though he were marching to Junnâr, and then to halt without the city and to await events.

When Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir saw that he could no longer delay his departure, he collected a small body of horse and took the road to Daulatâbâd, but halted in the village of Chamâr Tekrî, which was afterwards known as Son Tekrî.

Then Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain left the fort and assembled his army, and ordered the *daroghas* of the elephant stables to draw up the elephants with their standards and banners. He then marched out of the city in royal state and drew up his army in the plain of Kâlâ Chabûtra, which is near the fort. Then the whole army of the Dakan with its officers and Foreigners, drawn up in order, marched out and joined the prince and made obeisance to him. Although most of the Dakanîs had sworn to support Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir, all now joined Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain, and not a man shewed any inclination to join the enemy, so that Ḥusain had possession of all the elephants and artillery.

Although Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir found that the armed strength necessary to enable him to gain the kingdom had passed out of his control, he endeavoured to supply the deficiency by valour, and ordered his troops to advance to the attack. Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain's army advanced against them and defeated them, and Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir was forced to seek refuge in flight. When the sun set, his followers deserted him and took their separate ways, and his elephants, horses, umbrella, and *âftâbgîr*, fell into the hands of Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain. Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir then, with one elephant and a few attendants, made his way with great difficulty, to Berar.

When the enemy was defeated, Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain ordered his troops to refrain from pursuing the fugitives, and by way of precaution, kept his army under arms all that night and did not himself dismount till sunset. In the morning he went to pay his respects to his father, who still lived, but was near death. Qâsim Beg told the king that the long-standing enmity between Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain and Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir had at length culminated in battle and bloodshed, that Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir had been defeated and had fled to Berar,

and that Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain had come to pay his respects. The king, whose breathing was laboured, no longer had the power of speech, but he looked on the face of his eldest son and shed tears.

LIV.—THE DEATH OF BURHÂN NIẒÂM SHÂH.

After Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain had paid his respects to his father, Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's spirit took flight for its abode in Paradise. and the *amîrs*, the officers of state, and the ladies of the haram were plunged into grief. The *amîrs*, having arranged for the washing of the late king's body and for the funeral ceremony, buried him in the *Rauẓah* garden, which is the burial place of the Niẓâm Shâhî family. The body was afterwards exhumed by order of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh and was sent to Karbalâ where it was buried near the shrine of the Imâm Ḥusain. The death of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh I occurred, according to the best known accounts, on Muharram 24, A.H. 961, (Dec. 30, 1553). In that year died three great kings who had not their equals in Hindustan, nay, in the whole world, and a learned man wrot the following verses as a chronogram for their death:

'At one time came the decline of three kings from whose justice Hind was the abode of peace.

The first was Maḥmûd, king of Gujarât, who, like his kingdom, was in the pride of youth.

The second was Islîm Shâh the king of Dihlî, who in Hindûstân was a lord of the fortunate conjunction;

The third was Niẓâm, that Bahrî king, who was seated as king in the Dakan. If you ask me the date of the death of these three kings, I answer, "The decline of the kings."[122]

Burhân Niẓâm Shâh thus reigned over the Dakan for fifty years, and his age at the time of his death was 58 years, for he ascended the throne when he was eight years of age, in A.H. 918 (A.D 1512-13).[123] But God knows the truth. Burhân had, according to all accounts, six sons, as has been already mentioned.

When Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir fled from Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain, he went to Berar in the hope of obtaining assistance from Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, who, in obedience to an order from Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, requested him to leave his country, which he did, and went to Bîjâpûr, where he remained until his death under the protection of 'Âdil Shâh.

Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, who was the grandson of Ismâîl 'Âdil Shâh, was in the fortress of Pâlî at the time of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh's accession, and let himself down from the wall and fled to Bîjâpûr. Here he assumed the umbrella and *âftâbgîr* of royalty and marched to Sholâpûr, but was defeated by Ḥusain's army and returned to Bîjâpûr, as will be described hereafter. Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, like Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir, spent the rest of his life in Bîjâpûr and died there.

Mîrân Muḥammad Bâqir was imprisoned in the fortress of Chândûr in the early part of the reign of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh and remained there until the reign of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm

122 This chronogram is very well-known and is quoted with variations, by several historians. It was composed by Maulânâ Ghulâm 'Alî Ḥaidâr Shâh, father of the historian Firishta. A better reading of the first hemistich of the fourth couplet is, "The third was Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî." The chronogram is زوال خسروان ("the decline of the Kings") giving the date 961. Sayyid 'Alî very carelessly gives it here as فوت خسروان ("the death of the Kings") which gives the impossible date 1403. The two kings besides Burhân were Maḥmûd III of Gujarât and Islâm Shâh, son of Shîr Shâh, of Dihlî. The name of the latter is usually corrupted, by *imâlah*, into Islîm, and sometimes Salîm.

Muḥarram 24, 961, seems to be too early a date for Burhân's death, for according to Firishta (ii. 234) it was not until A. H. 961 that he set out for Bîjâpûr; but perhaps Firishta's date is wrong.

123 See page 38, where Sayyid 'Alî places Ahmad's death and Burhân's accession in A.H. 911 (A.D. 1505-06).

Shâh I. when he was released by the command of that king and went to Bîjâpûr where he still (A.H. 1000=A.D. 1591-92) lives.

Mîrân Shâh Haidar, having been disappointed of assistance from Naṣîr-ul-Mulk and Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, joined his brothers in Bîjâpûr, and there died.

LV.—THE CHARACTER OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH.

Sayyid 'Alî, after praising Burhân Nizâm Shâh for his generosity, his valour, his conversion to the Shi'ah faith, his invariable success in war, and other qualities, enumerates the forts which he captured. [124]. He explains that in the Dakan, *qal'ah* means a fort built on a hill, and *hiṣâr*, a fort built on a plain. The enumeration is as follows:—(1) the hill fort of Rola Chola, (2) the hill fort of Kâchtân, (3) the hill fort of Kâtra, (4) the hill fort of Ânkî, (5) the hill fort of Kondhâna, (6) the hill fort of Purandhar, (7) the hill fort of Rohera, (8) the hill fort of Kherdrug, (9) the hill fort of Alang-Karang, (10) the hill fort of Râmsej, (11) the hill fort of Aundhyâtya, (12) the hill fort of Mârkonda, (13) the hill fort of Kohej, (14) the hill fort of Bola, (15) the hill fort of Hâholi, (16) the hill fort of Trimbak, (17) the hill fort of Anjîr, (18) the hill fort of Bhorap, (19) the hill fort of Karkara, (20) the hill fort of Haris, (21) the hill fort of Jûdhan, (22) the hill fort of Antûr, (23) the hill fort of Gâlna, (24) the hill fort of Chândher, (25) the hill fort of Râjdher, (26) the hill fort of Pâlî, (27) the hill fort of Ratangarh, (28) the hill fort of Dhorap-Wânki, (29) the hill fort of Vanjarâî, (30) the fort of Anhawant, (31) the fort of Salâpûr, (32) the fort of Parenda, (33) the fort of Qandahâr, (34) the fort of Ausa, (35) the fort of Kaliyâni, (36) the fort of Mânikpunj, (37) the fort of Kodeval, (38) the fort of Ketra, (39) the fort of Bodherâ, (40) the fort of Erkâ, (41) the fort of Sitondâ, (42) the fort of Taltam, (43) the fort of Tânker, (44) the fort of Lohogarh, (45) the fort of Moranjan, (46) the fort of Kâwanî, (47) the fort of Berwâri, (48) the fort of Karnâla, (49) the fort of Sâtkasa, (50) the fort of Morkel, (51) the fort of Anwas, (52) the fort of Hâtka, (53) the fort of Tabâkabâ, (54) the fort of Taltam Batyâla, (55) Koldeosher, (56) Râjdeoher, (57) Bhisa Anker, (58) Trimbak Banesa.

Of these forts Antûr and Gâlna, by reason of the rebellion of Bahârjî and Dânya, their commandants, passed out of the possession of Burhân Nizâm Shâh at the time when he marched to assist Sadâshivarâya in the siege of Râichûr, but were recaptured in the reign of Husain Nizâm Shâh, as will be related hereafter.

Burhân Nizâm Shâh built many buildings and laid out many gardens, among them the buildings and gardens of the fort of Ahmadnagar, which were named Baghdâd and were the royal residence. These buildings and gardens were very fine.

There was also the beautiful garden of the old *kârîz* which was completed by Malik Ahmad Tabrîzî. The king also built the almshouse of the twelve Imâms, and other mosques and colleges. [125]

[124] I have not translated Sayyid 'Alî's encomium of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I, which is long and fulsome, nor have I attempted to identify all the forts here enumerated. It is probable that the text is corrupt in some places. Some of the forts have been noticed before. No. 4, Ânkî, is probably Ânkâi situated in 20°9′ N. and 74°28′ E. No. 9 should be Alang-Kulang, twin forts situated in 19°351 N. and 73°40′ E. No. 16, Trimbak, is situated in 19°56′ N. and No. 36, Mânikpunj, in 20°13′ N. and 74°44′ E. No. 48, Karnâla, is perhaps Girnâre, situated in 20°4′ N. and 73°39′ E.

[125] The Baghdâd palace was built on the site of the building in which Burhân had seen the vision of Muhammad and the Imâms. The garden of the old *kâriz*, or underground watercourse, was afterwards known as the *Bâgh-i-Hasht Bihisht*, or "garden of the eight heavens." The almshouse of the twelve Imâms was plundered by a zealous Sunnî officer of the imperial army during the siege of Ahmadnagar by Sultân Murâd and the Khânkhânân.

Burhân Niẓâm Shâh was in the habit of taking counsel with his *amîrs*, ministers and officers of state before entering on any enterprise and in all matters of administration. His most intimate counsellors were Shâh Ṭâhir, Kâmil Khân, Miyân Râja, Partâb Râî, and some others. If any one of these happened to be absent when any matter was discussed, the arguments were, by the king's command, repeated to him by the other counsellors and he was called upon for his opinion. After Shâh Ṭâhir's death I'tibâr Khân was admitted to the king's privy council.

Burhân Niẓâm Shâh was very merciful, and in punishing wrong-doers, never acted hastily or without careful consideration. His forbearance was great, for many times 'Abdul Qâdir, instigated by ill-disposed persons who hated the religion of the twelve Imâms, plotted against his life and sometimes even came to court with the intention of making an attempt on his father's life, but though all this was discovered to the king, he never made any attempt to seize and imprison the conspirators, but ignored them. He used, however, to tell Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain, in whom he had the greatest confidence, of this matter; and when he went to his private apartments to take his ease, Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain always mounted guard there, and whenever 'Abdul Qâdir made any attempt to enter, he was frustrated by his elder brother.

Another of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's characteristics was his exact and methodical apportionment of his time, both for business and amusements. When he had finished his morning prayers, the jesters would appear, and the king would amuse himself for a while with them. Then he would dress, and the *maḥalldârs* [126] would come, and he would continue to amuse himself with jesting until the councillors arrived. After sitting with his councillors, he would mount his horse and ride forth and inspect the elephant stables, the stables, and the workshops, and would approve what was being done well and point out what was being done ill. He would then return and have his morning meal and would amuse himself the while with jesting. After the meal he would transact business of state, and decide cases, inquiring personally into all administrative and revenue matters, and also into all questions of holy law, with the help of the learned men who were present. Religious discussions often took place at court and the king often discussed ably on religious questions, so that the guests at this feast of reason and flow of soul found ample food provided. Learned men and disputants, officers in charge of departments, all assembled. The officers got the orders, which they had ready, past the signet and made their representations regarding them; the learned men held disputations, and musicians and singers of Hindûstân and Khurâsân enlivened both the ear and the wit by their music and songs. The king used to speak on all subjects in such wise that all who heard him were delighted, and he would put aside all ceremony. He would then retire for a short time to rest, and when he awoke, the musicians and singers would again be summoned and he would sit and listen to them and talk with them, and make interpolations in their songs, and jest with them. In the afternoon he would go to his prayers again, and when the lamps were lit, the courtiers, councillors, and officers of state again assembled, and until the fourth hour of the night were engaged in discussing and deciding affairs of state and in relating anecdotes and uttering witticisms. After these had been dismissed, the mimes were sometimes brought in, and the king would engage in discourse with them till ten o'clock. Sometimes again the camp boys would be brought in and set to wrestle with one another and to abuse one another, when they would use expressions which both delighted and astonished the king. At one, or two o'clock, the king would retire to rest, and again, when the sun rose, the same round of duties and pleasures would follow.

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126 *Maḥalldârs* were either officers in charge of quarters of the city or Governors of rural districts, probably, in this case, the former.

The king never departed from this routine, and even in the field, when the officers of the guard had to attend for orders, and when writing had to be done at night in the matter of issuing orders for the drawing up of troops, neither these duties, nor the daily round already mentioned were neglected. The king would ride out and inspect in person the defences, the gun-carriages and waggons and the positions of all the troops in camp, lest intervals should be left unguarded, and would issue orders to remedy defects. Nothing escaped his eye and nobody could venture to be out of his place by a hair's breadth, or to display any lack of vigilance. At all great feasts, on birth-days, and especially on the birthday of the prophet, great banquets were held, at which food and drink of various kinds were served to the whole army. The Sayyids, from the love which the king had to the house of the prophet, were specially honoured, for he poured water over their hands himself. This laudable custom established by Burhân Nizâm Shâh is still (A.H. 1000=A.D. 1591-92) observed by his successors. Every petition presented during the days on which these feasts were held received the king's special attention, and it rarely failed of receiving a favourable reply, no matter from whom it came, and gifts and robes of honour were freely distributed. These customs are still observed by the Nizâm Shâhi dynasty.

(*To be continued.*)

ARYAN MOTHER-RIGHT.

BY PROFESSOR H. J. ROSE.

Introductory Note by the Editor.

[I have much pleasure in bringing the following remarks and the request accompanying them to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* in the hope that some of them may be able to help him in what he wishes to achieve.

Mr. Rose desires to have evidence—ancient and modern—sent him from India to prove or disprove the existence there now, or at any time, of Mother-right among the population usually classed as Aryan (as distinguished from Dravidian, Aboriginal and non-Aryan), *i.e.*, among that part of the population which is allied to the Indo-Germanic races. Mr. Rose, on the present evidence available, does not favour the proposition that it ever existed among this race. The point now is to prove the allegation one way or the other if possible.—R.C.T.]

Since the days of Morgan, McLennan, and Bachofen, much has been written, a good deal of it very loosely, about the system formerly known as matriarchy, but now, by the help of a loan-word from German, better labelled mother-right or mother-kin. This system I need not describe to anyone who knows even the rudiments of Indian sociology. It is that of the Khasis and of the Nairs, to give no other examples. Under it, relationship is traced through the mother as in father-right it is traced through the father. The father is legally no kin to his own children, and therefore in strict terms of this system may be found marrying his own daughter: and the head of the family is usually the mother's brother, or in default of such a one, her nearest male relation on the distaff side. Modifications and corruptions of such an arrangement are common enough, *e.g.*, among the Veddahs of Ceylon, who practise cross-cousin marriage, an easy way of providing the husband with a legal relationship towards his children, if any are born.

I do not propose in this article to attempt a survey of Indian mother-right, which I am quite incompetent to do, but to appeal to those who know India, past and present, to contribute from their knowledge towards the accomplishment of a work of common interest.

Some years ago I was led to examine the statements of one or two writers to the effect that such a system had existed in ancient Greece, not very long before the classical epoch, and in that connection to consider also the claim, which was at that time (1911) generally made, that mother-right was the earlier system which had everywhere preceded father-right. My investigations led me wholly to deny the cogency of the supposed evidence for Greece ; and recently I have come to a similar result in the case of ancient Italy, outside Etruria, which is known to have been matrilinear. My results have appeared in *Folk-Lore* (*On the Alleged Evidence for Mother-Right in Early Greece*, XXII, 277 ; *Mother-Right in Ancient Italy*, XXXI, 92). But the interest of the subject has been made all the clearer by these partial investigations, and I now hope to collect materials and collaborators for a book on the question of Indo-Germanic mother-right in general.

I would not be understood here to beg the question whether there ever was such a thing as an Indo-Germanic people. I freely confess that I do not know, and I am doubtful if any one else does. What we do know however is, that there was an Indo-Germanic language, whoever may have spoken it. Now a language is a very important culture-complex, and is almost sure to attract other complexes to itself. Teach a Gold Coast negro to speak English, and he certainly does not become an Englishman ; but it is more than likely that he will, if he has the opportunity, wear some parody of English dress, try to imitate English customs, perhaps become, or pretend to become, a Christian, and look down upon such "dam' niggers" as have not these marks of civilisation. So with the Indo-Germans ; whether they were one race or twenty, they had a language in common, whose dialects we most of us speak to this day, and therefore it is very likely that they had in common other culture-complexes. Thus for the study of any Indo-Germanic sociological phenomena, whether the people immediately under discussion live in Travancore or Iceland, it is useful to have as full knowledge as possible of the customs and history of their co-linguists, however remote. Hence in particular, if we would determine whether or not Italian, Teuton, Slav, or Greek were ever matrilinear, a knowledge of the full evidence for India is of much use.

But such a book as I hope to see published must needs be the work of specialists. To cover one region adequately is no easy task for one man ; to cover them all, in any but the most superficial way, is out of the question. Therefore I have for some time been looking for collaborators, and have thus far met with considerable success. But in the case of India, the mere collection of material is proving to be a vast affair, and it is for help in this respect that I now appeal.

The material required is of three kinds, as follows :—

(1) Evidence from the ancient Aryan texts, from the earliest to the latest, tending to show

(*a*) Prominence in the family or clan of the maternal uncle, or an especially close tie between him and his sister's children (such as that between Arthur and Kilhwch, in the *Mabinogion*, which gives colour to the theory that the Kelts were once matrilinear).

(*b*) Stories of marriage, or irregular connections, between persons related closely by father-right, but not by mother-right. In all such cases it should be noted how the story is told, *i.e.*, whether great abhorrence is expressed at the incestuous union, or whether there is any tendency to treat it as nothing out of the common.

(c) Traces of inheritance through women, or of women holding property, in early times, in their own right.

(d) Surnames formed from the name of the mother.

(e) Stories in which father and son are strangers or enemies. Here it should be noted whether or not the son is legitimate, also if the estrangement or enmity is viewed with horror or not.

(f) Relationship-names of any kind indicating, on analysis, a system other than the patrilinear.

(2) Evidence from later times, and especially customs existing at the present day, or noted in the earlier books of travel and exploration, tending to show survival of any such phenomena in an Aryan community anywhere in the peninsula.

(3) Evidence tending to show that any such community has at any time been influenced in the direction of mother-right by any of non-Aryan, matrilinear peoples of India. I would point out in this connection that such phenomena as the unions between hypergamous Brahmans and Nair girls prove nothing at all. The men in this case do not want to marry, or to have anything to do with the children of the—to them—irregular union. The women, according to their own ideas, are married and their clan assumes, according to its regular custom, the custody of their children.

It may be that there is no such evidence. If so, that fact is in itself evidence, and welcome as such. It may be that Maine's picture of the undivided Indian family is perfectly correct for the earliest times in which a family existed among the Aryans at all, as in my opinion it is true, *mutatis mutandis*, for Rome, as soon as the *gens* ceased to be, what I think it originally was, an exogamous group with classificatory relationship. In any event, I am only too willing to receive and arrange any evidence that may be sent me, only asking that in the case of bulky or rare works quoted, there be furnished, not references only, but extracts. When the material is gathered, I propose to submit it to the judgment of the Editor of this magazine, to be shaped into an article and finally, I hope, incorporated with the rest into the book I am planning.

THE EARLY COURSE OF THE GANGES.

BY NUNDOLAL DEY, M.A., B.L.; CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from p.* 14.)

The Delta in the second century.

But before we proceed to identify the mouths of the Ganges, as stated by Ptolemy, we must try to form some idea of the Delta or rather the configuration of the head of the Bay of Bengal, as it existed, in the second century of the Christian era. In the fifth century B.C. Tâmralipta (modern Tamluk) was a maritime port; it was then called the port of Surama or Suhma, the modern Râḍha.[55] The two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika who gave honey and other articles of food to Buddha just after he attained Buddhahood, landed at this port. Fa Hian, who visited Tâmralipta in the fifth century A.D., says that it was situated on the sea; Hiuen Tsiang, who visited it two centuries later, also says that it bordered on the sea.[56] It appears from Ravenshaw's *Memorandum*

[55] See my *Notes on the history of the District of Hughli or the Ancient Râḍa* in *JASB.*, 1910, p. 602.

[56] Beal's *Records of Western Countries*, intro., p. cxxi, vol. II, p. 200.

on the Ancient Bed of the River Soane and Site of Palibothra that "during the boring in Fort William with the view of making an Artesian well, a fossil bone was brought up from a depth of 350 feet below Calcutta, which evidently proves that part of the Delta was (geologically speaking) a comparatively modern accumulation of alluvial deposits, and it is not impossible that Calcutta itself may at that period (460 B. C.) have been not far distant from the mouth or one of the mouths of the Ganges."[57] It also appears from the *Mahâvamsa*[58] that the Ganges near Pâṇḍuâ, anciently called Pradyumna-nagara[59] and Morapura which is evidently a corruption of Mârapura,[60] was very close to the ocean in the fourth century B.C. when Pâṇḍu Sâkya, who was Buddha's cousin, founded a settlement at this place. Perhaps this old bed of the Ganges became afterwards the bed of the Sarasvatî (not the same as its namesake of the north-west) when the Ganges receded to the east. According to the commentator Nîlakaṇṭha, Suhma of the *Mahâbhârata* is the Râḍha of modern days, and in that work it has been mentioned as being very close to the sea, and Râḍha comprises among others the district of Hughli.[61] Megasthenes writing in the fourth century B.C., also states that the ocean was very close to the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, which means the people of the country of Râḍha situated on the Ganges. He says, "Now this river (the Ganges) which in its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses a vast force of the large-sized elephants."[62] Agonagara of Ptolemy, which has been identified with the modern Agradvîpa situated to the south of Katwa (Kaṭadvîpa of Arrian), had already come into existence in the second century A.D.,[63] which shows that this portion of Bengal, in the district of Nadia, was in the course of formation, as the name of Agradvîpa (foremost island) indicates. I should here state that Tilagrammon of Ptolemy[64] has been correctly identified by Yule with Jessore, not the headquarters of the present district of that name, but with Pratâpâditya's Jessore in the present district of Khulna which has but its name to the former town. By "Tilagrammon" is not meant the "sesamum-village,"[65] as it has been rendered by McCrindle. The word is evidently a corruption of Tîragrâma, *r* and *l* being interchangeable. It means a "village situated on the sea-shore," which clearly proves that it bordered on the ocean in the second century A.D. Hence it will be observed that Tamluk and Râḍha on the west, and Jessore on the east were very close to the sea in the second century. In the fifth century B.C., the present site of Calcutta, and Pânḍuâ were very close to the sea. Calcutta is now about 80 miles from the sea-board, which shows that the sea has receded only 80 miles in the course of twenty-five centuries. Tamluk, which is about 35 miles to the south-west of Calcutta, was a maritime port in the seventh century A.D. It is now 60 miles from the ocean, which shows that in the course of thirteen centuries, the sea has receded only 60 miles. Though, of course, the process of delta-building is not uniform everywhere, yet there cannot be the slightest doubt that the process is a very slow one. Hence, in the second century A.D., the sea could not have been far distant from either

57 *JASB.*, vol. XIV (1845), p. 152.

58 Turnour's *Mahâvaṃsa*, ch. viii.

59 *Prâyaśchitta-Tattvam*, p. 100.

60 Upham's *Mahâvaṃsa*; *JASB.*, 1910, p. 611—my *Notes on the District of Hughli.*

61 Nîlkaṇṭha's commentary on v. 25, ch. 30, Sabhâ Parva of the *Mahâbhârata*, my *Notes on the District of Hughli* in *JASB.*, 1910, pp. 601, 602.

62 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 33.

63 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, pp. 212, 216

64 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

the present site of Calcutta, or Pâṇḍuâ. In the north, we find the name of Agonagara mentioned by Ptolemy. Had there been any other town of importance in the district of Nadia, he would not have certainly failed to mention it, as he has done with regard to Gaṅgâ, the chief town of Gangaridai. In the absence of any mention of any other town, we are led to infer that in the second century A.D., the delta had extended only to a certain portion to the south of Agonagara in the district of Nadia, and the remaining portion of the district together with the present sea-board had not then come into existence. Hence, we find that Tâmralipta (Tamluk) the present site of Calcutta, Mârapura (Pâṇḍuâ) and Râdha on the west, "Tilagrammon" (Jessore) on the east, and a certain portion of the district of Nadia on the north, were very close to the ocean in the second century of the Christian era. It is very difficult at this distance of time to lay down precisely the nature of the configuration of the head of the Bay of Bengal which wedged in, as it were, in Mid-Bengal, between old formations on the east and west, but the above facts will give some idea, however vague it may be, of the shape of the Bay of Bengal at the time of Ptolemy, into which the Ganges debouched itself in the second century. This portion of the Bay of Bengal has since been filled by salts and sands brought down by the current of the river.

Restoration of "Kambyson."

From the physical features of Bengal in the second century, as described above, it will be clear that to identify the places and mouths of the Ganges as mentioned by Ptolemy with the present positions would certainly be erroneous. We must therefore look for some of the mouths of the Ganges (mentioned by Ptolemy) much higher up, and most probably in the area now occupied by portions of the districts of Nadia, Hughli, 24-Parganas, Jessore, and Khulna, up to which the Bay of Bengal extended at that period. There can be no doubt that the mouth called "*Kambyson*," which was the western-most mouth of the Ganges, is a transcription of "*Kapilâśrama*." Though attempts have been made to explain the word "Kambyson" and identify it with "Nungabuson" near Tamluk, with the Suvarnarekhâ, and also with the Jelasor river, called in Sanskrit Suktimatî, synonymous with Kambu or Kambuj, on the "river of Shells,"[66] yet the arguments do not appear to be convincing. McCrindle says, "It is difficult, however, to identify the mouths, he (Ptolemy) has named, with those now existing, as the Ganges, like the Indus, has shifted some of its channel and otherwise altered the hydrography of the delta."[67] There cannot be the slightest doubt that the whole feature of the delta has changed considerably since the time of the *Mahâbhârata*; but whatever change there was, and at whatever points the Ganges might have entered the ocean, its principal outlet has always retained the ancient name of Kapilâśrama, on account of the sacred character of the spot where the Ganges gave salvation to the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara,—the principal object for which she was brought down from heaven, and which is visited from time immemorial as a place of pilgrimage,—a circumstance which has served to keep alive the name and memory of Kapila Muni's hermitage. Moreover, it would be observed that according to phonetic rules, the word "*Âśrama*" is sometimes changed into "*Ason*" or "*son*", as *Garga-Âśrama* is the modern *Gagâson*, *Bhṛigu-Âśrama* is the modern *Bagrâson*.[68] Now the question is where was this Kapilâśrama or Kambyson mouth situated at the

66 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, pp. 74, 101; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIV, p. 464.

67 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 74

68 See my *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, (2nd ed.) S.V., Bhṛigu-Âśrama and Garga-Âśrama.

time of Ptolemy in the second century A.D.? It is very fortunate that a town by the name of "Polura" has been mentioned as being situated near the Kambyson mouth. The identification of this place would clear up much of the obscurity that is involved in the question.

Poloura.

As stated before, we must seek for Poloura, not near the present mouths of the Ganges, but much higher up, as the whole feature of the delta has changed since the second century A.D., and in order to do this, we must rely upon local traditions as recorded by writers of the 16th century. In the district of Nadia in Bengal, there is a town called Pâhâḍpur, the ancient name of which was Koladvîpa-Parvatapura as recorded by a Vaishṇava poet Narahari Chakravartti in his *Navadvîpa-Parikramâ.* It was briefly called Koladvîpa or Kolâpura[69] or Pâhâḍpur.[70] Kolapura is close to Samudragaḍi,[71] the ancient name of which was Samudragati ("Entrance into the Ocean").[72] Kavikaṅkaṇa also states in his *Chaṇḍî* that Śrîmanta and his father Dhanapati Sadâgar in their voyage to Ceylon arrived at Samudragaḍi after leaving Pâḍpur (Pâhâḍpur).[73] The Navadvîpa-Parikramâ records a

[69] It should be observed that in the *Navadvîpa-Parikramâ* the word "*Dvîpa*" is synonymous with a town (Pura or Nagara) as Antardvîpa is now Atopura (p. 15), Ṛitudvîpa Ratupura (p. 48), Jahnudvîpa Jânnagara (p. 51), Agradvîpa Agonagara (Ptolemy), Rudradvîpa Rudrapura (p. 72). Hence, Koladvîpa is Kulia or Kolapura.

[70] *Navadvipa-Parikramâ*, p. 37 :—

Śrinivâsa prati kahe Srimadhura bhâsha
Kuliyâ-pahâḍapur dekha Śrinivâsa. 23.
Pûrvve koladvîpa parbbatâkhya e prachâra
E nâma haila jaichhe kahi se prakâra. 24.
Parvvata apimâna kola vipre dekhâ dila
Ei hetu koladvîpa-parbbatâkhya hoila. 49.

(Then in a sweet voice (Isâna) said to Śrinivâsa "Oh Srinivâsa ! See Kuliâ-Pâhâḍpur ! its former name was Koladvipa-Parvata, and I will relate to you how it got that name,. . . ." The God Kola appeared before the Brahman like a Parvata (mountain), hence its name became Koladvipa-Parvata).

[71] *Ibid*, p. 40 :—

Aichhe kalâ kahi chale Koladvipa haite
Prabhur vilâsasthâna dekhite dekhite. 1.
Samudragaḍi grâmer nikaṭe giyâ kaya
Dekha Śrinivâsa e Samudra-gaḍi haya. 2.

(Thus saying they proceeded from Koladvipa, looking at the scenes of the early life of the Lord (Gaurâṅga). Coming near the village of Samudragaḍi, he said "See Śrinivâsa ; this is Samudragaḍi.")

[72] *Ibid*, p. 44 :—

Gaṅgâsaha gatite Samudragati nâma
Eve loke kahaye Samudragaḍi grâma.

(The union (of Samudra) with the Ganges has given it the name of Samudragati, which people now call Samudragaḍi village.)

[73] *Kavikaṅkana-Chaṇḍî*, p. 234, (Srepati's journey to Triveṇî) :—

Rajanî prabhâte sâdhu meli sâta nâya
Navadvîpa Pâḍapur edâiyâ yâya
Samudragaḍi Mirjâpur vâhe tvarâ tvarâ
Nâhi mâne sadâgar basanter kharâ.

(The merchant taking his seven boats early in the morning passed Navadvîpa and Pâḍpur (Pâhâḍpur), and quickly plied his boats from Samudragaḍi to Mirzâpur, without heeding the currents of the spring season).

Again, *Ibid*, p. 200 (Dhanapati's journey by boat) —

Pâhâḍapur Samudragaḍi vâhil melân
Mirjâpur ghâte diṅgâ karil châpân.

(The boat after passing Pâhâḍpur and Samudragaḍi arrived at the ghâṭ at Mirzâpur).

tradition [74] to the effect that one day *long before the birth of Chaitanya*, Samudra (the Ocean) said to Gaṅgâ (the Ganges) that she was very fortunate, in as much as she would see the "full-god Gaurachandra" appear at Nadia on her banks, where he would pass the best part of his life, sporting in her waters, as he had done before in the Yamunâ; whereupon Gaṅgâ replied, "I am very unfortunate that Gaurachandra after affording me so much happiness would plunge me into the deepest sorrow by turning a Sannyâsî (ascetic) and going to live on your coast (meaning Purî in Orissa on the sea-shore) and you would be the happiest of beings." Samudra (Ocean) replied that what she said was true, but it would burst his heart to see him turn a Sannyâsî, and therefore he would take her protection. She would show him Gaurachandra and his companions in the heyday of their sportive career on her banks in Nadia. Since then Samudra and Gaṅgâ awaited together with impatience the advent of Gaurachandra at "Samudragati."[75] The story, stripped of its poetical garb and allegory, clearly points out that the Ganges once disembogued itself into the ocean at Samudragaḍi in the district of Nadia near Koladvîpa-Parvata or Kolapura. The name also of Samudragati strongly corroborates the fact, of which we have no historical evidence except the tradition above referred to, that at some former period, the Ganges joined the Ocean at this place, and the mouth by which the former joined the latter must have been its principal or the Kambyson mouth of Ptolemy, on account of its proximity to "Poloura," which is a corruption of Kolapura in the district of Nadia, and the configuration of the head of the Bay of Bengal in the second century A.D. makes the identification highly probable. Ptolemy's "Kambyson" therefore appears to have been Kapilâśrama and his "Poloura" Kolapura. The former is now represented by the Hughli mouth at Kapilâśrama near the Sâgar Island.

Jahnu-Aśrama at Jahânnagar.

This tradition, as well as the names which we have tried to restore, receives some confirmation from the fact that at Jâhânnagar (Brahmânitalâ), which is four miles to the west of Nadia, there is a tradition of the hermitage of Jahnu Muni being situated there.[76] In fact, Jâhânnagar, which is mentioned also as Jânnagara, is a corruption of Jahnu-Dvîpa, as stated in the *Navadvîpa-Parikrama*.[77] It should be borne in mind that Jahnu Muni is said to have swallowed up the Ganges and then let her out through his thigh on the intercession of Bhagîratha. This is merely an allegory for indicating a change in the course of the river. The very fact of a Jahnu existing at Nadia shows that a change in the course of the Ganges must have taken

74 *Navadvîpa-Parikramâ*, p. 40 —

Nija gane Śrîsamudragati nâma kaya
Ethâ Gaṅgâ-samudra-prasaṅga sukhamaya
Gangâśraya kariyâ Samudragati ethâ
Loke ye prasiddha śuna, kahi ye, se kathâ.

(Our people call it (Samudragaḍi) Samudragati: there was a happy union here of the Ganges and the Ocean; I shall relate to you the tradition so well known to the people regarding the union of the Ganges at Samudragati here.)

75 *Ibid*. p. 41 :—

Ohe Śrî-nivâsa Gaṅgâ-sindhu eikhâne
Sadâi adhairya Gaurachandrer dhiyâne.

(Oh Śrînivâsa; here (at Samudragaḍi) Gaṅgâ (the Ganges) and Samudra (the Ocean) always remained impatient in the meditation of Gaurachandra.)

76 *Calcutta Review*, VI (1846), p. 424; Chunder's *Travels of a Hindoo*, vol. I.

77 *Navadvîpa-Parikramâ*, p. 53, v. 27.

place, which had the effect of giving it a term in its present direction with the extension of the Delta to the south at some period subsequent to the second century of the Christian era.

Tilagrammon.

Tilagrammon is stated by Ptolemy to have been situated near the third mouth of the Ganges called Kamberikhon,[78] and in his Map also, he has placed the town near the mouth. Yule places it in his map on the site of Jessore, and McCrindle says, " The name seems to be compounded of the two Sanskrit words "*tila*," "sesamum" and "*grâma*," "a village or township."[79] Yule's identification appears to be correct, for, by Jessore, as stated before, is meant not the head-quarters of the district of that name, but the Jessore of Râjâ Pratâpâditya, situated in the district of Khulna (which formerly appertained to that of Jessore), where some remains of his palace still exist. Ram Camal Sen in the Preface to his *Dictionary in English and Bengalee*[80] states, "when Sarvânanda Mazumdar, the uncle of Râjâ Pratâpâditya, who was the founder of the city of Jessore, fixed his residence there about three hundred years ago (*i.e.*, in the 16th century A.D.), it was a forest on the borders of the sea." Hence it will be observed that "Tilagrâma" does not mean "Sesamum-village" as interpreted by McCrindle, but is a corruption of Tiragrâma, which was evidently overgrown by a wilderness "the last scene in the life of an Indian river." [81]

Restoration of "Kamberakhon."

Wilford identifies the mouth Kamberikhon with the "Jamnâ," called in Bengal "Jabunâ"; he further says, "though the Jamunâ falls into the Kambarekhon mouth, it does, by no means, form it, for it obviously derives its name from Kambadârâ or Kambaraka river, as I observed before.[82] But "Kambarikhon" appears to be a transcription of "Kumbhîrakhâtam" which means the "Crocodile-Channel." Like "Kambyson" or Kapilâsrama, the name of "Kamberikhon" or Kumbhîrakhâtam has also shifted with the extension of the Delta to the south since the second century A.D., and it now attaches itself to the estuary of the Kobadak under the name of Bangara which is a corruption of *Mangara* or Crocodile, in the southern part of the district of Khulna, intersected by rivers and interlaced by cross-channels, swamps and marshes, the original channel of the Ganges having shifted or rather having been lost in the tangled network of swamps and rivers. The name of Kumaria village on the river Kobadak, the river Kumer in the district of Jessore, and several places with the name of Kumbhîra or its corruptions, situated on the present branches of the Ganges in the neighbourhood, lead us to believe that Kamberikhon must be a corruption of Kumbhîrakhâtam, now represented by the Bangara estuary.

Restoration of "Mega."

It is now very difficult to identify the other three mouths of the Ganges mentioned by Ptolemy, as no places have been mentioned near them, as has been done in connection with the Kambyson and Kamberikhon mouths. But with regard to the second mouth called Mega, it may be suggested that it is a corruption of Magrâ, a channel so graphically described by

78 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 72.
79 *Ibid*, p. 75.
80 Published in 1838, p. 8.
81 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. VI, p. 24.
82 *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIV., pp. 464-6.

Kavikaṅkana in his *Chaṇḍî*,[83] as Mega cannot be identified with the Meghnâ estuary, because in the second century, the Ganges had no connection with the Brahmaputrâ. At some remote period there was perhaps a mouth of the Ganges near Magrâ in the district of Hughli, and perhaps with the gradual extension of the Delta towards the south, the name has also gone down along with the shifting course of the channel, and it is at present situated in the district of 24-Parganas, now known by the name of Magrâ-hâṭ near the Rasulpur river which joins the Ocean through the Jâmira estuary. Moreover, the difficulty of identification arises particularly from the fact that the hydrography of the delta has been considerably altered by the shifting of the Channel of the Ganges. The *Kavikaṅkana Chaṇḍî*, which was written by Mukundarâma Chakravartti in Saka 1499, corresponding to 1577 A.D., describes the route of Dhanapati Sadâgar and Śrimanta Sadâgar to Ceylon along the river Hughli from its junction with the river Ajaya. It shows that they did not pass through the Âdi-gaṅgâ or the "Original Ganges," a part of which is called Tolly's Nālā, which joined the sea near the Sâgar Island. Rennell says that the river called the "Old Ganges" received that name whilst the circumstance of the change was fresh in the memory of the people. The silting up of the Âdi-Gaṅgâ took place in the 16th century, as it appears from the route described in the aforesaid *Chaṇḍi*. Instead of proceeding through the Âdi-Gaṅgâ, the two merchants struck to the south-west, and keeping Hijli to the left [84] arrived at the Magrâ Channel where they met with a severe storm. Sir William Hunter also says that the silting of the Adi-Gaṅgâ took place about four hundred years ago.[85] John Surman excavated it originally in 1717; it bore his name for some years, but it was deepened by Colonel William Tolly at his own expense in 1773, 1775 or 1777, and it has since been named after him [86] According to Ptolemy, Tamalites or Tamluk was situated on the Ganges.[87] Ptolemy, however, does not mention on which mouth of the Ganges it was situated. It is now situated on the river Rupnârâyaṇa. It is therefore clear that the mouth of the Ganges on which Tamluk stood has since been thrown back to the east when the southern portion of the Delta was formed, and it is probable that the old bed of the Ganges near Tamluk has now been occupied by the Rupnârâyaṇa which in the old maps of Gostaldi (1561) and Blaeu (1650) was called "Gaṅgâ" and "Guenga" respectively.[88] Hence we may reasonably suppose, from the present situation of Tamluk and the Magrâ estuary, that the town stood in the second century near the mouth called Mega by Ptolemy, now represented by the Jâmira estuary.

"Antibole."

Nothing can be said definitely about the mouth called Antibole. Is it a transcription of Antaḥ-pura, now called Âtopur, a village near the town of Navadvîpa in the district of Nadia, the ancient name of which was Antardvîpa ?[89] I have already stated that *dvîpa* in many instances was changed into *pura*, when the island joined the continent and became fit for habitation

[83] *Kavikaṅkana Chaṇḍi*, p. 202 :—
Dure śuni Magrâr jaler niḥsvan.
Yena âshâḍher nava megher garjjan.
(From a distance was heard the sound of waters of the Magrâ, like the rumbling noise of the new cloud in the month of Âshâḍha.)

[84] See *Calcutta Review*, 1891, p. 394.

[85] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v. *Twenty-four Parganas*.

[86] H. E. A. Cotton's *Calcutta, Old and New*, under "Tolly's Nala."

[87] McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 119.

[88] Mr. O'Malley's *Midnapore*, p. 8.

[89] *Navadvîpa-Parikramâ*, p. 15 :—
Ohe Śrî-nivâsa ei Âtopur sthân
bahu kâlâbadhi lupta haila ei grâma. 1.
pûrve Antardvîp nâma âchhila tâhâr. 2.

I have also shown that in the second century A.D., the head of the Bay of Bengal was most probably situated in the district of Nadia. Perhaps Âtopur or Âtpur is now represented by the Mâtla estuary by the gradual extension of the delta to the south.

To sum up, therefore, the *Kambyson* mouth in the second century A.D., was at or near Samudragaḍi in the district of Nadia. It is now represented by the Hughli mouth at Kapilâ-śrama near the Sâgar Island. The *Kamberikhon* (Kumbhîrakhâtam) mouth of Ptolemy was near Jessore in the district of Jessore. It is now represented by the Bangara estuary in the district of Khulna. The *Mega* mouth of Ptolemy was probably at Magrâ now Magrâ-hâṭ, in the district of 24-Parganas, represented at present by the Jâmira estuary,[90] which receives the Rasulpur river near which Magrâ is situated. The name is evidently derived from Magrâ in the district of Hughli, where perhaps the mouth was once situated. The *Antibole* mouth in the second century was probably near Âtopur in the district of Nadia: Âtopura or Âtpura is now perhaps represented by the Mâtlâ estuary.[91] One peculiarity, it should be noted, is that nearly all the names of the mouths of the Ganges mentioned by Ptolemy have their counterparts in the south, the names having shifted along with the gradual extension of the delta.

Subsidence in Mid-Bengal.

Though there is no historical record or tradition of subsidence in Mid-Bengal, yet the arguments adduced by Major Hirst[92] to prove this fact are worthy of every consideration. Based as they are upon geological evidence, they should be further investigated with a view to account for the changes in the course of the rivers in Bengal. It is very unlikely that there would be stiff old red clay elevations on both sides of Bengal with a gap in the middle, while we know that the ground was a level one so far as this part of Bengal was concerned, affording facility for a uniform and homogeneous formation of the delta from east to west. Hence Major Hirst's theory appears to be very probable, that some natural agency was at work to cause a subsidence which had its effect upon the courses of the rivers, as explained by him.[93] There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that a part of the delta comprising portions of the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Burdwan, Hughli and 24 Parganas in Mid-Bengal were formed subsequent to the main body of the delta on the eastern and western sides, and the configuration of the area which remained unformed was of a triangular shape which has been gradually filled up, the apex, so far as tradition goes, being at Gour, as I have stated before. Within this area, the very names of places by which they are still designated, indicate emergence from the sea, as Kaṭâha-dvîpa or Cauldron-island, modern Katwa ; Agra-dvîpa or Foremost island ; Nava-dvîpa or New-island, modern Nadia ; Chakradaha or the Circling-whirlpool, modern Chakda ; Śushkasāgara or the Dried-up sea, modern Suksagar ;

[90] *Jâmira* seems to be a metathesis and corruption of *Magrâ*. The transposition of letters is not uncommon in the geographical names of India, as Ranod for Narod, Ransi for Narsi (Narasiṃha), Nakhlor for Lakhnor (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 193) : and perhaps *g* of Magra has been softened into *j*.

[91] *Mâtlâ* very likely appears to be an altered form of *Âtopura* or *Âtpura*. The syllable *Mât* of Mâtla is an emphatic form of Ât, as Mulaka is another form of Alaka, and the vestige of *pura* may be traced to *lâ*, as *l* represents *pura* in several words, as Ambala is Amba-pura, being a town founded by an Amba Rajput, "from whom it derives its name" (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. *Ambala City*); Karnal, Karṇapura (*Ibid.*, s.v. *Karnal*); Verawal, Etapura (Cunningham's *Ancient Geogrgphy of India*, p. 319).

[92] Major Hirst's *Report on the Nadia Rivers*, 1915, Chs. IV—VI.

[93] *Ibid*, Chs. IV, V.

Damburadaha or the whirlpool of the shape of Dumbura.[94] Besides these, several *dvîpas* or islands in the district of Nadia are mentioned in the *Navadvîpa-parikramâ*, as Antardvîpa or Âtopura ; Madhya-dvîpa or Majita-grâma, etc. It should be observed that Arrian mentions the name of " Katadupa " or Katwa on the river Amystis or Ajaya, which indicates that Kaṭâhadvîpa was in existence in the second century of the Christian era.[95] Ptolemy also mentions Agradvîpa as Aganagara.[96] Hence, it appears that some of the islands which afterwards joined with the mainland, had already formed before the second century A.D., though it appears that the delta did not extend to the south much beyond Samudragaḍi and Tilagrâma or Jessore. I should also observe that a portion of Bengal, at least Mid-Bengal, was so insalubrious that it was considered by the Muhammadan Emperors of Delhi as a " Dojakh " or hell. Ram Comul Sen says that the Musalman invaders of the west of Hindustan, who afterwards established themselves at Delhi, considered the country (Bengal) to be Dojakh or an infernal region, and whenever any of the Amirs or courtiers were found guilty of capital crimes, but their rank did not permit the supreme punishment, they were banished to Bengal. Of those individuals banished to Bengal, one, named Malik Kasim, had his residence immediately west (*sic* for south) of Hughli, where there is a *hâṭ* or market, still held, which goes by his name. Ahmad Beg was another person of that description ; his estate is still in existence opposite to Bansberiah, and there are a Haut, *ganja* or mart, and a *khâl* or creek, still called after his name.[97] I should here observe that the aforesaid *Hâṭ* of Malik Kasim is in Chinsura, and this shows that Chinsura was once situated in a Muhammadan " Dojakh. " It should be further observed that when Jayâpîḍa, king of Kaśmir, bereft of kingdom, travelled alone and *incognito*, and visited Puṇḍravarddhana (modern Pâṇḍua, called also Firuzabad, six miles north of Malda), the capital of the country of the same name in the eighth century A.D., he killed at the place a lion which had been destroying men and cattle for several days past.[98] This clearly shows that in the neighbourhood of Puṇḍravarddhana, there were jungles, and the town was thinly populated. If that was the condition of the ancient capital of Bengal in the eighth century, the condition of the other parts of the country at some previous period may be easily conceived. This indicates that the lands were still low, humid, swampy and insalubrious, covered perhaps with sands which rendered them unfit for cultivation, and in places overgrown with jungles,—the result of emergence from the sea. In contrast with this, " the people of Manipore, Tripura and Jeyantipore, and other eastern countries called their regions *Svarga* or heaven, especially the people of Tripura, who still style their king *svargadeva* or king of heaven, or the celestial regions."[99] The eastern part of Bengal, therefore, appears to have been much higher than the middle portion.

Parthalis and Gange

In further corroboration of the fact that the delta of Bengal has been formed by gradual elevation out of the sea, I should mention that Suhma was placed very close to the sea.[100] From the *Mahâbhârata* also, it appears that Suhma or Râḍha was close to the sea.[101] Râḍha, as stated before, comprises among others the districts of Burdwan and Hughli. Râḍha is

94 Ram Comul Sen's *Dictionary in English and Bengalee*. Preface.

95 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 187.

96 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 202.

97 R. C. Sen's Dictionary (1834) Preface, p. 9.

98 Kalhana's *Râjataraṅgiṇi* (Dr. Stein's Trans.), vol. I, p. 162.

99 R. C. Sen's *Dictionary* : Preface, p. 9.

100 *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, vs. 34, 35, McCrindle's *Megasthenes*, p. 135 and *Ptolemy*, p. 172.

101 Sabhâ-Parva, ch. 29.

the country of the Gangrides of Megasthenes and Ptolemy, and Gangarides is evidently a corruption of Gaṅgâ-Râḍi. According to Megasthenes, who was an ambassador in the court of Chandragupta in the fourth century B.C., the river Ganges formed the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, and their capital was Parthalis,[102] which is evidently Purvasthali, a very old and large village situated on the Ganges in the district of Burdwan. According to Ptolemy, the capital of the Gangarides was Gange.[103] Mr. Schoff in his translation of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* says that by Gange is meant the port of the Ganges as well as the country.[104] Mr. Schoff appears to have been correct in his statement that the name applied both to the country and to its principal town on the Ganges. But the "country" of Gange was not Bengal as stated by him, but Râḍha (which now indeed forms a part of Bengal under the British rule); for it appears from the Karhad Plate Inscription[105] of Kṛishṇa III and also from the Harihar and Belur Inscriptions[106] that Gâṅga was the name of a country, and in the first mentioned inscription, Gâṅga has been placed between Kaliṅga and Magadha.[107] Perhaps Gâṅga was the country of Gâṅga or Gâṅgya of the *Kaushitakî Upanishad*, the king of which was Chitra, who was also called Gâṅgyâyaṇi or Gâṅgayaṇi.[108] The Gâṅga dynasty ruled over the south of Mysore and Coorg, etc., from the second to the ninth century A.D., and a branch of the family ruling over Orissa in the 12th century conquered Râḍha.[109] As regards the town of Gange, its proper identification depends upon three circumstances : it must be in the country of Râḍha ; it must be on the Ganges ; and it must have been an emporium of commerce as described in Ptolemy's *Geography* and in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Mr. Schoff suggests Tamluk (ancient Tâmralipta) as the "town of Ganges."[110] Tamluk, however, was a maritime port and not a port of the Ganges in the second century A.D. Gange has been variously identified with Sonargaon, Chittagong, Jessore, etc.[111] Mr. Irving says, "The town of Ganges situated at no great distance from Calcutta was a grand emporium for Bengal," but he does not specify any place.[112] Saptagrâma, now called Sâtgâon, situated at a distance of two miles to the north of the town of Hughli, conforms to the three conditions above stated. It was situated on the Ganges at the point from which the Sarasvatî and the Yamunâ branched off towards the south and the east; so that its position was eminently suited for being a trade distributary, and an emporium of commerce. It was in a flourishing condition from the beginning of the Christian era to the 16th century.[113] Triveṇî was the eastern quarter of Saptagrâma.[114] Pliny, who flourished in the first century A.D., mentions it as a great commercial centre.[115] Frederike, who visited Satgaon in 1570, says, "In the port of Satgaon every year, they lade 30 or 35 ships, great and small, with rice, cloth of bombast of divers sort, lacca, great abundance of sugar, pepper, oil, zerzeline and other sorts of merchandise." Kavikaṅkana, the author of the *Chaṇḍî*, spoke of it in glowing terms that merchants

102 McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 32, 135.

103 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 172.

104 Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 47, 255; McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 146.

105 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IV, p. 278.

106 Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 70, 222.

107 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IV, pp. 278—290, v. 10 :—
Dvârasthâṅga-vaṅga-kaliṅga-gâṅga-mâgadhai-vârchchitâttaśchiram, etc.

108 *Kaushîtaki Upanishad*, I, 1.

109 *JASB.*, 1895, p. 139 note; 1896, p. 241.

110 Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 255.

111 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, pp. 174, 175.

112 Irving's *Commerce of India*, p. 84.

113 *JASB.*, 1910, pp. 613-615.—My *Notes on the History of the District of Hughli or the Ancient Râḍa.*

114 *Kavikaṅkana-Chaṇḍi*, pp. 228, 229

115 Pliny's *Natural History*, Bk. VI, ch. 19, translated by Philamon Holland (1601).

from all parts of India and Ceylon used to come there with their merchandise. It was a royal city where the kings of the country resided.[116] Gange of Ptolemy and Pliny was evidently Saptagrâma, the capital of Râḍha, situated on the Ganges and an emporium of commerce. Saptagrâma was known to the Romans by the name *Gange Regia*.[118] Its ancient name appears to have been Gâṅga, and the country was perhaps called Gâṅga from the name of the capital, as from Champâ, the country of Aṅga was called Champâ (Chenpo), and from Mathura.[119] Gange has been described in the *Periplus* as a seat of commerce. It says, " on its bank (*i.e.* the bank of the Ganges) is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges. Through this place are brought Malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic."[120] The word Gâṅga of the *Kaushîtakî Upanishad* is also derived from Gaṅgâ (the Ganges) from its situation on that river. According to Ptolemy, Gange was "the Royal residence, " and it was not far from the mouth of the Ganges.[121] There can be no reasonable doubt therefore that Saptagrâma or modern Sâtgâon near Hughli was the Gange of Ptolemy, and it was the capital of the Gangaridæ or Gaṅgâ-Râḍhi. Gaṅga-Râḍhi may mean either that Râḍha was situated, as it now is, on the western side of Gaṅgâ or the Ganges, or that it is a combination of names of both the capital called Gâṅga (Gange of Ptolemy) and the country called Râḍha. At any rate, we come to know that in the second century of the Christian era, Saptagrâma was known by the name of Gâṅga. During the Paurânic period, it was known only by the name of Triveṇî which was and still is a quarter of Saptagrâma situated on the Ganges.[122] Perhaps the name of Saptagrâma (the Seven Villages) was too secular for the religious Hindus, and Triveṇî (the three plaits or rivers) was associated with the three most sacred rivers of India: Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ and Sarasvatî.

It is therefore clear that Parthalis of the fourth century B.C., was not the capital of Râḍha in the second century A.D. In the course of five or six centuries, there was evidently an extension of the delta of the south, and Saptagrâma rose into importance from its vicinity to the sea and the convenience it afforded to commerce by allowing easy access to it as a port through the channel of the Sarasvatî. The capital was consequently removed from Parthalis to Saptagrâma. It should only be observed that at this distance of time, it is difficult to determine precisely the points from which the channels branched off the Ganges, and it would be erroneous to form a conception of the mouths of the Ganges of the second century A.D. from the present distribution of the channels in the delta, as it has been done by many writers who have attempted to identify them on the assumption that the deltaic channels and estuaries of the Ganges in the 19th or 20th century were identical with those of the second century. From the aforesaid facts, it would appear that Mid-Bengal was gradually elevated, but whether or not the subsidence took place after the complete formation of the delta is entirely a geographical question.

(*To be continued.*)

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116 *JASB.*, 1910, p. 615; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. V; *Calcutta Review*, vol. XXI, p. 278.

118 *Asiatic Researches*, vol. V, p. 278.

119 Beal's *Records of Western Countries*, vol. I, pp. 37, 71; vol. II, pp. 74, 191.

120 Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 47; see also McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 146.

121 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 172.

122 *Bṛihad-dharmma Purâṇa*, I, ch. 6; II, ch. 22; *Kavikaṅkana Chaṇḍî*, pp. 228, 229; see also Brindâvana Dâsa's *Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*, anta-khaṇḍa (*Nityânanda's stay at Saptagrâma*).

THE NAKSHATRAS AND PRECESSION.*

BY G. R. KAYE, F.R.A.S.; SIMLA.

1. Mr. S. B. DIKSHIT was not the first to formulate a connexion between the nakshatras and precession, but he did so in a very interesting and forcible manner. He used as his text the following passage from the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*:

> "The other nakshatras (consist of) one, two, three or four, so that the Kṛittikâs are the most numerous . . . . . And again, *they do not move away from the eastern quarter*, while the other nakshatras do move from the eastern quarter."[1]

Dikshit's argument was as follows:[2] The nakshatra Kṛittikâ he equated with the Pleiades, and he calculated that the *Pleiades* were on the equator at about 3000 B.C., and concluded that the age of the Brâhmaṇa, or rather that portion of it in which the passage occurs, was about 3000 B.C.

His calculation may be accepted, but the point in his argument to which I wish to draw attention is the identification of Kṛittikâ with the Pleiades (*a*) for the period of the text, and also (*b*) for the particular purpose of the text.

2. From the astronomical point of view the problem is one of precession. We term the plane in which the apparent motion of the sun takes place the plane of the ecliptic; and the apparent daily path of any star is in a plane parallel to the plane of the equator. At two moments in the apparent path of the sun it is also in the plane of the equator and these moments are termed the equinoxes. The positions of the line of equinoxes is not fixed, but changes with reference to the stars at the rate of about one degree in 70 years, or one nakshatra in somewhat less than a thousand years (about 933 years), or one sign in about 2200 years. At about 2300 B.C. the vernal equinox was roughly marked by the Pleiades; at A.D. 560 by 3 Piscium, the yogatârâ of Revati; and now it may be said roughly to be marked by γ Pegasi which is identified with the yogatârâ of Uttara Bhâdrapadâ.

The motion in precession is so slow that it requires fairly accurate observations covering a considerable length of time to notice it. Dikshit did not, however, claim for the authors of the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* the discovery of precession, but simply that they had recorded a fairly accurate observation, namely that Kṛittikâ was then on the equator.

3. The question What were the nakshatras originally? has never been satisfactorily answered. Indeed it may be said that no satisfactory attempt to answer the question has yet been made. The issue has been masked by the lengthy and learned discussions as to the relationship between the Arabic manâzil, the Chinese Sieu, and the Hindu nakshatras.[3] With this discussion we have no concern at present. It has led to no satisfactory conclusion and entailed a good deal of controversy, rather unnecessarily flavoured with acrimony.

The generally accepted theory is that the nakshatras were 27 or 28 constellations that roughly mapped out the ecliptic. The *two* ideas here embodied are almost irreconcilable, for the constellations selected often cannot be connected with the ecliptic without a great strain on the imagination. Also the identifications that have been accepted are based upon comparatively modern texts and ideas. They are sometimes vague and hardly explainable.

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* Read before the First Oriental Conference held at Poona.

[1] Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II, 1, 2 2.4. The Bodhāyana Srauta Sūtra also records that 'the Kṛittikās do not move from the east.'

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, xxiv, 1895, p. 245.

[3] SIR W. JONES *Works*, IV, 71 f.; H. T. COLEBROOKE *Essays*, ii, 321; A. WEBER *Ind. Stud*, X, 213, &c.; W. D. WHITNEY *Oriental Studies*, ii, 341, &c.; BIOT *Sur l'ancienne astronomie chinoise*; &c.

There is nothing definite in Vedic literature regarding the positions of the nakshatras,[4] and the accepted identifications cannot be traced back earlier than about the fifth century A.D. Indeed the earliest known complete list of positions is possibly much later than this. To utilise an identification of about A.D. 450 for a period over 3000 years earlier requires justification, and so far that justification is not forthcoming.

The connexion between the nakshatras and the ecliptic has generally been looked upon as a sort of corollary of the constellation idea. A diagram, showing the relative positions of the selected constellations and the ecliptic, demonstrates, one might say, as much disconnexion as connexion.

4. It is often the case that two independent notions, in the course of time become amalgamated, and here it is quite conceivable that (*i*) the nakshatras as connected with certain constellations and (*ii*) the nakshatras as connected with the ecliptic have independent origins. In early Hindu works the former notion is extremely vague, but there is little doubt that the term nakshatra often indicates a star or constellation. In the *Jyotisha Vedâṅga*, however, a nakshatra simply indicates one twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic and has no connexion with any constellation. This is the orthodox astronomical teaching, from which we are led to believe that the normal astronomical use of the list of nakshatras was that of a scale of the ecliptic like the western astronomical use of the signs of the zodiac. The first point of Kṛittikâ would thus always denote the vernal equinox and would in no way be affected by precession.

5. Such considerations lead us to a conception of the nakshatras as an ecliptic scale; but there is also other evidence of a special nature. (1) We have already quoted the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* and the *Bodhâyana Srauta Sûtra* to the effect that the nakshatra Kṛittikâ does not move from the east, and this completely agrees with the notion of the nakshatras as an ecliptic scale. (2) There is an equally significant statement in the *Sûryaprajñapti* where we are told explicitly that *the stars move faster than the nakshatras*.[5] This Thibaut dismissed as incomprehensible, but it is a sufficiently reasonable statement of the phenomenon of precession, and can only mean that the nakshatra scale, which marked the equinoxes, gradually shifted with reference to the fixed stars. (3) One of the best-known astronomical statements in Hindu literature occurs in many of the Purâṇas and tells us that the constellation of the Seven Ṛishis (? Ursa Major) revolves through the nakshatras. This statement was rather ridiculed by Whitney[6] but there is little doubt that it is connected with precession; and, at least, it definitely indicates that the nakshatras and constellations were considered as very different matters; and it is explainable only on the hypothesis that the nakshatras formed a scale that gradually shifted with reference to the constellation of the Seven Ṛishis. (4) We have already pointed out that the Vedâṅga conception of the nakshatras was a scale divided into 27 equal parts, and this conception with slight modifications has persisted until the present time;[7] but (5) from about A.D. 450 this nakshatra scale was largely replaced by the scale of signs of the zodiac; and these signs of the zodiac were not used in India for ecliptic scale divisions only, but for the divisions of *any* circle—thus further divorcing the signs and the constellations.

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4 *Vedic Index*, i, 415. 5 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 185. 6 *JAOS.*, 1858, p. 364.

7 The *Sūryaprajñapti* division into 28 parts is based upon the sidereal month of $27\frac{21}{67}$ days. It gives 13° 11′ to each of 15 nakshatras, 6° $35\frac{1}{2}$′ to each of six, 19° $46\frac{1}{2}$′ to each of six others, while to *Abhijit* it gives the remainder or 4° 13′.

6. For details regarding the names and positions of the nakshatras as established in comparatively modern times I must refer you to Colebrooke's and Whitney's works and to the *Vedic Index*. We may, however, briefly mention one or two points in connexion with these investigations. (*a*) Most of the names of the nakshatras not only cannot be connected with stars but in some cases are distinctly discordant with the equated constellations. Six of them, however, are fairly appropriate and these six are Rohiṇî, Âśleshâ, Hasta, Chitrâ, Aśvinî, Kṛittikâ. Of these Rohiṇî means 'reddish' and is particularly applicable to Aldebaran; but it is disconcerting to find that in some lists it is applied to Jyeshtha (? Antares) also. Âśleshâ means embracer and appears appropriate when applied to ϵ, δ, θ, η, ρ, Hydrae. Hasta, 'hand,' is applied to five stars in Corvus; but on a Hindu astrolabe of the end of the seventeenth century I find Hasta applied to a star in Orion. Chitrâ 'bright' might be appropriately applied to any of the first magnitude stars, and is generally suitable for Spica, to which it is usually equated. The Aśvins have been often connected with the Dioscuri, and with the morning and evening star, by several writers of note; but as a nakshatra Aśvinî is equated with β and γ Arietis, which strains the imagination almost to the limit. The identification of Kṛittikâ with the Pleiades is extremely curious. According to the editors of the *Vedic Index* it seems to depend on a passage in the *Yajur Veda* which mentions *abhrayantî* 'forming clouds,' *meghayantî* 'making cloudy', *varshayantî* 'causing rain,' as constituents of the nakshatra.[8] The rain-forming Pleiades naturally come into view, but in the *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*[9] we are told that Garga and others do not support this idea. (*b*) Many of the lists of the nakshatras, it will be noticed, contain only twenty-four different names, there being three pairs of double nakshatras, *viz.*, Phalgunî, Ashâḍhâ, and Bhâdrapadâ. The number 24 is very suggestive, but at present we need not pursue the suggestion. (*c*) Twelve of the names are also utilised as the names of the months. The traditional explanation of this nomenclature is as follows: The full moon which occurred when the moon was in conjunction with Chitrâ was termed Chaitri, and the lunar month which contained the Chaitri full moon was named Chaitra. But, since full moon is likely to occur at all points of the ecliptic, this explanation is not satisfactory, *unless* it indicates either an original division of the ecliptic into twelve divisions, or an attempt to equate the nakshatras and the signs of the zodiac.

7. The *Ṛig Veda* gives no list of the nakshatras, but it mentions three probable asterisms—Tishya,[10] Aghâs and Arjunî,[11] and it has been suggested that there is a reference to the 27 nakshatras in book I.[12] Complete lists are given in the *Atharva Veda*,[13] *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ*,[14] *Kâṭhaka Saṁhitâ*,[15] *Maitrâyaṇî Saṁhitâ*,[16] *Śathpatha Brâhmaṇa*,[17] etc. The lists agree generally, but the number of nakshatras is variously given as 27 and 28. The *Atharva Veda* and *Maitrâyaṇi Saṁhitâ* lists have 28 while the *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ* and *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* give 27; and of the more modern texts the *Jyotisha Vedânga* and the *Sûrya Siddhânta* imply 27, while the *Sûryaprajñapti*, the *Brâhmasphuṭa Siddhânta*, and the *Sûrya Sùddhânta* (in another place) give or imply 28. Abhijit is the extra nakshatra and there is a legend that it dropped out, although the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa*[18] marks it as a new-comer. The

8. *Vedic Index*, i, 415; but the curious point is that the identification is made to depend upon the elements of a Greek myth. the fact that Hindu works provide no independent identification is thus emphasized. Note that I do not question the identification of Kṛittikâ with the Pleiades so much as the somewhat loose argumentation employed.

9 xxi, 5.

10 V, 54 13; X, 64 8.

11 X, 85 3.

12 I, 162 18

13 A.V., xix, 7.

14 T.S. IV, 4, 10 1-3

15 K S. xxxix 13.

16 M S. ii, 13 20.

17 Ś.B., x, 5, 4.

18 T.S., i, 5, 23.

numbers 27 and 28 suggest a connexion with the sidereal month, but in the early texts the only month referred to is one of 30 days. The term nakshatra has often been translated by the term 'lunar mansion' and the *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ*,[19] *Kâṭhaka Saṁhitâ*[20] and the *Mahâbhârata*[21] state that the nakshatras were wedded to Soma, but the term itself does not suggest the connexion. No satisfactory explanation of the different numbers has been achieved: Weber thought 27 was the older number, but the authors of the *Vedic Index* suggest that Abhijit was omitted, and that $27 = 3 \times 3 \times 3$ appealed more strongly as being of a more mystical nature. Finally we must note that the earlier lists are astrological or religious in character rather than astronomical.

8. The early lists all begin with Kṛittikâ, but the *Mahâbhârata* puts Śravaṇa first, the *Jyotisha Vedâṅga* begins with Śravishṭhâ, the *Sûryaprajñapti* with Abhijit, the *Sûrya Siddhânta* with Aśvinî. But here Aśvinî is definitely equated with the vernal equinox, while Abhijit, Śravaṇa and Śravishṭhâ, which are contiguous, are equated with the winter solstice; and the interval between Aśvinî and any one of the other three is 90 degrees, if we measure according to the equal division scale of the *Jyotisha Vedâṅga* or the unequal *Suryaprajñapti* scale as we please. The change of importance is therefore from Kṛittikâ to Aśvini, an interval of from about 13½ to a possible 40 degrees. Was this change due to precession? The question has been discussed *ad nauseam* and I shall only briefly give the latest conclusions. According to Tilak,[22] it was stated by Garga that Kṛittikâ was first for purposes of ritual, while for the purpose of the calendar Śravishṭhâ was put first; and Fleet, in one of his latest articles, wrote:[23] "I hope to revert to this matter in a paper in which I shall show that the Kṛittikâdi list has no basis in the fact that the sun once came to the vernal equinox in Kṛittikâ, but belongs entirely to ritual and astrology."

9. I have put the difficulties of the case before you by way of caution. One would like to come to some simple and definite conclusion like Dikshit's, but that seems hardly possible. My conclusions, except on one point, are rather disappointingly vague and are consequently not quite easy to formulate. Let me recapitulate the premises:

(*a*) In very early works we have orderly lists of the nakshatras that are of a ritualistic nature rather than astronomical. These lists all begin with Kṛittikâ.

(*b*) In these early works the nakshatras are rather vaguely connected with the heavens.

(*c*) In the *Śatapatha Brâhamaṇa* and the *Bodhâyana Srauta Sûtra* we have Kṛittikâ definitely connected with the equator.

(*d*) In the *Jyotisha Vedâṅga* the nakshatras form a scale of the ecliptic and have no particular connexion with any constellations.

(*e*) There are a few early star myths, *e.g.* regarding the Seven Ṛishis, Rohiṇî, Kṛittikâ; but the identifications are somewhat vague.

(*f*) In comparatively modern times the nakshatras were definitely equated with certain constellations.

(*g*) The *Purânas* and the *Sûryaprajñapti* speak of the constellations revolving with reference to the nakshatras.

(*h*) Certain later lists of nakshatras begin with Aśvinî.

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19 *T.S.*, ii, 3, 5. 20 *K.S.*, xi, 3. 21 *Mbh* ix, 3545.

22 *Orion*, p. 30. 23 *JRAS*, 1916, p. 570.

In these rather inconsistent premises I see indications of a somewhat mixed genealogy of the nakshatras. Perhaps I am slightly biassed by the consideration of the fact that researches into early origins generally teach us that a pure genealogy for any notion or set of notions that have prevailed in some form or other for centuries is an almost unknown rarity. It is indisputable that the nakshatras have had connexions with ritual, with constellations, and with the ecliptic—more or less independently; but we must be very cautious how we utilise any combinations of these connexions when we aim at establishing definite conclusions.

The one point that is definite has been ignored in the lengthy controversies that have taken place regarding the nakshatras. It relates to the evidence that shows unmistakably that it was known that the constellations revolve with reference to the nakshatras. This I take to indicate a knowledge of precession, a knowledge that has sometimes been denied, so far as the early Hindu teachers are concerned; and I suggest for your consideration that if the nakshatra scheme were conceived as an ecliptic scale, analogous to the zodiac scale as used by western astronomers, a number of the controversial passages would be cleared up. This is a suggestion only, to which I am by no means wedded, but it is a hypothesis that ought to be considered when dealing with the vexed questions that have arisen in connexion with the nakshatras and Vedic chronology.

SOME NEWLY DISCOVERED TULUNIDE ORNAMENT.

BY CAPTAIN K. A. C. CRESWELL, R.A.F.[1]

THE well-known mosque of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭûlûn, one of the most beautiful in Cairo, possesses the additional advantage of being the oldest Muḥammadan monument of certain date in Egypt. I exclude the mosque of 'Amr, as it has been repeatedly rebuilt, and only attained its present size in 212 H. (827). I also exclude the aqueduct of Ibn Ṭûlûn, as it is not exactly dated. It therefore follows that the ornament of this mosque possesses a pre-eminent importance in the history of Muḥammadan art. Its beautiful ornament, executed in the hardest stucco, is well known to students, and illustrations of the capitals of the engaged columns at the angles of the piers, and of the bands of ornament which decorate the arches and windows, are to be found in many books.[2] The Aqueduct of Basâtîn, the only other existing Ṭûlûnide monument, does not bear any surface decoration, so the sum total of Ṭûlûnide ornament is to be found in this mosque, with the exception of a few small fragments which are occasionally brought to light in the rubbish mounds of Fusṭâṭ[3] and there was little reason for believing that any substantial addition would ever be made to it. I will now describe how and where the discovery was made.

The Mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn consists of an open courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) surrounded by arcades (*riwâq*) five rows deep on the side of the sanctuary and two rows deep on the three other sides [FIG. I]. The whole forms an almost exact square, which is itself bounded on three sides by a *ziâda* or extension. These three *ziâdas* are themselves enclosed by the outer

[1] Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, November, 1919.

[2] See P. Coste, *L'Architecture arabe, ou Monuments du Caire*, Plates IV and VI; Prisse d'Avesnes, *L'Art arabe*, tome I, Plates I-III; Ebers (C)., *Egypt*: Corbet (E. K.), *The Life and Works of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn* in the *JRAS.*, 1891; Franz Pasha, *Kairo*, pp. 13 and 15; Gayet, *Le Caire*, pp. 43-45; etc.

[3] See Herz Bey, *Catalogue raisonné du musée du Caire*; Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo*, p. 80.

boundary wall of the mosque. The best and fullest description of this mosque is that given by Corbet, so I will refer readers desirous of further information to his memoir already cited.

This mosque in the past has only received moderate attention from the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe.* Recently, however, its great importance has been realised; S. E. Zîwar Pasha, the Minister of Waqfs (Endowments), during his short period of office, showed the keenest possible interest in Muḥammadan architecture, and gave practical effect to it by allotting a sum of no less than £E4,000 for the complete overhaul, paving and cleaning of this building.

One of the first steps taken was to remove the layers of inferior plaster with which the piers and the soffits of the arches had been covered at various periods. I say various periods, because in some places there were three, four, and even five layers of coarse plaster, each as much as three-eighths of an inch thick. These layers had already buckled and fallen away in patches in many places. They were easily removed by striking them sharply with a small hammer.

It was in applying this process last May to the soffits of the arches next the *ṣaḥn* that the wonderful ornament shown in the accompanying plates was revealed. This ornament is executed in stucco of great hardness, quite different from the shoddy plaster by which it had been hidden with almost incredible vandalism. The *ṣaḥn* is bounded by thirteen arches on each side, as shown in the plan [FIG. 1], but the whole outer row on the east side has fallen. A part of the outer row on the west side has also perished owing to the vandalism of Clot Bey, who, about 1846, turned part of this mosque into a poor-house. The ornament shown in the plates occurs on the soffits of the arches of the south side of the *ṣaḥn*. Ten arches still preserve their ornament, while three—Nos. 1, 2 and 13—are completely bare No trace whatever of ornament is to be found on the soffits of *any* of the interior arches except those which continue the eastern arcade of the boundary wall, *viz.*, at 14 [see FIG. 1 and PLATE] and 15. I therefore assume that this was the case with the arches of the west side also, although they are bare at present. A trace or two here and there is to be found on the arches of the north side, but these traces are too small to show the pattern.

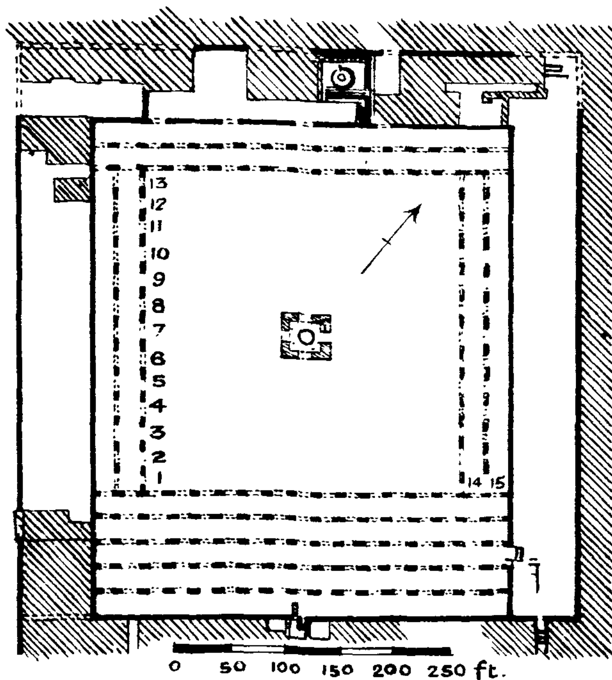


FIG 1.

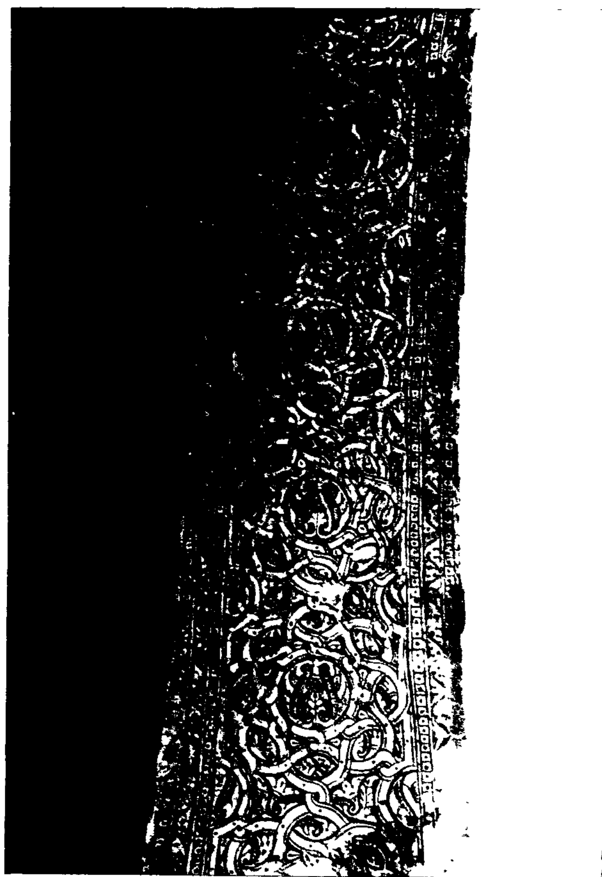
I am aware that a study of the plates of Coste and Prisse d'Avesnes would lead one to suppose that the soffits of every arch in the mosque were covered with similar ornament. Coste, whose work was published in 1837-9, shows the soffit of every arch as so decorated, but each with the same pattern, which we can even now see was not the case. In Plate VI he is guilty of a grave inaccuracy, *viz.*, he makes the south outer arcade run through the sanctuary to the *qibla* wall, although it is the outer arcade of the sanctuary which runs through to the south wall of the mosque [see my FIG. I]. It is therefore obvious that his Plate VI has been produced afterwards from notes and sketches, instead of being drawn on the spot, and consequently cannot be taken as safe historical evidence. I must own that I feel equally sceptical towards Prisse d'Avesnes' plates, and do not take his Plate I (by Girault de Prangey), which shows ornament on the soffit of an arch of the inner arcade of the sanctuary, next the *miḥrâb*, as weighty evidence either, as I have a strong suspicion that he has transposed it in the same way from a page in his sketch book.

The first recorded restoration of this mosque took place in 696 H. (1296—1297) by 'Alam ad-Dîn Sangar, under the orders of Lâgîn, but the stucco ornament of the end of the 13th century, of which many examples have come down to us,[4] is utterly different from anything we have here. The same remark applies to Fâṭimide ornament (967—1171 A.D.) and this, together with the fact that although there is a feeling for strict geometrical ornament, the familiar interlacing star pattern[5] has not yet been evolved, leads me to ascribe it without hesitation to the original foundation.

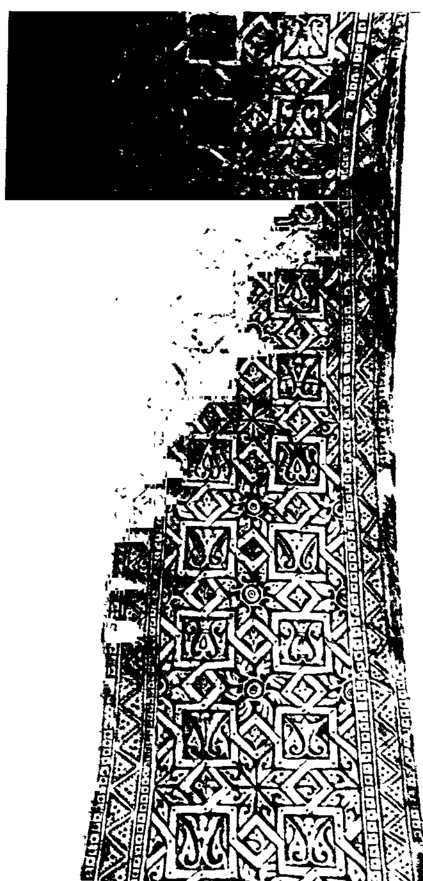
We will now turn to the history of the mosque and its founder, with a view to finding a possible clue to the source of this ornament. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭûlûn was a Turk, whose home was Sâmarrâ, at that time capital of the Khalifate. He was sent to Egypt in 254 H. (868) as Deputy, by the Emîr Bâkbâk, who had been appointed Governor of Egypt by the Khalif al-Mu'tazz. This being so, one would almost expect to find Mesopotamian influence in his mosque, more especially as Maqrîzî (II, p. 266) quotes al-Qodâ'i (d. 454 H. = 1062 A.D.) to the effect that Ibn Ṭûlûn built his mosque "on the plan of the mosque at Sâmarrâ, and likewise the minaret." Ibn Duqmâq, who died 1406 A.D., says the same thing about the mosque, but without an express reference to the minaret (IV, p. 123). The minaret at Sâmarrâ referred to is, of course, that built by Mutawakkil (847—861 A.D.), which still exists and is known as the Malwiya Tower. Although the minaret of Ibn Ṭûlûn is now of circular section above and of square section below, it would appear certain that it once resembled the minaret of Sâmarrâ more closely than it does at present, since Maqrîzî (II, p 267), Ibn Duqmâq (IV, p. 124) and Abû'l Maḥâsin (II, pp. 8 and 9) repeat a little fable to the effect that Ibn Ṭûlûn, toying one day with a piece of paper and rolling it round his finger, produced a spiral, and then ordered his architect to take it as a model for his minaret. At Sâmarrâ the same fable is told of the Malwîya Tower, but, whereas it provides an exact description of that minaret, it does not accurately fit the minaret of Ibn Ṭûlûn in its

[4] *E.g.*, Muristân, Madrassa, and Mausoleum of Qalâûn, Zâwiyat al Abbâr, Madrassa and Mausoleum of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashrâf Khalil, Mausoleum of Ḥosâm ad-Dîn Tarantây al-Manṣûry, Mausoleum of Aḥmad Ibn Suleymân ar-Rifâ'i. Madrassa of al-Malik an-Nâsir Muḥammad, Madrassa and Mausoleum of Zeyn ad-Dîn Yûsuf, and the Madrassa of the Emîrs Salâr and Sangar al-Gâwly See my *Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to* 1517 A.D., in the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire*, 1919, pp. 81—85.

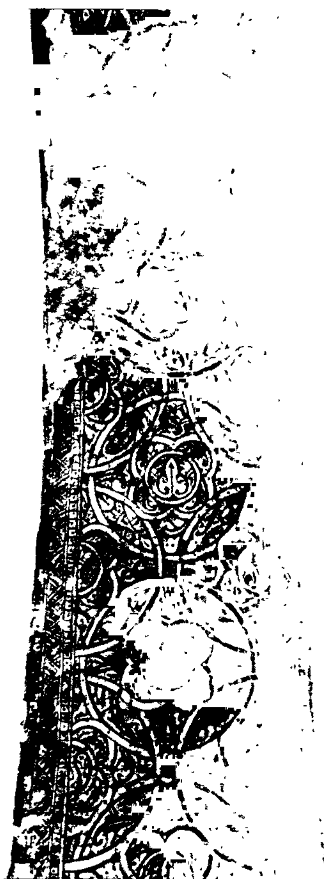
[5] The earliest known example occurs on the window of the north minaret of the Mosque of al-Ḥâkim (690—1012 A.D.). See Flury (S), *Das Ornamente der Azhar und Hakim-Moschee.*



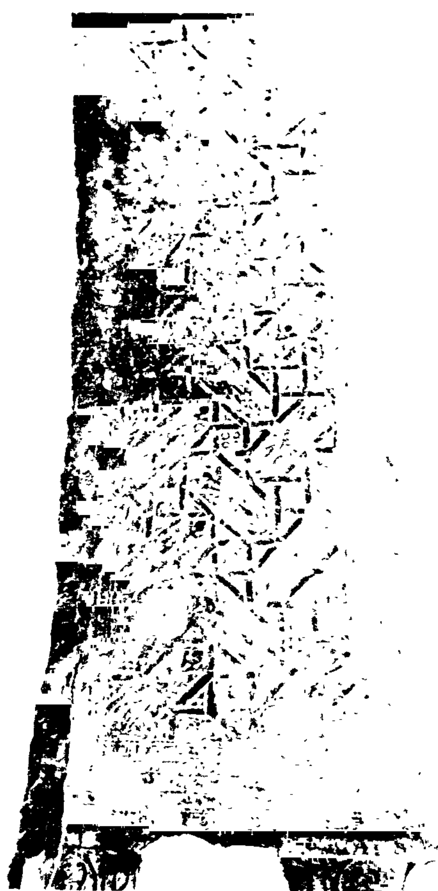
A—No. 3 (1 and 2 blank



B—No 4



C—No 5

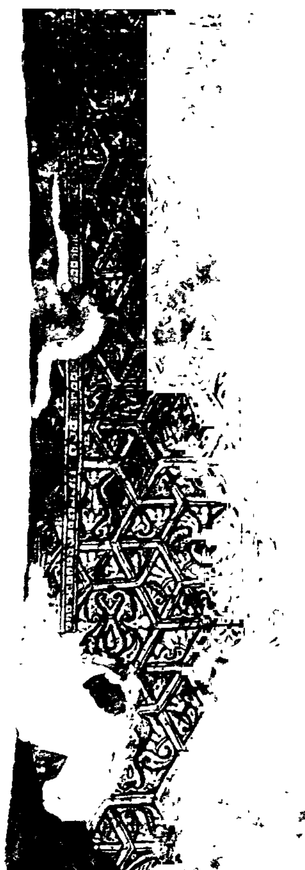


D—No. 6

Mosque of Ibn Túlún Stucco ornament on the soffits of the arches on the south side of the *sahn*.



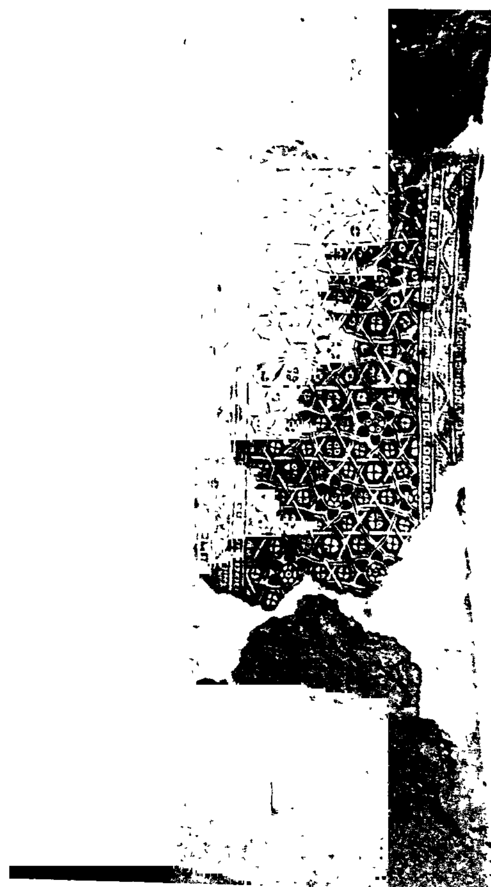
E—No 7



F—No 8

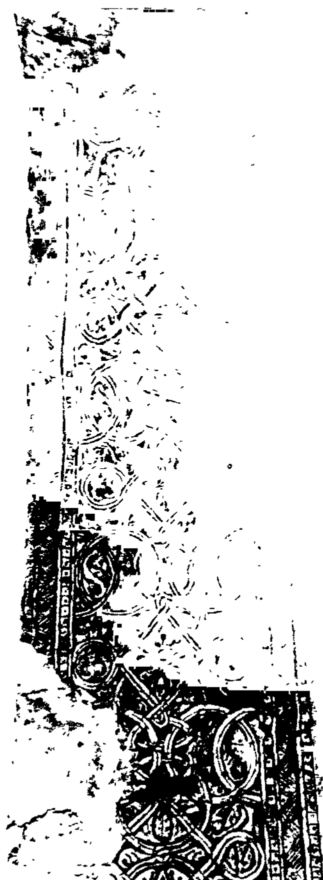


G—No 9

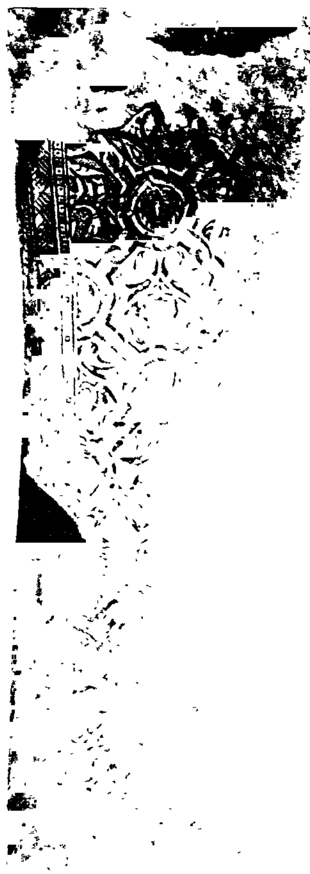


H—No 10

Mosque of Ibn Tûlûn Stucco ornament on the soffits of the arches on the south side of the *sahn*.



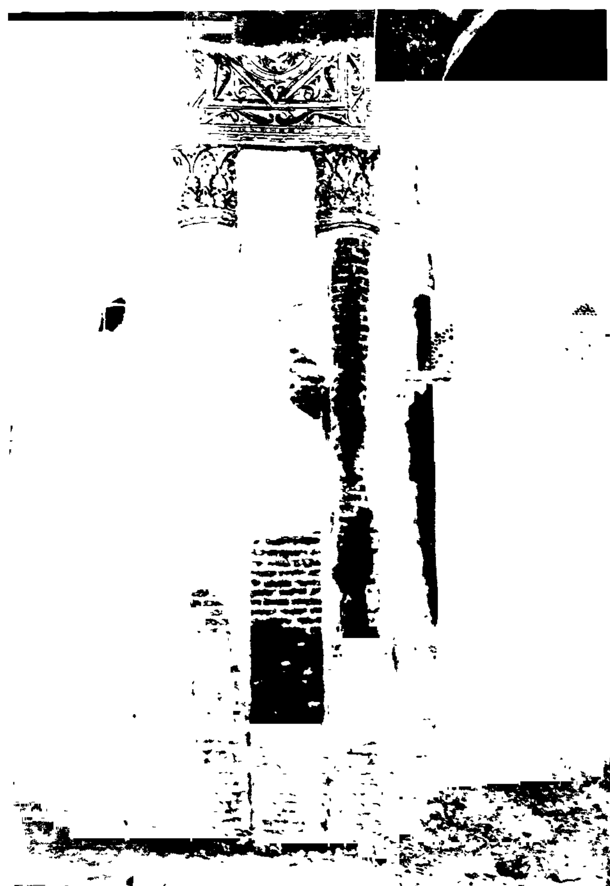
I—No. 11



J—No. 12 (13 blank)



K—North-east, north half



L—South-east, north side

Mosque of Ibn Tûlûn. Stucco ornament on the soffits of the arches on the south side of the *sahn*

present state. As I have gone into the question of the alteration more fully elsewhere, I will not discuss it further here.[6] I will, however, point out other features of Mesopotamian origin. Firstly, the brick piers with their engaged columns, counterfeited in brick at the angles, are similar to those found in the mosque at Raqqah[7]. Mosques on piers had been previously unknown in Egypt, and this feature was such a novelty that a fable about a Christian architect was invented to explain it. Secondly, the position of the minaret in the centre of the west *ziâda* corresponds exactly with the position of the two similar spiral minarets in the mosques of Samarrâ and of Abû Dulâf close by.[8] Thirdly, the decorative band, consisting of a recessed square with a circular hole in the centre, which runs round the mosque below the parapet but just above the level of the roof. It is therefore to be expected that the ornament of this mosque was chiefly influenced by slightly earlier ornament at Sâmarrâ. It is well known that Professors Sarre and Herzfeld were carrying out very exhaustive excavations at this spot when the war broke out, and had even published two reports. The great work on the site, however, has not yet appeared, but I understand that no less than sixty cases of stucco ornament, etc., packed ready for despatch to Berlin, fell into the hands of the British Army when Sâmarrâ was occupied. Until they see the light of day any remarks on the ornament shown on the attached plates would be premature, and I publish them without further comment so that they may be at hand when the time comes for a comparative study.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRA NATH SEN, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Two periods.

The History of the Maratha Administrative system can be conveniently divided into two periods. The first period opens with the rise of Shivaji, and ends with the accession of Shahu. The second period opens with the rise of the *Peshwas*, and ends in 1818, when the second Baji Rao retired to *Brahmavarta* to spend his last days in performing ablution and offering oblations to his gods and ancestors. I have already dealt with the latter period elsewhere. Here I shall try to give an account of the administrative system of Shivaji, which practically continued unchanged till the death of Rajaram, except in some minor details. In fact the administrative system of any country is naturally of gradual growth, and develops but slowly as ages pass, but has always its root in the deep substratum of legendary or prehistoric past. Dynasties rise and fall, conqueror after conqueror comes and goes, native Government yields to foreign yoke; but it is always the interest of every ruler not to disturb the administrative system in its essential characteristics. The Muhammadans largely adopted the old indigenous system that they found prevalent in the Deccan at the time of their conquest. Shivaji borrowed a good deal from the former Muhammadan rulers, and the *Peshwas*, when they

6 See my *Brief Chronology, loc. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

7 See Bell (G. L.), *Amurath to Amurath*, fig. 39.

8 *Ibid.*, figs. 137 and 164. Bell (G. L.), *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir*, p. 156 and Plate 91 (1).

became the real heads of the Maratha empire, and established their head-quarters of the Government at Poona, while the weak descendants of Shivaji were left to languish in the prison of Satara, the sentimental capital of Maharashtra, had still to leave Shivaji's system unaltered and unaffected in many respects, and a few changes were effected in the central Government only. Otherwise the administrative system of Shivaji was for all essential purposes identical with that of the *Peshwas*. It will, therefore, be my duty to indicate here the few differences that existed in the theory and practice of Government of these two periods.

Scarcity of Materials.

While dealing with the *Peshwa* period, we are confronted with such an amazing abundance of materials that we can hardly expect to do justice to them. State-papers have been carefully preserved. Revenue regulations, instruction to revenue collectors and higher officials, deeds of sale and other documents, judgments in both civil and criminal suits, have come down to us in their hundreds and thousands. They give us a vivid picture of the Government as it actually was in the *Peshwa* period. But when we approach the Shivaji period we are confronted with such a scarcity of materials as is most discouraging. Of State-papers we have but very few, and they are not very important either. Mr. Rajwade complains (*Itihas Ani Aitihasik*) that during his twenty years of labour and research he has hardly come across twenty-five important Shivaji-papers. Most of these papers again are political and diplomatic correspondence and do not enlighten us about the administrative system. Fortunately, however, some old documents that cannot properly be styled State-papers, have after ages seen light, thanks to the wonderful tact and labour of Mr. V. K. Rajwade.

Family papers of old Sardars.

These give us useful information about some of the early adherents of Shivaji, the history of their Watans, sometimes an account of their deeds and exploits, and often a long and exhaustive list of the taxes, cesses, and abwabs of those days.[1] From these family papers of the old Sardars and Jagirdars we can frame a fairly accurate sketch of the administrative system of Shivaji, but these papers have to be used with extreme care and caution. Many of them are of doubtful origin, and some of them were undoubtedly forged to deceive the Government of the day.

Bakhars.

Next in importance, are the *Bakhars*[2] or Marathi prose chronicles.

Supremely indifferent, like their Muhammadan teachers, to every thing that affected the ordinary people, the Maratha chroniclers pay very little attention to the administrative system of their times and the economic condition of their country. They give lengthy accounts of battles, gossiping stories of the superhuman deeds of their heroes and confine themselves mainly to the narration of political events. Consequently we learn very little from them.

Sabhasad.

Sabhasad, who wrote in 694, is perhaps the most sensible as he is the earliest of Shivaji's biographers. Condensed and concise in style, he devotes a few pages to Shivaji's regulations, both civil and military. Chitragupta who elaborated Sabhasad's work added a few stories and verses of his own composition. The only additional information that we obtain from Chitragupta is a short page where he enumerates the duties of the Secretariat Officers.

Chitragupta.

1 The papers have been published by Mr. Rajwade in the 8th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and the 20th volumes of his *Marathyancha Itihasanchi Sadhanen.*

2 Most of these *Bakhars* have been published by Rao Bahadur Sane in the *Karyetihas Sangraha.*

Chitnis

Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis, who wrote his *bakhar* long after Sabhasad, does not give us any additional informatior about the administrative system. His *Rajniti* is a treatise on polity, in which he compiles the theories of public administration from old Sanskrit works. It could not therefore, have any bearing on the actual government of Maharashtra as it then existed, although the duties of the eight *Pradhans* might probably have been compiled from some old papers.

Shivadigvijaya.

Shivadigvijaya. the most voluminous work of its kind. is full of legends and impossible stories, but has not a word to say about the working constitution of Maharashtra in Shivaji's days. The only thing we should note here is that Messrs. Dandekar and Nandurbarkar, the joint editors of *Shivadigvijaya*, have failed to prove their contention, that it is the work of Khando Ballal son of Balaji Avaji.[3] It is in all probability a very recent work, and consequently its evidence has but little weight with the modern student who aspires to study history as a science.

Shri Shivaji Pratap.

The same editors have published another *bakhar*, *Shri Shivaji Pratap*, which is nothing but a compilation of myths and legends. The anonymous author had not only no historical training, but he seemed to lack historical knowledge altogether. This *bakhar* is therefore absolutely useless both for a reconstruction of the political history of Maharashtra and for the compilation of an account of Shivaji's administrative system. Very recently a sixth *bakhar* has been published by Mr. Bhave in his *Marathi Daftar*. It is only an elaboration of Sabhasad. The anonymous author has copied freely from an old manuscript of Sabhasad's *bakhar*, and his own additions are not at all trustworthy. About Shivaji's Civil and Military regulations he has nothing more than a long extract from Sabhasad to give. Even there he has omitted some old and obsolete words which he evidently did not understand.

Sh hanav Kalmi Bakhar.

A seventh *bakhar*, *viz.*, the *Shahanavkalmi bakhar* was discovered and published in the columns of the now defunct periodical—*the Prabhat*—by Mr. Chandorkar. This *Bakhar* is alleged to have been found by the old copyist in the *Daftar* of Annaji Datto, a Brahman officer who played an important part in Shivaji's service. It is however devoted mainly to political history, and even there it is not quite trustworthy.

Rairi Bakhar.

An English translation of a *Bakhar* found at Rairi has been published by Prof. Sir G. Forrest. Scott-Waring, who wrote in 1811, spoke very highly of the original. This however has unfortunately been lost. The accuracy of the English translation has been challenged by the late Justice Telang.[4] Rao Bahadur D. B. Prarasnis claims to have rediscovered a manuscript of *Rairi Bakhar*, but it has to our misfortune again disappeared. On the whole it may be safely asserted that this *bakhar* is not worth much. The *Kayastha Prabhunche Bakhar* is very modern and of no use to us.

The Tanjore inscribed Bakhar.

Lastly remains a *bakhar* of peculiar interest, discovered and published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the abovementioned magazine, the *Prabhat*. This *Bakhar* is of very little historical value, but it is a wonderful specimen of human industry. The published *Bakhar* covers more than one

3 I have discussed this point more fully in a note in my extracts and documents relating to the Maratha History, Vol. I.

4 See Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p 259 f.

hundred pages honestly printed, and the whole of it was found inscribed on the stone walls of a temple at Tanjore. Mention should also be made here of *Jedhe Yanche Shakavali* published by Mr. B. G. Tilak. But its main importance is chronological. A few Marathi papers have also been published by the *Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal* of Poona. Some more papers have been published by Rao Bahadur Sane in his *Patre Yadi Bagaire* and by Messrs. P. V. Mawji and D. B. Parasnis in their Sanads and letters. Sardesai's *Marathi Riasat* is not of much importance in this respect. And this fairly exhausts the materials we have in Marathi.

Sanskrit Sources.

In Sanskrit, I have come across only two works, *viz.*, *Shiva Raj Prashasti* of Gaga Bhatta and *Shiva Kavya* of Purushottam Kavi. Both of them were Maharashtra Brahmans, and he former a contemporary of Shivaji, but their works are useless for our purpose.

Hindi Sources.

In Hindi, there is only one contemporary work[5]—the poems of Shivaji's Court poet Bhusan. His *Shiva Raja Bhusan* and other poems may be of considerable literary merit but they are of very little interest to a historian. Moreover they do not make the slightest reference to Shivaji's administrative system.

Tamil Sources.

Very recently a Tamil Chronicle, *Shiva Bharat* by name, has been discovered by a Madras Scholar. Part of the work has been translated into English and read before the *Bharat Itihas Sanshodak Mandal.* Until the whole work is translated into English or Marathi, we shall not be in a position to judge its historical value. At present we do not know whether it gives any account of the Civil or the Military branch of Shivaji's Government.

Persian Sources.

Both Hindu and Muhammadan writers must have written a good deal about the wonderful career of Shivaji in Persian. There are moreover very important letters, so far as political history is concerned, written by Jai Singh and other officers of Aurangzib from the Deccan. Whether these make any incidental reference to Shivaji's administrative system, is yet to be investigated. This source however promises to be fruitful in more than one way. For the present, I have to be satisfied with such an imperfect English translation as we get in Scott's *Ferishta*, Vol. II, and with the still more inaccurate and fragmentary translation that has been given by Elliott and Dowson, in their *History of India as told by its own historians.* Of the authors selected there, the most important is Khafi Khan, but there is very little in his work to help us in our study of the administrative system of Marathas.

Khafi Khan.

French Sources.

Hitherto I have not seen more than one contemporary French work. Dr. Dellon, a French physician, visited the western coast of India towards the close of Shivaji's career. He published a short account of his travels on his return home, and the small volume was so interesting that it was translated into English shortly after its publication. He praises Shivaji as a tolerant and liberal prince, but his information was derived mainly from hearsay.

Dellon

[5] Another Hindi work—*Chhatra Prakash* is mentioned by Prof Jadu Nath Sarkar but unfortunately I have not yet been able to procure a copy.

Portuguese Sources.

Vido de Shivaji.

Prof. J. N. Sarkar obtained from Lisbon a Portuguese biography of Shivaji, written by a citizen of Goa and published in 1730 A. D. It is, however, absolutely unreliable. The author hints that Shivaji, though popularly known as the youngest of Shahji's eleven (?) sons, was really the bastard of a Portuguese noble, Menedes by name. The assertion is so palpably false that it hardly requires any refutation. Curiously enough, this uncanny suggestion was very recently repeated by Dr. Da Cunha in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The whole question, however, was so thoroughly examined by Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the *Sarswati Mandir* of Satara that there remains not the slightest ground for giving credence to the unchivalrous fabrication of the Portuguese writer. It is not from writers of Gaurda's mental attitude that we should expect any historical truth. The masses of Portuguese State-papers lying in the state archives of Goa may, indeed, yield really valuable information. Since Captain Grant Duff's time, no English or Indian Scholar, however, has cared to make any use of them. The Portuguese had for so many centuries dealings with the Marathas, both as friends and foes, that many contemporary events of Maratha politics must have found place in their letters and reports and despatches. It does not appear, however, from the Report of Mr. Danvers[6] that the Portuguese papers have any important information to give except about the Angrias. This seems improbable on the face of it. Mr. Danvers, however, did not study the Goa records. There is no reason why these records should not contain as valuable historical materials as the Surat and the Bombay Factory Records. Dr. Gracious, a Portuguese scholar of Goa, used to take great interest in these old papers, but the results of his researches are not available in English. Dr. Gracious died only a few months ago, and it is urgently necessary that some other scholar should now carry on the self-imposed task of the late Doctor.

Portuguese State-papers of Goa.

Danvers' Report.

English Sources.

Factory Records.

In English there is a number of works about Shivaji and the Marathas. The Surat and Bombay Factory Records are invaluable historical documents, and their importance cannot be over estimated. They are, however, more important to the writer of a political history, but some information about Shivaji's navy and his commercial policy can be gleaned from them.

Fryer

In addition to these old factory records, English travellers have left us the accounts of their travels in the Maratha country, and English historians have left us the result of their researches. The earliest English traveller to write any account of the Maratha country and Shivaji's court was Fryer. A physician by profession, he had seen some parts of Shivaji's dominions, and he had doubtless seen the Reports of the Oxenden Embassy. His stay in the Maratha country was, however, very short, and his information was by no means accurate. His account of "Several Brachmins whose flesh they tear with pincers heated red hot, drub them on the

6 Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies contained in the *Archivo Da Fovre Do Tombo* and the Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora by F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office, London, 1892.

shoulders to extreme anguish," betrays a good deal of humour but is evidently untrustworthy. Even Khafi Khan who delighted in abusing Shivaji, gave him credit for the respect he had usually shown to holy places and holy men of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

Mannucci.

Mannucci's *Storia Do Mogor*, another contemporary work, has been translated into English by a great scholar, the late Mr. Irvine. The gossiping adventurer, however, had little regard for truth, and loved to give anecdotes in which he himself figured. He claims to have met Shivaji in Jai Singh's camp, but unlike most European writers, refrains from giving any account of his dominions, his people and government.

Orme's Fragments and Bruce's Annals.

Robert Orme wrote his fragments long after Shivaji's death. But all that he learnt of the great Maratha ruler was nothing but popular legends. These were reproduced by John Bruce, Esq., M.P. and F.R.S., keeper of His Majesty's State-papers and historiographer to the Hon'ble East India Company, in his *Annals of the Hon'ble East India Company*. Both Orme and Bruce failed to give any account of the administrative system of Shivaji. What their version of political history is worth will be evident from the following account of the night attack on Shaista Khan :

> " In the next campaign Aurungzebe reinforced Chaest-Chan's army by sending the forces of the Maha-Rajah of Joudpore to join him. These generals were at variance with each other ;—the Maha-Rajah, to gratify Sevagee, undertook to assassinate Chaest ;—the murderers broke in on Chaest, who escaped with a severe wound; but his son was slain."—BRUCE, Vol. II, p. 39.

Jervis's Konkan.

The most important English work from our point of view is Major Jervis' *Geographical and Statistical memoir of the Konkun*. A junior contemporary of Elphinstone, the work of surveying Konkan was entrusted to him. While so engaged, he gathered valuable information about Land Revenue settlement, in all probability, mainly, from popular traditions. He tells us many things about Malik Ambar's and Shivaji's Land Revenue Settlement, Annaji Datto's Survey and Assessment, but never quotes any authority. It is therefore extremely difficult, or rather impossible, to verify his assertions. Hitherto I have come across only one Marathi Document (Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, vol. xv), a circular of Annaji Datto, that supports Jervis' account of the Bighaoni survey. But this does not improve our situation much. We can without much hesitation accept Elphinstone's account of the Administrative System of the *Peshwas* or Sir John Malcolm's account of the Administrative System of the Central Indian chiefs. For both of them had personal acquaintance with men who had served under the *Peshwas* and the Maratha and Rajput Chiefs of Central India, who could give them first hand information. But the case of Jervis is altogether different. He lived and wrote about two centuries after Shivaji. Most of the old documents were yet unknown in his time, and he had to rely mainly upon popular traditions transmitted from generation to generation. Consequently it is extremely

Bombay Gazetteer.

difficult either to accept or to reject the views of Jervis. The writer of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, however, has accepted Jervis. as the sole authority on the subject.

Ranade's Rise of the Maratha Power, Vol. I.

From these old authors we turn to Ranade with a sense of relief. Born in Maharashtra educated in the western method, for several years record keeper of the Bombay Government, Ranade combined in himself the three qualities so indispensable for a historian of the Marathas. He knew the language and traditions of his country, was well conversant with the historical method of the west and had ready access to all the papers then available. With true historical instinct, he made a deliberate departure from the beaten track and selected a course of his own. His fame to-day does not rest on the discovery of a new document or an unknown event, but on the surer basis of the right interpretation of the history of his people. He did not confine himself to dry details of battles and sieges but tried to discover the real causes —remote and immediate—of the rise, progress, and downfall of the Marathas. This made him study the civil institutions of Shivaji, very carefully, for they were, according to him, not only the outcome of Shivaji's genius but also an expression of Maratha aspirations. It is beyond doubt that Ranade was the first scholar to guide us properly to the real sources of Maratha history, as he was the first to perceive the real importance of the administrative system of Shivaji. It is a matter of regret that the many sided activities of the great savant did not permit him to devote his leisure solely to the study of his country's past. Modern researches have made some of his conclusions untenable to-day, but the credit of pointing out a new angle of vision belongs entirely to him. He might have erred in minor details, but while dealing with broad principles, his judgment never failed him. It is true that we do not get in his work as much information as we wish for, but that is because many papers, now published, had not seen the light when Ranade lived and wrote.

Scott-Waring, Grant Duff, Rawlinson, and Kincaid.

Scott Waring was the first Englishman to attempt a comprehensive history of the Marathas. His work was published in 1811. But we get little more than a narrative of political events in Scott-Waring's History. In the third decade of the 19th century, another scholar, destined to become famous as the historian of the Marathas, undertook to write a more satisfactory history. Captain Grant Duff was more fortunate than his predecessor in the attempt, in more than one way. As political agent, he had ready access to all the papers in the Satara Archives. The descendant of Shivaji was ever ready to assist him in all possible ways. Perhaps many of the later spurious *Bakhars* owed their origin to the zeal of Chhatrapati Pratap Singh to gratify the Agent Saheb. Above all, Grant Duff had the great advantage of working under the guidance of Elphinstone.[7] But Grant Duff had not sufficient materials for sketching a graphic account of the administrative system of Shivaji. Prof. H. G. Rawlinson's *Shivaji the Maratha* is a very recent publication, but it does not aim at dealing in detail with the civil institutions of Shivaji. Only a few months ago was published the first volume of the *History of the Maratha People* by Mr. Kincaid and Parasnis. From the great mass of published materials and the still greater mass of unpublished documents in the possession of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, it was expected that the long-felt want would at last be removed. But we have again been disappointed. Far from giving us a comprehensive account of Shivaji's administrative system, the joint authors have not even made any serious attempt to supplement our knowledge in that direction.

7 See Elphinstone's letters quoted in Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*

Owen's India on the eve of the British conquest.
Kennedy's History of the Great Moghuls.

Sydney Owen of Oxford has drawn a brilliant sketch of Shivaji, in his *India on the eve of the British conquest,* but it is only a study of Shivaji's political career. Pringle Kennedy has also given us a charming picture of Shivaji and Maharashtra in his *History of the Great Moghuls.* But neither of these scholars studied the original documents. They relied mainly on such secondary authorities as Khafi Khan, Orme and Grant Duff, and their aim has been to write a readable and sensible summary for the general run of readers. From them, therefore, we should not expect anything that we do not get elsewhere—Maratha history had for them only a relative interest.

Prof. J. N. Sarkar.

Prof. J. N. Sarkar's articles in the *Modern Review* are important and interesting in their own way. He has utilised many source of Maratha history hitherto unexplored. His articles on Shivaji's navy are of special interest to us.[8]

J. B. Br., R. A. S.

A few articles were published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.* The following are the most useful for our purpose :

(1) Ranade—*The currency system of the Marathas.*
(2) J. E. Abbott—*A preliminary study of the Shivarai or Chhatrapati copper coins.*
(3) P. V. Mawji—*Shivaji's Swarajya.*
(4) Codrington—*Seals of the Satara kingdom.*

So far as my information goes, no attempt has yet been made to sift and examine these scattered materials on scientific lines and to present the results in a handy and intelligible form to the ordinary student. No one will, however, contend that such an endeavour is not worth making. In the following pages it has been my aim to present a fairly accurate sketch of Shivaji's Government, its principle and working. It does not, however, claim to be complete and is by no means the last word on the subject.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

KRISHNARAJA OF THE BALSANA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION.

Mr. R.D. Banerji in his *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1919, pp. 45-46, mentions a Balsâṇâ Temple Inscription, wherein is recorded the 'repair of a royal *matha* on the banks of a river in the Saka year 1106,' by the illustrious Somesvara who held Kṛishṇarâja in the palm of his hands, by his personal and famous good qualities. He starts a rather long discussion regarding the identification of this Kṛishṇa, whom he says he does not know from any other records. Mr. Banerji apparently loses sight of two other inscriptions, found at Châlisgâon in the Khândesh district, where the Balsâṇâ Temple inscription was discovered. The former two inscriptions are referred to in Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 333 and 337 ; and they were published in this *Journal*, vol. VIII, p. 39, and in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol I, p. 341 respectively. In these two inscriptions Kṛishṇarâja of the Nikumbha family is mentioned. From a list of the names of the family, we know that there were two Kṛishṇarâjas in that line. Inasmuch as all these three Inscriptions were found in the same district, and as the dates are not far removed, it seems reasonable to identify Kṛishṇarâja of the Balsâṇâ inscription with the second of the kings of the same name of the Châlisgâon inscriptions.

In the Châlisgâon Inscription of Govana III (above vol. VIII, p. 39) where the construction of a temple of Śiva is mentioned, the order for building the temple was given by Indrarâja, father of Govana III, in the Śaka year 1075. We, therefore, know that Indrarâja was in that year on the throne. We also know from the Châlisgâon Inscriptions that Kṛishṇarâja II was the father of Indrarâja. The period of Kṛishṇarâja's rule may have, therefore, extended

[8] He has since then published them in book form and they will now be found in his *Shivaji and his times.*

up to the Śaka year 1070. According to the Balsâṇâ Temple inscriptions, the *maṭha* was repaired in 1106 S.E. by Someśvara 'who held Krishṇarâja in the palm of his hands.' Someśvara, therefore, was alive in 1106 S.E., when Krishṇarâja II of the Nikumbha family was dead.

Mr. Banerji does not say that the Balsâṇâ Inscription leads us to conclude that the *maṭha* was repaired during the reign of Krishṇarâja. It is possible to hold that Someśvara was a contemporary of Krishṇarâja II, and survived him till 1106 S.E., or for a few years later. It is not impossible for a man to live a few decades more after the death of his contemporary. There is no incongruity then in identifying Krishṇarâja of the Balsâṇâ inscription with Krishṇarâja II of the Châlisgâon inscriptions.

SACHINDA CHANDRA MAJUMDAR.

BOOK NOTICE.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA, vol. I, Pt. I, edited by TAW SEIN KO and CHAS. DUROISELLE. Rangoon, Government Press, 1919. Issued by the ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA. Large quarto, pp. v and 168.

I cannot but welcome this new Journal of Archæological and Epigraphical researches, edited by the very competent Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of the Burma Circle and his accomplished Assistant. Thirty years ago or thereabouts, when I temporarily filled the post of Archæological Officer of that country, efforts were made to draw attention to the enormous number of inscriptions extant there, and some success was achieved, with the active co-operation of the Government of the day, in getting together the numerous inscriptions on stone, gathered long before by Bodawphaye from all parts of Burma and lying about the Arakan Pagoda at Amarapura, and in setting them up under cover. Transcriptions of these into modern Burmese characters were made (though of no particular scientific value) and printed. The idea was to preserve them for future investigation in some form rather than let them run the risk of perishing altogether. A few inscriptions of well-known value were about the same time reproduced and edited by my friend, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, then the most promising of the young scholars, in the pages of this *Journal* (see *ante*, vols. XXII, XXIII, XXIV). Since those days great strides have been made in philological and archæological knowledge about matters Burmese, and the Burma Research Society has been formed. It is quite time therefore to commence a systematic examination of the vast epigraphic remains still available in the country, and hence the peculiar pleasure to myself in seeing that this has been done and that it is placed in such competent hands.

No better example could have been chosen to commence the *Epigraphia Birmanica* than the quadrilingual inscription on the two stone pillars near the Myâzêdi pagoda at Myinkabâ near Pagân. Firstly, because they contain the same document in four languages: Pali, Burmese, Talaing and Pyu, the last of which has long been dead and practically lost. Secondly, because the document is presented to us in quadruplicate. Thirdly, because it fixes with certainty the dates of three most important kings of mediæval Burmese history—Anòratâ, Kyanzitthâ and Alaungsìthû, post-dating them by 28 years in reference to the generally accepted chronology of the *Mahâyâzawin*. The contemporary evidence adduced by the editors seems to be conclusive that the inscription is a correct record, and it seems to me that the famous chronicle has gone wrong in giving the commencement of the reign of the great Alaungsìthû the date 447 B.E. (1085 A.D.), which properly belonged to his predecessor Kyanzitthâ, the usurper with the romantic story, who reigned 28 years. So that we must now date the Conqueror Anòratâ 1044-1077, his son Sawlû, 1077-1084, the Usurper Kyanzitthâ, 1084-1112, his grandson Alaungsìthû, 1112-1187. This re-dating cuts the reign of Anòratâ down to 33 years from the accepted 42, and lengthens Sawlû's to 7 years from the accepted 5—and it throws the whole chronology out after Alaungsìthû by 28 years. The date for the commencement of Kyanzitthâ's reign is given in the Myâzêdi Inscription as Anno Buddhæ 1628 (1084 A.D.), representing 447 B.E., which is the *Mahâyâzawin's* date for the commencement of Alaungsìthû's reign. But Kyanzitthâ reigned 28 years by all accounts and this would make his commencement 1600 A.B. This fact would seem to account for the origin of the mistake in the *Mahâyâzawin*; thus:—

Kyanzitthâ, commenced 1600 A.B., reigned 28 years.

Alaungsìthû, commenced 1628 A.B., reigned 75 years. Whereas the dates should have been stated thus:

Kyanzitthâ, commenced 1628 A.B., reigned 28 years.

Alaungsìthû, commenced 1656 A.B., reigned 75 years. However this may be, the correct dates

of such monarchs as Anòratâ and Alaungsîthû must always be of great importance, and this fact alone makes the Myâzêdi Inscription of the first value.

The actual object of this quadrilingual Inscription is to perpetuate the memory of Râjakumâr, the epigraphical name or rather title—one suspects that the real everyday name was something very different—of the donor of a shrine and image of the Buddha. This Râjakumâr was a son of Kyanzitthâ and, probably for some political reason, did not succeed his father. But the fact that the Inscription does not lend itself in any way to genealogical and dynastic statement makes its chronological references all the more trustworthy, as they are made incidentally and not *ad hoc*.

Apart from all this, the importance of the fact of the document being quadrilingual can hardly be overestimated from the philological point of view, as it has given the great exponent of Indo-Chinese philology, Mr. C. Otto Blagden, "the key to the reading of old Talaing and enabled him to decipher what we know of Pyu—the extinct language of a people dwelling in Burma," and speaking a tongue now known to belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. As regards the Talaing version of the document, Mr. Blagden is able to say that very few problems hitherto a puzzle as to its reading now remain unsolved, for which we may well be thankful. I would only draw attention here to a reading *tiûr* now taken as a contraction of *tila âcâr*, the lord teacher. "Both titles are appropriate to ecclesiastics and mediæval Môn [Talaing], offering somewhat of a parallel in the title *tipuin*, which presumably stands for *tila puin* [the origin of the former European word *talapoin*, for a Far-Eastern monk, with *talapoiness* for a nun]. This explanation has now been confirmed by Professor Duroiselle on the authority of a learned Môn monk. The title is appropriate to a high ecclesiastical dignitary and in my translation I have rendered it by the Venerable."

Mr. Blagden's transliteration and translation of the Pyu document are of course from the philological point of view the most important part of the work, and it is a piece of good fortune that the first to be deciphered and most extensive Pyu inscription as yet unearthed should have fallen into such hands as his. The transcription is not very sightly in appearance, because of the small circles of two sizes attached to the words above and below the line, and beside the words themselves, sometimes three in a vertical row. These circles are in the text and Mr. Blagden thus explains them :—"It would appear that Pyu had a wide range of tones, of which the various dots (represented in the transcript by small circles) and their combinations used in the text seem to be the expression." They have clearly puzzled the Press and indeed must have formed a genuine difficulty in setting up and proof-correcting.

The transliteration of Burmese and Talaing adopted and first expounded in the *Journal of the Burmese Research Society*, 1916, has, I gather from the work under review, come to stay in scientific circles. It consists of "reproducing in Roman characters, as faithfully as possible the exact form of the language as it has been fixed in writing." But is this method scientific ? And is it necessary ? Burmese and Talaing, like all languages, as English and modern French for instance, which have adopted a script originally framed to meet the wants of a totally different language, Latin in the French and English case, have forced a set of symbols on paper to requirements for which they were never originally intended. The result is that the languages are spelt one way and pronounced another. In other words, the words as put on paper are all ideograms, which have to be learnt by sight,—easier to master for this purpose than Chinese ideograms—but ideograms nevertheless. Spelling books have become necessary. When a foreigner is learning such a language, he has to learn the ideograms and how to pronounce them. When he wishes to transfer the words to his own script, he must, if he desires to be understood generally, transcribe them as well as he can, so that the words can be recognised by those who can read his but not the native script. As an old student, when I see a word in the Burmese script I recognise it, but when I see it transliterated into Roman script I don't. I have to learn the words by sight all over again before I can recognise them. So it comes to this, that nothing is gained practically by transliteration, for it is not more difficult to learn the native script than to learn the transliteration. Honestly, I can follow neither the Burmese nor Talaing texts as printed in Roman characters here. They are too puzzling and I had much rather have them in their native form. All this may be the croak of an old scholar, but there the fact is. Another point is that the method involves two sets of forms for Burmese names and words in Roman characters, which will have to be used in all "scientific" books, as they are in that under consideration—the transliterated and the transcribed. To show where such transliteration can lead us, I will quote the following in transliteration as given on p. 14. Certain Burmese forms are so common that they are, like certain English forms, habitually written and even printed by means of abbreviations. These are according to the "scientific" system written out as follows :

nhuik, koṅ³, kroṅ¹, laṅ³ koṅ³, maṅ, saṅ, to², lulan, swe³ sok, kywannup, namnak, rwe¹. The figures 1, 2, 3 represented the accents or tones. I ask anyone familiar with Burmese if he can readily make out what words are meant by the above forms. I can hardly see myself grasping a petition from a 'reformed scholar' desirous of helping me by writing in Roman character, commencing with *kywannup*, which somehow ought to be familiar.

The great object of the "scientific" method is to aid comparison with the like or related tongues and the investigation of the history of changing form. Sometimes it does, *e.g.* (p. 17) Canal, river, B. khyoṅ³ (pron. *chaoṅ³*) *lolo*. *yi'cho* (=B.*yé chaoṅ³*, Old B. *khloṅ*. Tibetan *kluṅ* and doubtfully *chu*. I am quoting the book, but it will be perceived that even here there is only a partial success, as *chu* and *cho* are nearer the transcribed form *chaoṅ3* than the transliterated form *khyoṅ*. Success is better in the next instance (p 18) Broadcloth. B. *sakkalat*. Tibetan, *saq-lad*. Malayalam, *shalakalathu*. The native script transcribed would give B. *thekkalat*. But here we have the English *scarlet*, which in the days of the early European travellers meant simply 'broadcloth' and not the colour; that came later. The term would seem to be Persian, *saqalât*, *saqlât*, a rich cloth of any colour, but most often of a bright red: whence Italian *scarlatto*, old French *escarlate*, English *scarlet*, German *scharlach*. It would be interesting to trace the Burmese *sakkalat*, directly to the Persian *saqalât*, and not through any European form. Failure apparently comes next (p. 19); The number 8. Old B. *het*; B. *rhac* (pron. *shit*): Maru, *shé*; Lashi, *shet*; Garo, *shet*; Chinbôk, *shit*; Lolo (Kopu), *hi-lö*: Kachin, ma-sat; Tamlu (Nâga), *set*. It makes one shudder to find the familiar native form usually transcribed as *shit* written down *rhac*. It is difficult to see how the last form helps us in etymology by comparison. To give the devil his due, the method is no doubt useful at times, *e.g.*, pp. 26-27, where a valuable note on 'Phayâ' is given. "*Purhâ*, now written *bhurhâ*, but pronounced *phayâ* and sometimes still *phrâ*," a term applied to exalted personages and to temples, pagodas and statues of the Buddha. In a long note it is shown that it represents the Sanskrit and Pali *vara*, excellent, noble, exalted; an Indian term, which the spread of Buddhism has caused to run the gauntlet of most Asiatic and Far Eastern languages, and to take on such forms as *polai*, *phola*, *poula*, *phrâ*, *prah*, *varah* and *vrah*.

I hope to return to the subject of the transcription of Burmese and allied languages some day, and in the meanwhile I content myself now with suggesting that it would greatly tend to the practical value of the new *Epigraphia* if a transliteration of the old inscriptions was given in modern Burmese and Talaing characters as well as in Roman. In making the above remarks I do not wish in any way to detract from the value of this first issue of the *Epigraphia Birmanica* or to express aught but the highest appreciation of the skill, care and knowledge with which it has been prepared.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE MUHAMMADAN MONUMENTS OF EGYPT TO A.D. 1517, by Captain K. A. C. Creswell, R.A.F., Cairo. *Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 1919. Large quarto. pp. 153 Alphabetic and numerical Indices, plates 12.

Captain Creswell, whose studies of Muhammadan architecture have already produced original contributions of permanent value to the subject in this *Journal*, has taken advantage of being attached to the Royal Air Force in Egypt during the war to compile a work of such importance to students that I desire to draw their special attention to it. In doing so, I am glad to be able to note the appointment of Captain Creswell to an important position in Egypt, which will enable him to pursue his valuable researches and publish them on a large scale to the great benefit of those who desire to learn all that is possible about a great school of Oriental Architecture.

Although the book is in the form of a chronological catalogue of the Islamic Monuments of Egypt, it is much more than a mere *catalogue raisonné*, as the compiler has himself minutely studied every one of the 239 monuments in the series, and has touched in his description thereof on many matters hitherto controversial, coming to definite conclusions concerning them, thanks to the fresh light which recent excavation and his own researches have enabled him to bring to bear on them. His work is therefore no mere list of monuments arranged in chronological order, but a catalogue with an account of the evidence on which the date is arrived at in each case, where there is no inscription setting the date without further argument. As 48 per cent. of the monuments described are undated, the amount of research, both literary and architectural, involved in fixing the earliest and latest examples of the architectural features, by which the limits of the

period of construction are settled, can be easily appreciated. And further, the value of the work can be well understood thereby. To my mind it is epoch making, and I recommend it to all who would seek a thorough knowledge of the genesis of Muhammadan architecture in India.

The Islamic architecture of Cairo is especially valuable for the purpose of fixing the periods of the evolution of that important art, because of the remarkable series of monuments available for study—a series close and unbroken for seven important centuries—the ninth to the fifteenth of the Christian Era. Damascus starts with the great Umayyad Mosque, but cannot approach Cairo in the number of its monuments, and its nearest rival, Delhi, only starts with the Quwâtu'l Islam Mosque of 1197 A.D.

Nearly half the monuments mentioned in this work—say 110—are dated by Captain Creswell on the evidence he has collected without the aid of inscriptions, and the value of his statements in support to students of architecture can be seen from this consideration alone. His method is to fix the high and low limits of the structure, and as the result of the evidence he has collected and of his own personal examination of the buildings, he has felt justified in bringing each specimen into close limits as to date.

Captain Creswell is not afraid to tackle matters of controversy and I will adduce two examples of his method. The great Aqueduct (pp. 88-92) has been a source of much dispute as to date, and Captain Creswell fixes it a A.H. 711 (1311 A.D.) by the following method, quoting him verbatim :—"A number of statements relative to aqueducts are found in Maqrîzi, and the following are those which bear on the one under consideration. Together with the recent archæological discoveries they should enable us to settle the much disputed question of its date." Maqrîzî says: "In 711 al-Malik an-Nâṣir Muhammad ibn Qalâûn constructed four *sâqiyas* on the Nile, from which water was transported as far as the Wall and from the Wall to the Citadel." Captain Creswell then argues out the question in the light of late discoveries, and shows why Maqrîzî is right in his date and how the confusion as to dates arose in the minds of various writers, of whose works he gives a bibliography at the end of the article.

The second example that I take in two parts is the Walls of Cairo. At pp. 54-56 is a description of "part of the North Wall of Cairo," which Captain Creswell dates in 480 A.H. (1087 A.D.). Maqrîzi says that Cairo was thrice endowed with walls—in 369, 480 [and 566 A.H. This statement is complicated by the action of Salâḥ ad-Dîn (Saladin) in making two of the walls into one for defensive purposes in 572 A.H. Mr. Creswell's argument on this is that there were four walls originally, built at different periods, of which the first has admittedly long disappeared, and that there are three styles of work visible in the remains of the existing wall, of which the part he is describing is the oldest and the second in point of date (*viz.*, that of 480 A.H.). This is what he says in support of his statement: "My own archæological examination, during which I have traversed the whole length of the Wall of Cairo, and walked, crawled or climbed into practically every tower, sometimes entering houses to do so, has revealed to me three distinct styles of work, and I maintain that portions of the work of Badr al Gamâly (480 A.H.) and of the earlier and later work of Saladin (566 and 572 A.H.) still exist." The part he is describing is Badr al Gamâly's wall. Here too he gives a bibliography and shows no timidity in controversy.

In pp. 66-69 are described at length and with the same minute personal knowledge the Wal; of Fusṭâṭ, the Bourg aẓ-ẓafar, and parts of the North Wall of Cairo. As they must have been the late work of Saladin, they are dated 572-589 A.H. (1176-1193 A.D.).

Although the book is printed in English, the reader must beware of the fact that it is the product of a French press and that the transliteration is in the French form of Egyptian Arabic.

R. C. TEMPLE.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB by JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A. vol. IV. Southern India, 1645-1689. Calcutta. 1919, pp. 412.

This fourth volume of Mr. Sarkar's account carries the story into Southern India up to 1689, when, as Mr. Sarkar says, Aurangzib made him self "unrivalled lord paramount of Northern India and the Deccan alike," and then he proceeds to quote (p. 407) his own *Studies in Mughal India* in words that are worth reproducing: "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzib now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre . . . His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The administration grew slack and corrupt. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury. Napoleon I. used to say,

It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me.' The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzib." But the parallel is closer than this, as I read history. The gigantic nature of the success in both instances hardened characteristics, and both conquerors found it more and more impossible to maintain the grandeur of their conquests. Both were on the defensive from the day of the acme of their success. Napoleon's decline in reality dates from the hour of his being crowned as Emperor, just as Aurangzib's decline must be reckoned from the day he finally defeated the Marathas. And this though both lived to achieve many more "victories."

Mr. Sarkar commences this volume with two illuminating chapters on the Keynote of Deccan History in the Seventeeth Century and the Rise of the Maratha Power, and I must say that he has put the situation which arose out of the break up of the Bahmani Kingdom into the five Muhammadan powers of the Deccan, and also the position of the petty Maratha chiefs that preceded Shivaji in a clear and convincing manner, which must always make this volume worth consulting by those who would grasp the very complicatede stories of both Muhammadan and Hindu of that period.

Mr. Sarkar notes that 152 pages of the volumn are taken from his *Shivaji and his Times*, on which (I have already remarked at length in this *Journal ante*, pp. 152-156), and this makes me repeat here that Shivaji's slaying of Afzal Khan being regarded as the result of Afzal's own treachery wants much more verification than it has yet received even at his competent and careful hands I say this because his book is so good that it is likely to be long received as an authority on all points.

There are many—very many—pathetic stories in Indian History at all periods, but there are few more pathetic instances of the vicissitudes of life in the case of exalted personages than that of Aurangzib's general Mirza Jai Singh. His mixed Muhammadan and Hindu titles proclaimed him for what he was, as expressed in Mr. Sarkar's own words: "A man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonious courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Turki and Persian, beside Urdu and the Rajput dialect, an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustanis that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi." Pitted against Shivaji and then Bijapur, with inadequate means and badly served by his own subordinates and his representatives at the distant Imperial Court, he failed for the first time in his long career of 50 years of military service, hitherto invariably successful Superseded by his wrathful master, the now old man "bent his way to Northern India in humiliation and disappointment. His brilliant career which had been passed under two Emperors, and in which he had won laurels from Qandahar to Mungir and Balkh to Maharashtra, was clouded by a single failure at its close. Not a pice of the krore of Rupees of his own money that he had spent in the Bijapur war would be repaid by his master. Broken-hearted with disgrace and disappointment, and labouring under disease and old age, Jai Singh sank in death on reaching Burhanpur, on 2nd July 1667. Like Walsingham of Elizabeth's Court, he died a bankrupt after serving too faithfully an exacting but thankless master." Another instance out of very many in many lands of the soldier sacrificed to the politician. The soldier suffers for his mistakes: not so his political master for his. "Put not your trust in princes."

Mr. Sarkar tells the story very well, as indeed he does all that he has to tell.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A GUIDE TO THE OLD OBSERVATORIES AT DELHI, JAIPUR, UJJAIN, BENARES. pp. 103. BY G. R. KAYE. Calcutta, Government of India Press, 1920.

This is by way of being a Guide Book to four of the observatories constructed by Raja Sawâi Jâi Singh of Jaipur, who lived from 1686 to 1743, just after Newton. The fifth observatory was at Muttra. This book is condensed from a large work in vol. XL of the Imperial series of the Archæological Survey of India. Besides the text there is a Bibliography, a short glossary of astronomical terms including Arabic, Sanskrit and vernacular, and an Index

Mr. Kaye observes that Jâi Singh's work, wonderful as it was, is now only a tradition. It has I fear, alas! become worse than a tradition and nothing more than a mere legend in the minds of the people. Witness the stories I gathered in my *Legends of the Panjab* a generation ago.

The main legend is that Jâi Singh kept a private moon of his own and the hero of one of the Panjab stories made himself Jâi Singh's equal by setting up an opposition moon. The story as related to me was partly in ordinary Hindustani and partly in archaic verse, and is such pure folklore and so deliciously put that I can't help repeating a portion of the prose here.

"Now Râjâ Jâi Singh had a moon of his own, which he hung up in the sky to give light to his

people, and, of course, when Râjâ Jagdêô was in the city it was lighted up as usual, and this made him ask about it, and he learnt that it was an artificial moon made by Râjâ Jâi Singh. As soon as he learnt this, he determined to play a practical joke, and found out where the moon-makers lived, and sent his servant to fetch them in order to make him a moon like Râjâ Jâi Singh's. The moon-makers had heard of what happened to the oilman for refusing oil [Râjâ Jagdêô had stabbed him], so they were afraid to refuse also, and accompanied the servant to Râjâ Jagdêô's house. When they arrived he asked them how much they wanted for a moon. They replied, whatever he wished to pay, so he gave them 500 golden pieces, and ordered a moon like Jâi Singh's. Calling them quickly, spoke Râjâ Jagdêô to the moon-makers, and had a moon put up in the heavens (that burnt) without oil; all the city cried out at it, and Jâi Singh said to his minister, 'The sun hath risen!' As soon as the moon-makers had raised up a second moon, Râjâ Jâi Singh heard of it and asked who had done such a thing. His officials told him that it was by order of the man who had killed the oilman."

The whole is an instructive instance of the rapidity with which a story can arise that is entirely legendary.

In real life Jâi Singh was an Indian prince, in many ways typical of his time and mixed up in most of the troubles thereof, distinguished especially as an astute statesman with something more than a 'turn' for science and astronomy. Being a prince of high position and great authority and wealth, he was able to pursue his hobby on a very large scale, and India greatly benefited by the lavish manner in which he carried out his schemes He commanded the best literary authorities available in his day and made the best use of them. The translations he had prepared from European works into the Indian languages were of unsurpassed value to the people he sought to enlighten. He spared no expense at all in the construction of instruments in metal, and in bricks and mortar on a large scale. He procured the active assistance of skilled astronomers, Oriental and European. In fact, he left nothing undone to attain his end—the rectification of the calendar, the calculation of eclipses and the like. Not arresting work, perhaps, but none the less valuable for its practical purpose.

It may also be said that nothing seems to have been left unexplored by Mr. Kaye in his careful and illuminating account of the tables, instruments of metal and masonry—the huge size of the latter being due to a desire for accuracy of observation—and the observatories themselves. The remarks on Ujjain, the 'Greenwich of India,' are specially interesting (p. 55). The book is continued with a short and telling review of the history of Hindu Astronomy, a subject on which Mr. Kaye is an authority. This will repay reading by all interested in such things. Still briefer accounts are next given of Muslim and European Astronomy, and a remark is made in the course of Mr. Kaye's comments which is worth reproducing :—

"The Hindus, Arabs and Europeans all derived the fundamentals of their astronomical sciences from the Greeks. It was the Hindus who first profited by Greek experience, then the Arabs and lastly the Europeans (through the Arabs)."

Mr. Kaye's book is much more than a guide book ; it is a valuable *vade mecum* to all who would know something of the great Indian observatories of the early 18th Century and of their remarkable builder.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

18. Mogta Silk.

17 *April* 1682. *Letter from Mathias Vincent and Council at Hugli to William Gyfford, Governor of Fort St. George*, etc. . . . . We have a Sort called Moga [*mogtâ*] Silk which wee cannot so well describe but it is known to some of you very well and possibly you may obtain some Musters [samples] it having been a comodity formerly in your parts. It is made in the Osham [Assam] countrey and very good worke is made of it. If you please wee shall send some home thereof; it hath been sold generally from 4 to 8 and sometimes Rups : 12 the Seer tho lately some having had quantities on their hands it hath been bought cheaper here to our knowledge then the prime costs, but if demanded, if will come out as before noted or from 4 to 6 rups. (*Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682, vol. II, p. 52.)

R C. T.

THE EARLY COURSE OF THE GANGES.

BY NUNDOLAL DEY, M.A., B.L.; CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from p.* 43.)

Formation of the delta.

As I have stated before, delta-building in Bengal is a slow process, which has been explained by several writers such as Sir William Hunter,[123] and Major Hirst,[124] Director of Surveys, Bengal and Assam, whose statements are confined by the observations of Bernier who visited India in the 17th century. He says, "The great number of isles, which are found in the Gulf of Bengala at the mouth of the river Ganges, and which by lapse of time are joined to one another, and at length with the continent, put me in mind of the mouth of the Nile, where I have observed almost the same thing; so that as it is said, after Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, so it may be said, that Bengala is the work of the Ganges, only with this difference, that as the Ganges is incomparably bigger than the Nile, so he carrieth with him towards the sea a far greater quantity of earth; and so forms greater and more islands than the Nile."[125] Kâlidâsa, who lived in the fourth or fifth century A.D.,[126] also speaks of the islands within the delta of the Ganges, in which Raghu planted his columns of victory.[127] With regard to this, Mr. Pargiter remarks, "It is difficult to say at what rate, land has been forming in the delta; yet it is clear from this description that, apart from its extent sea-ward, the delta must have been different greatly from its present condition 1200 or 1500 years ago".[128] India, it appears from its river systems in Bengal and in the Panjab, had, at a primitive period, the shape of a tortoise, as described in the *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa* [129] and the *Brihatsaṁhitâ*,[130] high in the middle and with declivities shelving down towards the east and west; and yet in the declivity towards the east, there were large areas of level ground, as in Bengal, which had the effect of impeding and decreasing the force of the current and spreading the water over a wide expanse. It is characteristic with the Ganges to leave its large burden of silt and mud brought along with the stream from the north-western provinces at its mouth, when it mixes with the ocean-currents, which, impeded by the concussion, deposit their burden of sand which they sweep along the coast.[131] Thus, large quantities of silt and sand combine to raise the bed at the mouth and impede the free outlet of the river, resulting in extensive swamps and vast sheets of stagnant waters,—the fruitful sources of malaria and pestilence. Of course, this presupposes a sluggish stream which lacks strength to force its way through the ocean-currents. But the effect is the gradual building and extension of the delta.

Padmâ, the main channel.

The Paddâ (Padmâ) is now considered to be the main channel of the Ganges. Major Rennell even goes so far as to designate Padmâ by the name of the Ganges. He says," The proper name of this river (the Ganges) in the language of Hindoostan (or Indostan) is Puddâ or Paddâ. It is also called Barra-Gang or the Great River, and Gaṅgâ, the river, by way of eminence."[132] The Padmâ was never the main channel of the Ganges before the 16th century of the Christian era. No doubt the channel of the Padmâ existed before the 16th century, but it was

123 Sir William Hunter's *Indian Empire*, pp. 55 f.
124 Major Hirst's *Report on the Nadia Rivers*, 1915, Ch III.
125 Bernier's *Travels in Hindustan*, p. 422.
126 Mr. Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 179 note.
127 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, v. 36 :—Nichakhân jayastambhân gaṅgâsrotontareshu saḥ.
128 *JASB.*, 1908. p. 85. 129 *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 58. 130 *Brihat-Saṁhitâ*, ch 14.
131 Sir William Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p. 57.
132 *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (1788), p 255, note

always a spill channel, through which the superfluous waters of the Ganges were taken off at the time of some high flood or inundation. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the main stream of the Ganges originally passed through the Bhâgîrathî channel. I should here observe that the Ganges takes a turn to the south under the name of Bhâgîrathî which after its junction with the Jellinghi and Mâtâbhaṅgâ takes the name of the Hugli till it falls into the sea at Gaṅgâ-sâgara.

Pauranic account of Padmâ.

The name of Padmâvatî or Padmâ, the modern Paddâ, is not even mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa*, *Mahâbhârata*, or the eighteen *Mahâ-Purâṇas* excepting the *Brahmavaivartta Purâṇa* which is admitted by eminent writers to be of recent date, perhaps composed in the 15th century. One *Upa-Purâṇa*, namely the *Devî-Bhâgavata* mentions the name of Padmâvatî, and both these *Purâṇas* give some account of the quarrel which took place among the three consorts of *Nârâyaṇa*, namely Gaṅgâ, Sarasvatî and Padmâvatî (Lakshmî). The *Devî-Bhâgavata* could not have been composed earlier than the 15th century. Sarasvatî, the goddess of speech, was once in a very great huff on finding Nârâyaṇa more tenderly inclined towards Gaṅgâ than to her: the storm burst in the form of a severe scolding upon the devoted head of her husband, who quietly fled from the chamber. Gaṅgâ rebuked Sarasvatî for her conduct, but the latter, unable to bear the words of a co-wife, was about to catch her by the hair, when Lakshmî (Padmâvatî) interfered. Sarasvatî cursed Lakshmî and said that a portion of her would be the basil plant and the remaining portion would be a river. Thus Lakshmî became a river, Gaṅgâ and Sarasvatî cursed each other to be transformed into a river.

Bṛihad-Dharma-Purâṇa.

The *Bṛihad-Dharma Purâṇa* (an Upa-Purâṇa) gives a detailed account of the course of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the Ocean.[133] It is there related that after leaving Kâśî (Banares), Gaṅgâ (the river Ganges) flowed towards the *east* and came to Jahnu's hermitage[134] which she flooded with her water; the Muni swallowed her up but let her out again through an incision in his thigh (Jânu), and hence she became the daughter of Jahnu. After going *some distance*, Bhâgîratha, who was leading the way with the sound of his conch-shell, gave some rest to his horses. In the meantime, Jahnu's daughter, Padmâvatî (Paddâ), wishing to see her sister Jâhnavî (the Ganges), sounded the conch: on hearing the sound, Gaṅgâ went *some distance towards the south-east* (*Agni-Koṇa*). Seeing her going astray, Bhagîratha loudly sounded his conch. Gaṅgâ on hearing the sound rose up from the water: she saw the king and became enraged with Padmâvatî, and on account of her anger, Padmâvatî was turned into a river, which flowing to the east joined the Ocean. Gaṅgâ also narrowed her dimensions, turned towards the south, and disuniting herself from Yamunâ (near Triveṇî in the district of Hugli), went to the sea near Kapila's hermitage.[135] It will be remarkedthat according to the *Purâṇas* also, the Ganges never flowed through the channel of the Paddâ, but took a southernly course. Kṛittivâsa in his *Râmâyaṇa*[136] which was written in the 15th century A.D., gives the same story with some additions and alterations. He states that after giving salvation to Kâṇḍara Muni, Gaṅgâ came near Gauḍa (Gaur). An ascetic named Padma was

133 *Bṛihad-Dharmma Purâṇa*, Pûrva kh., ch. 6; Madhya kh., ch. 22.

134 This is the fourth Jahnu at Sultanganj in the district of Bhagalpur.

135 *Bṛihad-Dharmma Purâṇa*, Madhya kh., ch. 22, vs. 37, 38:—
Padmâvatî devî vistîrna-salilâ punaḥ
Pûrva-mukhaṃ yayan pûrvaṃ Samudramapi saṅgatâ.
Gaṅgâtu velâṃ saṃkshipya gantum samupachakrame
Babhûva dakshiṇa-srotâḥ buddhâdhva-nikaṭadiva. 38.

136 *Âdi Kâṇḍa*.

going to the east. Gaṅgâ mistaking him for Bhagîratha followed him, but Bhagîratha told her that east was not the way. She therefore followed him, and Padma Muni took away with him Padmâvatî. The Ganges cursed Padmâ so that no one would get salvation from her water.

From the above accounts regarding the course of the Ganges, it should be observed that in the 15th century the Padmâ (Paddâ) existed as a spill channel, through which the superfluous waters of the Ganges found a passage at the time of great floods and high inundations; but the main course of the Ganges flowed southwards through the channel of the Bhagîratha from its present off-take near Shibganj, situated a little to the south of Gaur, flowing past Triveṇî near Hugli where she parts from Yamuna.[137] With a view to guard against the water of the Paddâ being considered as holy as the water of the Ganges, on account of it connection with the latter river, and to preserve the memory of the original main course of the Ganges, it is said that the river Padmâ was cursed by the Ganges. When in course of time, the area about the mouth of the Ganges became elevated, all the waters during the periodical floods were unable to find a passage through the channel of the Hugli (as the Bhâgîrathî is called from its junction with the Jellinghi and Mâtâbhaṅgâ down to the Ocean), though according to Hodges, the Bhâgîrathî from Murshidabad to Suti is also a part of the river Hugli.[138] The channel of the Hugli itself began to silt up. Then the eastern inundation channel, that is the channel of the Paddâ, became the principal drain for the discharge of the waters of the Ganges. The Paddâ emerges from the Bhâgîrathî at Suti, or Mohanâ Suti as it is otherwise called, Suti or Sota meaning a stream.[139] This must have taken place in the 16th century of the Christian era. It is significant that in the *Ain-i-Akbarî*, written in the 16th century, the Padmā is mentioned as Padmâvatî, the name not being shortened or corrupted into Paddâ.[140] There cannot then be the slightest doubt that the main stream of the Ganges originally passed through the Bhâgîrathî channel as far as Calcutta, from which it took a south-easterly course through the Âdi-Gaṅgâ and joined the ocean near Sagar island.

Deterioration of the Hugli.

Fredriike, who travelled in Bengal in 1570, visited Sâtgâon and Buttor,—the Betaḍa of the Kavikaṅkaṇa-Chaṇḍî, which is three miles south of Howrah. He says that it is "good tide's rowing before you come to Satgaw; from hence upwards the ships do not go, because that upwards the river is shallow and has little water. The small ships go to Satgaw and there they lade." I should here quote from Dr. Buchanan who states, "I think it not unlikely that on the junction of the Kâśî with the Ganges, the united mass of water opened the passage now called Padmâ, and the old channel of the Bhâgîrathî from Songti (Suti) to Nudiya was then left comparatively dry."[141] The diversion of the main stream of the Ganges from the Bhâgîrathî to the east through the channel of the Padmâ has no doubt led to the deterioration of the Hugli, whatever may be the cause of that diversion. The Dâmodar originally joined the Bhâgîrathî (Hugli) at two places, one near Kâlnâ and the other near Nayâsarâi, 39 miles north of Calcutta. The first branch, which joined the Ganges near Kâlnâ, was in existence in the 16th century A.D., when the *Manasâr-Bhâsân* was composed, as the route taken by Behulâ shows: after journeying through the Dâmodar, she reached the Ganges near Baidyapur. That branch of the Dâmodar no longer exists: a small rill now passes through the old channel

137 *Bṛihad-Dharmma Purâṇa*, Purva kh, ch. 6.

138 Hodge's *Travels in India* (1794), p. 43.

139 Mr. Beveridge's "Old Places in Murshidabad" in the *Calcutta Review*, 1893, p. 273.

140 Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbarî*, pt. 1, p. 301.

141 Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. III—*Puraniya*.

and is called the Behulâ-Nadî.[142] Evidently the flood (Manvantara) of 1276 B.S., corresponding to 1770 A.D, changed the course from this channel. At the same time, the Dâmodar changed also its course from Nayâsarâi to its present mouth opposite to Falta, 35 miles south of Calcutta, and caused the Hugli above Calcutta to deteriorate; and shoals and sand banks were formed which rendered the trading settlements inaccessible to sea-going vessels. In 1794, the mouth of the Bhâgîrathî was filled up with sand extending five miles, which greatly affected its course.[143] There can be no doubt that the Hugli has gradually been silting up since the latter end of the 16th century, so that genuine fear has been entertained that in course of time Calcutta may be land-locked and its existence as a port may come to an end. Government has been obliged for this reason to appoint committees from time to time for enquiry into the nature of the deterioration.

Pauranic account of the Course of the Ganges.

The *Matsya Purâṇa*, after mentioning the names of the tribes through whose countries the Ganges flowed just after its rise in the Himalaya, goes on to say that it passed through the countries of "Kurus, Bharatas, Pâñchâlas, Kauśikas, Matsyas, Magadhas, Aṅgas, Suhma-Uttaras, Vaṅgas and Tâmraliptas," and then falls into the southern ocean (Bay of Bengal).[144]

Towns situated on the Ganges.

This statement is corroborated by the names of the following principal towns which the ancient Hindu works mention as being situated on the Ganges:— Gaṅgâdvâra (called also Haridvâra) where the Ganges bursts through the Sewalek Hills and debouches into the plains nearly two hundred miles from its source [*Mbh.* Vana, (P. Roy's ed.), ch. 90]. Hastinâpura (*Mbh.*, Âdi, chs. 98, 128: *Vishnu P.*, pt. IV, ch. 21). Vâranâvata, now called Vârnawa, 19 miles north-west of Mirâṭ (*Mbh.*, Âdi, chs. 143, 151). Sûkara-Kshetra now called Soron (*Agni P.*, ch. 137), 27 miles north-east of Itah, United Provinces, where Hiranyâksha was slain by Vishṇu in his incarnation as Varâha or Boar (*Varâha P.*, ch. 137) Kâmpilya, modern Kampil, the ancient capital of Southern Pañchâla, 28 miles north-east of Fathgar (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 33; *Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 138). Kânyakubja or Kanauj, which was the capital of Kuśanâbha and his descendants the Kauśikas (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, chs. 32, 34; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 115). Śriṅgaverapura, modern Singraur, 22 miles north-west of Allahabad (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ kh., ch. 50). Prayâga or Allahabad. The *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Mahâbhârata* and the earlier *Purâṇas* do not mention that the river Sarasvatî joins the Ganges and the Yamunâ at this place through a subterranean passage; nor do they mention the name of Triveṇî. It is only in the later *Puráas*, as the *Padma Purâṇa* (Uttara kh., chs. 14, 15) and the *Bṛihat-Dharmma Purâṇa* (Pûrva kh., ch. 6; Madhya kh., ch. 22) that we find the name of Triveṇî and the junction of *three* rivers Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, and Sarasvatî at Allahabad. Vârânasî or Benares is mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa* (Uttara kh., ch. 48) as the capital of Kâśî, but it does not appear whether it was then situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Gomati (Gumti) as stated in the *Mahâbhârata* (*Anuśâsana P.*, ch. 30), or between the Varaṇâ and Asî as stated in the *Agni-Purâṇa*, or between the three rivers Ganges, Varaṇâ and Asî as statedi n the *Kûrma Purâṇa* (Pûrva, ch. 31). It is not mentioned as a place of pilgrimage either in the *Râmâyaṇa* or the *Mahâbhârata*, though Gaya and Prayâga are referred to; (*Vana P.*, ch. 87). It was visited by Yudhishthira when he visited the sacred places of India, as mentioned in the Vana Parva of the *Mahâbhârata*. It is however mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the Vana Parva, but that seems to be an interpolation. Viśvâmitra-Âsrama and Kâmâśrama: Vivâmitra-Âśrama or modern

142 Ramagati Nyâyaratna's *Discourse on the Bengali Language and Literature* (3rd ed.), p. 119.

143 *Report on the Nadia Rivers.*

144 *Matsya Purâṇa*, ch. 120, vs. 49-51.

Buxar in the district of Shahabad in Behar, situated on the southern bank of the Ganges (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, chs. 24, 26) and Kâmâśrama (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 23), the Madana-Tapovana of the *Raghuvaṃśa* (canto XI, v. 13) or the modern Kâron, 8 miles to the north of Karamtedi in the district of Balia, United Provinces, situated at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* at the confluence of the Sarayu and the Ganges, just opposite to Buxar (see my *Georgraphical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, s. v.* Kâmâśrama). Pâṭaliputra or Patna (*Mudrâkṛâshasa*, Act III, *Milindâ-Pañho*, IV, I. 47). In the 4th century B. C., Pâtaliputra was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Erannoboa (Hiraṇyabâhu) or Son (McCrindle's *Megasthenes*, p. 68). Vaiśâlî or Besâṛh in Tirhut, 18 milesnorth of Hâjipur (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 45). The southern portion of Tirhut, including Vaiśâlî, was the eastern Matsya of the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ, ch. 30) conquered by Bhîma. Vaiśâlî is described by Hiuen Tsang as the country of the Monster fish (Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, Vol. II, p. 78; *JASB.*, 1900, p. 83). Hence the *Matsya Purâṇa* (ch. 120) states that the Ganges flows through the country of Matsya, which does not mean the western Matsya or the territory of Jaipur. Jahnu-Âśrama (now called Jâhnghira in Sultanpur) on the west of Bhâgalpur (*Bṛihad-Dharmma P.*, Madhya Kh., ch. 22). Champâ in the district of Bhâgalpur, once the capital of Aṅga (*Mbh.*, Vana, Chs. 84, 112, 306). Gauḍa (Gaur) in the district of Malda, once the capital of Bengal. It is called Vijayapura in the *Pavanadûta*, the capital of Lakshmaṇa Sena, the son Vallâla Sena, and from Lakshmaṇa Sena, it was called Lakshmanavatî or Lakhnauti (Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, s.v. *Gour*). Vijayapura has been identified by some with Navadvîpa, but this identification is incorrect, and not even plausible, as Navadvîpa was the capital of Lakshmaniya, called also Aoka Sena, the great-grandson of Vallâla Sena, and not of Lakshmaṇa Sena, the son of Vallâla Sena, who has been referred to in the *Pavanadûta* by the author Dhoyi, who lived in the court of that king. Padmâvatî-saṅgama, the confluence of the Ganges and Padmâ at Suti (*Bṛihad-Dharmma P.*, Pûrva, ch. 6) it is situated in Suhma-Uttara (or Uttara Râḍha) of the *Matsya Purâṇa*. Saptagrâma, modern Sâtgâon, in the district of Hugli, the Gange of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, and Triveṇî of the *Bṛihad-Dharmma Purâṇa* (Pûrva, ch. 6). Tâmralipta or Tamluk was, as stated before, once situated on the Ganges. Sâgara-saṅgama, or the union of the Ganges with the ocean. It varied at different periods, but it always bore the name of Kapilâśrama : the name did not change, though the places did. It was much higher up before, but at present it is near the Sagarâ Island. These places, as recorded in ancient Hindu works, show the course of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the ocean. Some of the towns exist merely in name, but there are others in flourishing condition.

The eight Jahnus.

The âśramas or hermitages of Jahnu Muni as recorded in ancient Hindu works or by foreign writers serve as several mile-stones in the course of the Ganges on her way to the Ocean. So far as I am aware, there are eight places where Jahnu is said to have swallowed up the Ganges and let her out again. Jahnu, it appears, is an allegorical representation of a great change in the course of the Ganges. They are

(1) At Bhairavaghâṭi below Gangotri in Garwal at the junction of the Bhâgîrathî and the Jâhnavî.[145]

(2) At or near Haridvâra.[146]

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145 *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 43 : Fraser's *Himalaya mountains*, p. 476.

146 *Bṛihat-Nâradîya P.*, pt. II, ch. 66, v. 26.

(3) At Kânyakubja or Kanauj.[147] It was situated on the Ganges in the fifth and seventh centuries, as recorded by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang respectively.[148] The Ganges has since changed its course, and Kanauj now stands on the Kâlî-Nadî.[149]
(4) At Jâhnghira in Sultanganj on the west of Bhâgalpur.[150]
(5) At Gauḍa near Malda.[151]
(6) At Tartipur (Turtypur of Rennell) near Gaur.[152]
(7) At Shibganj above Râmpur Boalia (according to local tradition).
(8) At Jâhnnagar (Brahmânitalâ). Four miles to the west of Nadia.[153]

It will be remarked that the number of Jahnus in Bengal are at shorter distances from one another than in the United Provinces. These changes in Bengal took place perhaps on account of the gradual elevation and emergence of land in Mid-Bengal, which had ultimately the effect of diverting large volumes of the water of the Hugli to the former inundation channel of the Padmâ. At any rate, Jahnus serve to show the main course of the Ganges down to the ocean.

The Bhâgîrathî.

The Ganges in its upper course has had the name of Bhâgîrathî applied to one of the head-waters from its source at Gangotri in Garwal to its junction with the Alakânandâ at Devaprayâga. In its lower course also the Ganges is likewise called Bhâgîrathî from Suti in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal to its mouth near Sagar Island. I should also observe that the lower Bhâgîrathî, from its junction with the Jellinghi in the district of Nadia to the ocean, is now called the Hugli, evidently when Saptagrâma or Sâtgâon declined as an emporium of commerce by the silting up of the Sarasvatî in the 17th century A.D., and when the town of Hugli rose into importance after it was declared a royal port in 1632 A.D.[154] This is comparatively of recent date, and cannot at all affect the true significance of the name of the Bhâgîrathi, by which the Hugli was called before. From Devaprayâga to Suti, a distance of more than one thousand miles, the river is known by th name of the Ganges.[155] The name of Bhâgîrathî, which means the daughter of Bhagîratha who brought down the Ganges from heaven, has been applied to the river both at its upper and lower courses, evidently with a view to preserve the continuity of its course, and its sacredness from its principal source at Gangotri to its principal mouth near the Sagar Island, so that there might arise no confusion between the Ganges and its numerous ramifications.

The sanctity of the Ganges.

The *Râmâyaṇa*[156], the *Mahâbhârata*[157] and some of the Purâṇas[158] have a chapter devoted to extolling the sanctity of the Ganges, which is called the *Gaṅgâ-Mâhâtmya.* Gaṅgâ issued from the foot of Vishṇu, was held then in Brahmâ's Kamaṇḍalu or water-pot, and first descended upon the head of Mahâdeva in her course from heaven upon this earth. Hence all sects combine

[147] *Vishṇu-Dharmmottara Purâṇa*, Pt. I, ch., 20 : *Brihad-Dharmma P.*, Pûrva Khaṇḍa, ch. 6, places Jahnu's hermitage above Allahabad and Benares.

[148] Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western Countries*, Intro., p. XLIII, : vol. I, p. 206.

[149] Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 379.

[150] *Brihad-Dharmma Purâṇa*, Madhya kh., ch. 22; Cunningham's *Arch. S. Report*, vol. XV, p. 20; *JASB.*, XXXIII, p. 360.

[151] Hamilton's *East Indian Gazetteer, s.v.* Gour.

[152] Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. III, p. 18.

[153] *Navadvîpa-Parikramâ*, p. 51 ; Chunder's *Travels of a Hindoo*, vol. I.

[154] *JASB.*, 1910, p. 600 : my *Notes on the History of the District of Hughli or the Ancient Râḍha.*

[155] *Imperial Gazetteer of India, s.v.* Bhâgîrathî.

[156] *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 43.

[157] *Mahâbhârata*, Anuśâsana P., ch. 26.

[158] *Padma P.*, Srishṭi Kh., ch. 54; *Kûrma P.*, ch. 37; *Agni P.*, ch. 110; *Bṛihad-Nâradîya P.*, pt. II, ch. 38.

to offer her the homage due to her sacred character, especially as she is connected with the Hindu Triad. She is considered to be the holiest of the holies. The benefits, which she confers upon agriculture by bringing fertility and moisture to the soil, upon the products of which the bulk of the people depend for their livelihood, and the facility she affords to distribute the products of the land and industries along her banks to different marts of the country as a trade route of upper India, in fact, the only means of communication during the pre-railway days, entitle her to the highest veneration.

Legend of the Ganges : an allegory.

But it is very difficult to understand why she has been represented in the ancient works of the Hindus as having been brought down from heaven by Bhagîratha, a descendant of Sagara of the Solar Dynasty, though perhaps, long before Bhagîratha was born, we find her existing as a river. She is mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*[159] in what is called the Nadî-Stuti. Bhagîratha's name does not appear in the *Rig-Veda* though indeed the name of "Bhagîratha Aikshvâka (' descendant of Iskhvâku ')" is mentioned in the *Jaiminîya Upanishad Brâhmaṇa* (IV. 6. 1. 2),[160] yet it does not appear that he was in any way associated with the Ganges : he is mentioned there as an ally of the Kuru-Pañchâlas. Vaivasvata Manu, the founder of the town of Ayodhyâ was a remote ancestor of Bhagîratha and was said to have brought down the Ganges from heaven.[161] and yet we find that Gaṅgâ (the Ganges) was existing as a river at the time of Vaivasvata Manu who placed the monster fish, an incarnation of Vishṇu, in that river.[162] We may therefore conclude that the legend of the Ganges as related in the *Râmâyaṇa* is an allegory, based upon an historical fact regarding the condition of the Ganges at the time of Sagara, king of Ayodhyâ. The river probably commenced to silt up during his reign, especially at the mouth, as is indicated by the story of his employing his sixty thousand sons, who, I think, represent the labourers employed at the time to remove the silt which had raised the bed there with a view to find out the stolen sacrificial horse which is an allegorical representation of the absorbed river. Kapilâśrama indicated, as it does now, the position of the mouth of the Ganges, or rather of its principal outlet. We may conceive that at the time of Sagara, the mouth of the river had been blocked up with silts and sands, and that its body had shrunk, interfering with its navigability, and causing swamps and stagnant pools of water, in various parts of the channel. We have, at this distance of time, no means of ascertaining the cause which led to the deterioration of the river. Perhaps it had been brought about by the diversion of large volumes of water through irrigation channels in various parts of the country through which the river flowed, or perhaps some other natural causes had been at work. Whatever may have been the cause, it took fi.e generations of the royal house of Ayodhyâ, from Sagara to Bhagîratha, to reclaim the silted-up river, remove the block of drainage and restore its navigation ; and it was reserved for Bhagîratha to achieve full success in the end—a circumstance which bestowed upon him the proud title of being the second father to Gaṅgâ Devî who was thenceforth called Bhâgîrathî.[163]

159 *Rig-Veda*, X, 75, 5.

160 *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. 2, p. 93.

161 *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, chs. 5-6.

162 *Mahâbhârata*, Vana P., ch. 187, vs. 19, 21.

163 *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 44.

The episode in the *Râmâyaṇa* regarding the descent of the Ganges seems to be an interpolation: it has no connection with the main story. But it should be observed that the description it contains is the offspring of a profoundly pious and fervid imagination, investing with a religious garb the real scenery at her source, the places through which she flows and the useful work she has done. The story has been amplifiep in the *Purâṇas* and perpetuated by being constantly kept up before the people by subsequent writers, who also strongly believed in the sanctity of the Ganges and its heavenly birth. Libations were offered to the manes of deceased ancestors and near relations with the water of the Ganges even at the time of the *Mahâbhârat*.[164] In the fourth century B.C., Megasthenes stated that the Ganges was worshipped by the Brâhmans.[165]

Confluences.

The Ganges is everywhere holy: it is more so at its confluences with other rivers. The Deva-Prayâga and Prayâga, situated at the confluence of the Alakânandâ and Yamunâ respectively, have already been mentioned. Benares, as stated before, was once situated at the junction of the Ganges and Gomatî (Gumti), but on the recession of the latter to the east, the junction of the two rivers was known as Mârkaṇḍeya Tîrtha.[166] The hermitage of Śiva, known by the name of Kâma-âśrama, was situated at the confluence of the Sarayû and the Ganges, but the Sarayû has now receded to the east joining the Ganges at Singhi near Chapra. At the junction of the Gaṇḍakî and the Ganges was situated Viśâla-Chhatra, including Hajipur and Sonpur, and the latter is celebrated for its annual fair. Sonpur is reputed to be the ancient Gajendra-moksha Tîrtha, where Vishṇu is said to have released the elephant from the clutches of the alligator. The confluence of the Kauśikî (Kusi) and the Ganges called Kauśikî-saṅgama, on the opposite side of Baṭesvaranâtha near Colgong in the district of Bhagalpur.

Prediction regarding the Ganges.

The prediction that the sanctity of the Ganges would disappear after the lapse of five thousand years of the Kali Yuga [167] will never come to pass, provided she continues to fertilize the soil, pour in her nectarine water through irrigation channels to parched-up lands in places remote from her banks and save the crops from drought, keep her channel open to navigation throughout the year, distribute the products of industries and agriculture to different markets of the country, and remain one of the principal trade routes of northern India; and provided also the Hindus continue to feel that sense of gratefulness which they now evince even for trivial benefits done to them by objects, animate and inanimate. This reverence for the Ganges, call it by any name you like—superstition, idolatry, fetishism or ignorance,—displays in a strong light a peculiar trait of character of the Hindus, which is not inconsistent with the innate nobleness of their heart, and the "Goddess Gaṅgâ" shall, at least for five thousand years of the Kali Yuga, remain a symbol of Hindu gratitude.

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164 *Mbh.*, Strî Parva, ch. 27.

165 Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, p. 281, note (Strabo quoted).

166 *Padma Purâṇa*, Svarga Kh., ch. 16; *Mbh.*, Vana Parva, ch., 84; but see Anuśâsana Parva, ch. 30.

167 *Devî-Bhâgavata*, IX, ch. 8; *Brahmavaivartta Purâṇa*, Krishṇajanma kh., ch. 34.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 31.)

LVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF AL MU'AYYAD MIN'AND-ILLÂH ḤUSAIN NIẒÂM SHÂH.

When Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain's mind had been completely freed from anxiety regarding Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir (who would not be satisfied with anything less than the throne of Aḥmadnagar) and the other rebels, and when Burhân Niẓâm Shâh had died, the *amîrs* and officers of state, and all the army and the people were unanimous in swearing allegiance to Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh; and the astrologers exercised great care in selecting an auspicious hour for his ascent of the throne. When the hour had been selected, he ascended the throne and assumed the crown. He distributed largesse to all, small and great, high and low. The *amîrs*, *vazîrs* and officers of state and all the army and people appeared before him, made their obeisance to him, and acclaimed him as king. Ḥakîm Qâsim Beg was appointed chief minister.

It was now reported to the king that Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir had taken refuge with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, relying on his assistance owing to the connection by marriage that existed between them and that Mîrân Shâh Ḥaidar also, relying on his father-in-law, Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, for help, was on the point of rising in rebellion. Naṣîr-ul-Mulk also, who had been confined, by Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's command, in the fortress of Kondâna, contrived to escape from prison, and proposed to join Mîrân Shâh Ḥaidar in his rebellion. Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh resolved to attack and disperse these rebels before they could receive support from Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân. He therefore placed his tutor, Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad who had become one of his intimate courtiers, in command of a body of troops, Khurâsânîs and others, and sent him against the rebels with instructions to devote his attention chiefly to Naṣîr-ul-Mulk. Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad marched by night from Aḥmadnagar and travelled with such speed that by the morning he had arrived at Nasîr-ul-Mulk's camp. As soon as Naṣîr-ul-Mulk heard of the approach of the royal troops, he realized that he could not withstand them and fled precipitately. Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad at once pursued him. He came up with him, and one of the royal officers slew Naṣîr-ul-Mulk with a spear and severed his head from his body. Thus the land of the Dakan was freed from the defilement of his existence. Maulânâ Shâh Muhammad then returned to court and presented the head of the rebel to the king.

Husain Niẓâm Shâh then caused a letter to be written to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, with whom Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir had taken refuge, setting forth that friendship had always existed between the Niẓâm Shâhî and 'Imâd Shâhî dynasties, and that it would be a pity if it were broken. The letter went on to say that Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh had heard that Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir who, although his brother, was a rebel, had taken refuge in Berar and was expecting help from Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, and requested that he might be expelled from that country. On receipt of the letter, Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh asked Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir to leave Berar.

LVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF MAKHDŪM KHVÂJA JAHÂN'S REBELLION AGAINST ḤUSAIN NIẒÂM SHÂH, OF THE CONQUEST OF PARENDA, AND OF THE DOWNFALL OF KHVÂJA JAHÂN'S FAMILY.

Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân was, as has been said, the father-in-law of Mîrân Shâh Ḥaidar and held the fortress of Parenda and all its dependencies. After the death of

Burhân Nizâm Shâh, he believed that an opportunity of making himself independent of Aḥmadnagar had come to him, and with this object in view, he determined to place his son-in-law on the throne of Aḥmadnagar.

When Ḥusain Nizâm Shâh had disposed of his misguided brothers, all the people and the army, and the provincial governors and commandants of forts, had submitted themselves to him, and had sent him the keys of the treasuries and of the forts, and there no longer remained any cause for anxiety in any part of the kingdom. The king was thus able to devote his whole attention to crushing Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân, and summoned his counsellors in order that they might advise him in the matter. They agreed that as Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân had not made his submission and had offered neither his condolences on the death of Burhân Nizâm Shâh nor his congratulations on the accession of Ḥusain Nizâm Shâh, he had undoubtedly been guilty of acts of rebellion. They advised that an envoy should be sent to summon him to court in order that he might answer for his misdeeds, and that in the event of his failing to appear, he should be proceeded against as a rebel. The king therefore ordered that a letter of warning should be written to Makhdûm Khvâa Jahân. A letter was written in the following terms :—'God Most High has mercy on that slave who realizes his position. Now, by the grace of God, all the countries of Hindûstân, and indeed of the inhabited world, are in the posession of the slaves of Ḥusain Nizâm Shâh, and the whole earth and all the sons of Adam, its inhabitants, are subservient to his will. If Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân is a faithful subject, how is it that he still remains without the pale of faithful subjects and has hitherto performed no act of obedience or submission? If he now makes his submission as a faithful servant and asks pardon for his past faults, making reparation therefor, he will save himself from the vengeance which will otherwise be taken on him; but should he fail to do these things, he will be guilty of self-destruction. Let him therefore beware of transgressing the bounds which have been set for him, and of continuing to stretch his hand beyond the skirt of submission and obedience, lest the guilt of much innocent blood be upon his head.' When this letter had been written, it was carried quickly by some of the king's wise and trusted servants to Parenda.

When the envoy reached Parenda and delivered his missive, Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân was much perplexed as to the course of action to be followed. He was still indisposed to admit the supremacy of Ḥusain Nizâm Shâh and yet dared not openly defy him, while he was resolved not to travel to court to do homage. He therefore sent a reply full of prevarication, saying that as long as he was suspected of rebellion, fear and apprehension prevented him from presenting himself at court, but that he was still, as ever, the king's faithful slave, and if the king would, for the present, excuse his personal attendance and would continue to bestow his favours upon him, he would certainly at a later date attend at court and make obeisance.

When Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân's reply was received at court, the king addressed his *amîrs* on the subject, and said that the rebel's ill intentions were now manifest to all, not by way of suspicion, but by direct evidence, and that policy demanded that he should be instantly suppressed, as any dallying with sedition or rebellion only allowed it time to come to a head and to disorder the whole state. The *amîrs* and officers applauded the king's decision and promised to do their utmost in carrying it out. Orders for the assembling of the army were issued, and the whole army, both Foreigners and Dakanis, mustered in strength at the capital, and the king set forth to take Parenda. He sent or an advanced

guard under one of the most experienced *amîrs*, and the whole army followed this advanced guard by forced marches.

When Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân heard of the approach of the royal army, he came forth from his fortress with his army, and, having taken up a defensible position, sent his spies into the royal camp in order that he might be informed of the king's movements; but, on hearing at midnight, that the royal army was near him, he fled with the speed of lightning into the fort of Parenda, and then, after having taken an affecting farewell of his family and having appointed one of his relations to the command of the fort, continued his flight and took refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh.

The advanced guard of the royal army arrived at Parenda just after Makhdûm Khvâja Jahân had left it, and at once proceeded to besiege the fortress. At sunrise the main body of the royal army arrived and encamped before the fortress. The king then ordered that the balistae should be mounted and that the trenches and breastworks should be constructed; and the fort was attacked with great determination. The garrison, relying on the great strength of the fortress, defended it bravely, and the fighting throughout the day was very fierce. The next day the royal troops again attacked the fortress, while the garrison lined the walls to defend it. This continued for some days and there was still no sign of the resolution of the defenders giving way. The king then ordered the heavy guns to be brought up to the edge of the ditch, in order that they might pound the walls from there. The walls were thus soon breached and the royal army poured in through the breaches and slew many of the garrison. The remainder then surrendered and the king granted them their lives and the lives of their wives and families, and ordered that their property should not be plundered.

The king, having captured the fortress, appointed one of his officers commandant, and ordered that its breaches should be repaired. Thus in a short time Parenda became stronger than ever it had been before. The king then returned to Ahmadnagar and, reaching the capital, bestowed large gifts on the holy men and Sayyids of the city.

LVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISPATCH OF SOME OF THE AMÎRS TO BERAR IN ORDER TO PUT DOWN THE TRAITOR TUFÂL KHÂN.[127]

Tufâl Khân was a base fellow of the kingdom of Berar who had, by some strange freak of fortune, acquired the confidence of (Daryâ) 'Imâd Shâh and had attained to the position of Amîr-ul-Umara, nay *vakīl* and *pīshvâ*, and thus held all power in the state. When he found that the whole kingdom, the army, and the people were subservient to him, he was filled with pride and meditated rebellion and treachery, desiring to obtain the kingdom of his master and benefactor for himself. He went so far as openly to oppose and defy Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, who, finding himself unable to cope with the rebel, sought help from Husain Nizâm Shâh, and Husain, who was ever ready to suppress rebellion and was specially inclined to crush this particular rebel, sent an army under some of the *amîrs*, Farhâd Khân, Ranghâr Khân, Miyân Sâlâr, Daulat Khân, and others, to Berar, for this purpose.

When Tufâl Khân heard of the approach of this army, he was overcome with terror and fled before it. The *amîrs* pursued him and allowed him no rest in any place in Berar until at length he fled in fear to Burhânpûr. When Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh was thus

[127] Firishta does net mention this expedition.

freed of his enemy, he gave the *amîrs* leave to depart, and they returned with the army to Aḥmadnagar where they were honoured for their services by Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh.

LIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF THE STRIFE BETWEEN IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHAH I. AND ḤUSAIN NIẒÂM I., AND OF THE VICTORY OF THE LATTER OVER THE FORMER BEFORE SHOLÂPÛR.

Most of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh's brothers, who had deemed themselves the heirs of the kingdom and worthy of the crown, had, through fear of the king's all-subduing sword, fled and taken refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and in his dominions were continually plotting against the peace of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. Some also of the most trusted *amîrs* of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, such as Farhâd Khân, Shujâ'at Khân, and Khurshîd Khân, who secretly supported Mîrân 'Abdul Qâdir's claims, had only submitted to Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh and owned him as their king as a matter of policy. These *amîrs* now entered into an engagement with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I., promising that if he would lead an army into the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar with the object of deposing Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh and placing one of his brothers on the throne, they would desert Ḥusain NiẓâmShâh and join his standard. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, instigated by these *amîrs* broke the peace that had existed between Aḥmadnagar and Bîjâpûr, and, regardless of the horrors of war into which his own subjects and those of Aḥmadnagar would be plunged, took Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, who was his sister's son and the brother of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, and invaded the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar with the object of conquering it.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh thus broke the bonds of friendship at the instigation of the disloyal *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar and with the help of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk who was distinguished for his bravery among the *amîrs* of all the kingdoms of the Dakan and had been one of the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar in the reign of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, and had, as has been mentioned, been instrumental in capturing the fortress of Kaliyâni, he marched to Sholâpûr with a very large army and besieged that fortress. When news of the invasion of the country by Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was brought to Aḥmadnagar, Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh assembled a secret council of his officers. In this council Qâsim Beg, the physician, who was now *vakîl* and *pîshvâ,* said that the matter of most urgent importance was that of the enemies of the state who wore the guise of friendship, the treacherous *amîrs*, and that the king should first deal with them and afterwards consider what could be done against the invaders. The king approved of this advice and issued orders that the traitors should be immediately seized and blinded. In accordance with these orders, Farhâd Khân, Shujâ'at Khân and Khurshîd Khân were thrown into prison and blinded with sharp irons, for they were the leaders of the conspiracy. Faithful servants of the king were then promoted to the positions lately held by the traitors and received their titles, lands and troops.[128]

The king then sent Shâh Rafî-'ud-dîn Ḥusain, who was the eldest son of the late Shâh Ṭâhir, as an ambassador to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, in order that the treaty between the two kingdoms might be renewed and that Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh might, as formerly, join the royal standard with his troops. Unfortunately, Shâh Rafî-'ud-dîn Ḥusain was a slave to his lusts, and instead of carrying out the mission with which he was entrusted, fell violently in love with a courtesan in Berar who had been appropriated by Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh as his mistress, and associated with her. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh was much offended by his conduct

[128] According to Firishta, the attempts of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh to seduce the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar from their allegiance to Ḥusain were unsuccessful. These *amîrs* probably belonged to the Sunnî party, which favoured the pretensions of 'Abdul Qâdir. Matters were probably simplified for Husain by the number of pretenders. These were 'Abdul Qâdir, supported by the Sunnî party, Shâh Haidar, supported by his father-in-law, Khvâja Jahân of Sholâpûr, and Shâh 'Alî, supported by his maternal uncle, Ibrâhîm Âdil Shâh I.

and dismissed him without giving him an audience on the business on which he had come. When Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh heard of this, he was much vexed and dispatched Yasuras Rai, one of the Brahmans of the court, to set matters right. Yasuras Rai, who was an able and tactful man, fortunately succeeded in his mission, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh marched to Aḥmadnagar with his army and set out with Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh and the army of Aḥmadnagar for Sholâpûr.[129]

Unfortunately, Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, much to the grief of his officers and of the whole army, took seriously ill on the way to Sholâpûr, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, on hearing of this, thought that he saw victory already within his grasp and advanced one stage to meet the armies of Aḥmadnagar and Berar. Fortunately, and to the great joy of the army, God completely and immediately restored the king's health and he marched at once to meet Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and encamped over against the army of Bîjâpûr; and for the rest of that day and the night, the armies prepared for battle. At sunrise on the morrow the two armies were drawn up in battle array. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh placed the advanced centre of his army under the command of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk[130] and his right and left wings under the command of other warlike *amîrs*, while he himself remained with the main body of the army in the centre.

A. D. 1555. The battle then began, and as both sides displayed the utmost determination, the slaughter was great. The field of battle was a sea owing to the blood of the slain, and in the midst of it the elephants appeared as ships and the standards which they bore, as sails, and the horsemen as sea-monsters devouring men. The battle long continued thus, and such a fight had never been fought before. At length the courage of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's army, the number of which was twice as great as that of the troops under Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, began to fail, and Ḥusain perceived that the victory was his when the banner of Bîjâpûr, which had been proudly waving in the breeze throughout the day, was overthrown.

One of the marvellous events of the day, which can only be described as a special favour from heaven, was a report which reached Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh that Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was the mainstay of the fortunes of Bîjâpûr in battle, had been defeated. On hearing this, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's courage left him and he fled precipitately, leaving his umbrella, his standard, and his kettledrums. When 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was in the thick of the fight, heard of the flight of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, he had no choice but to leave the field, and the rout of the 'Âdil Shâhî troops necessarily followed.[131]

Ḥusain's army pursued the defeated Bîjâpûrîs and slew large numbers of them. All the elephants and horses, and the insignia of royalty of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, fell into the hands

129 From Firishta's account it does not appear that Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh accompanied Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh in person, but he sent 7,000 cavalry to assist him.

130 Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk had, for some reason, become apprehensive of Ḥusain I, and had fled, after his accession, to Berar and thence to Bîjâpûr. Ibrâhîm I had welcomed him, bestowed extensive estates on him, promoted him to high office, and conferred high-sounding titles on him, partly, perhaps, to distinguish him from 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'ârû, who was already in his service.

131 It was the custom of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, when the fortune of the day seemed doubtful, to dismount from his horse and fight on foot, in order to convince his followers that he had no thought of flight. He was now fighting on foot and it appeared as though he would, with his own contingent, defeat the whole of the army of Aḥmadnagar; but a coward who fled from the fight reported to Ibrâhîm that he had seen Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk dismount in order to offer his allegiance once more to his old master, the king of Aḥmadnagar. Ibrâhîm, without waiting to verify this report, began to retreat on Bîjâpûr. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, deserted by his master, had no choice but to follow him, and Ibrâhîm learning that he was following, concluded that he was pursuing him, and the retreat became a flight.

of the victors, who also captured all the tents and camp equipage of the defeated army and a large quantity of arms and armour. All the spoils were produced before the king. It is said that 500 elephants were taken, and the amount of the other spoils can thus be estimated *ex ungue leonem.* Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh retained the elephants but allowed the troops to retain all the rest of the plunder, and the slaves.

After Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had fled from the field, leaving 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the lurch, 'Ain-ul-Mulk became suspicious of him, and instead of returning to Bîjâpûr went straight to Mîrâj,[132] which was his *jâgîr*, and there employed himself in collecting and organizing an army strong enough to resist any that might be brought against him by Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. Other *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr, following the example of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, openly defied their master, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, finding himself too weak to oppose 'Ain-ul-Mulk, appealed to Sadâshivarâya of Vijayanagar, who sent an army to his assistance. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was unable to withstand both Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and Sadâshivarâya, appealed to Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh for a safe conduct. His coming to Aḥmadnagar and his death will be related hereafter.

After thus defeating his enemies, Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh returned in triumph to Aḥmadnagar with his spoils.

LX.—An account of the royal hunting excursion and of the capture of the forts of Gâlna and Antûr from the infidels.

A.D. 1555. When the king's mind was at ease regarding Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who had received a lesson, he rested for a while, and then set forth with his army on a sporting excursion, to hunt the beasts of the forest and the birds of the air. Game was plentiful and sport was good, and the king marched through the country enjoying the sport, until he reached the neighbourhood of the fort of Antûr.

In the latter days of the reign of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, at the time when that king marched to assist Sadâshivarâya in besieging Râichûr Dânya Rûî Râî, the commandant of Antûr had rebelled against him and had refused to recognise him as his king, and Bahârjiû, following his example, had captured Gâlna, one of the forts of the kingdom, from the garrison placed there by Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, and had since held it on his own account. Various circumstances had caused delay in the punishment of these two rebels. Now that the royal army approached Antûr, Dânya Rûî Râî became alarmed, and leaving some of his relations and dependants in the fort with instructions to hold it as long as possible, fled.

Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh now desired to capture this fortress, and ordered the army to attack it. The troops surrounded the hill on which was built the fort to which the infidels trusted as a safe place of refuge, and sought everywhere for a path by which it might be ascended, but without success. At length a steep and narrow glen was discovered, which was the only path to the fortress, and was so situated that it was, in truth, little more than a narrow passage for stones which could be rolled down from the walls above it. As this,

[132] When Ibrâhîm reached Bîjâpûr, he shut himself up in the citadel and refused to see Saif 'Ain ul-Mulk. His messenger was ill-treated and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk was told that he was an unprofitable, if not a disloyal servant. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk then marched to the Mân river and began plundering the autumn crops. His nephew, Salâbat Khân defeated a force of 5,000 horse sent against him and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk himself defeated a second force, of 10,000, under Dilâvar Khân, the African, and then Ibrâhîm himself, who was forced to flee back to Bîjâpûr followed by Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk made a night attack on the Hindu army, commanded by Venkatâdri, brother of Sadâshivarâya but was defeated by the Hindus, who were on the alert.

however, was the only way to the fortress, the troops rushed up the narrow cleft, only to be met with showers of rocks and stones which were heaved over the wall of the fort. Many were killed by these stones and by the arrows shot by the infidels from the fortress. Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh bethought himself of his artillery, which he considered, might be of some use against this fortress, as the defences above the cleft might be breached and destroyed by guns. He therefore sent for his artillery and caused the guns to be laid on the bastions above the cleft, which was the one vulnerable spot in the defences. The guns played on the bastion until it was breached and destroyed, and the defenders, when they saw that the bastion on which all their hopes depended, was destroyed and that a way into the fort was now open, saw that submission to the king was the only thing left for them. They were granted their lives, liberty, and property. The king then made one of his officers commandant of the fort and marched thence to take vengeance on the infidels of Gâlna. Having encamped before Gâlna, which is an exceedingly strong fortress built of dressed stones, he laid siege to it. The garrison of Gâlna, who had seen how Antûr had fallen after the guns had been brought against it, were alarmed when the fort was surrounded by the royal army, and sent a messenger to Bahârjiyû, who was the governor of that fort and of the mountainous district around it, to say that the royal army had arrived before the fort and was besieging it, and that as they despaired of being able to hold the fort, they were of opinion that their best course was to make their submission to the king. As Bahârjî saw nothing for it but to make his submission, he sent an envoy to the king with valuable gifts of merchandise, rich stuffs, jewels, and horses, and completely humbled himself. When the envoy arrived and, by means of the *amîrs*, was admitted to an audience, he presented the tribute sent by Bahârjî, and immediately afterwards the garrison of Gâlna came forth, made their submission and presented the keys of the fortress to the king. Both the envoy and the garrison were favourably received and honourably entreated, and the king then appointed one of his officers commandant of the fort, with orders to see to the necessary repairs, to hold the fort securely, and to treat the inhabitants of the district well. The king then returned to his capital.

In the third year of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh's reign (A.H. 963—A.D. 1555-56) the royal army did not leave the capital and the year was spent by the king in ease and enjoyment. By the royal command founders broke up the guns named Shâh *Qal'ah Kushâ*, and *Qal'ah Shikan* [133] and made from them the gun named *Ḥusain Shâhî*.

At this time the misguided Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had deserted Aḥmadnagar for Bîjâpûr and had ever since done his utmost to stir up strife between the kingdoms, sent a messenger to court to signify his desire of making his obeisance and submitting once more to the Sulṭân of Aḥmadnagar and to ask for a safe conduct in order that he might travel without anxiety to Aḥmadnagar to do homage, for by this time the friendship between him and 'Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had been changed to enmity and he could find no resting place in the kingdom of Bîjâpûr, as has already been mentioned.

Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh sent some of his trusted officers with a safe conduct to summon Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk to court, for he conceived this to be the policy best suited to the time. Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh now heard that the people of Gujarât had sent letters to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, offering him the throne of that kingdom, as Sultan Maḥmûd,[134] who had been king of Gujarât, had died and had left no undoubted heir to succeed him on the throne. Since

133 "The royal fort, opener," and "the fort breaker."

134 I have not been able to discover elsewhere any mention of an offer of the throne of Gujarât to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and it is improbable that it was made.

'Ain-ul-Mulk, besides being a fomenter of strife, was also valiant and unscrupulous, his elevation to the throne of Gujarât would have been disastrous to the peace of Ahmadnagar, and Husain Nizâm Shâh therefore resolved to compass his death, for it is certain that he who has been strong enough to draw the sword in his own cause will never be the willing and faithful servant of another. The king therefore sent Hakîm Qâsim Beg to assure Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk that he would be well received in Ahmadnagar, and so well did Qâsim Beg perform his task that 'Ain-ul-Mulk was thoroughly reassured and induced to hasten to his death.

When Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk with his troops drew near to the capital, the king went forth with his army as though to receive him with honour, and the army was drawn up in two ranks, facing one another so as to form an avenue. 'Ain-ul-Mulk with a few attendants approached the king between the ranks of the army, and when he drew near to him, prostrated himself in the dust. When the king saw his enemy thus in his power, something whispered to him that the opportunity should not be lost. By the king's command he was instantly slain, and orders were issued that his army should be attacked and plundered. Salâbat Khan [35] and a large number of the officers and bravest men of 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army were slain; and Qabûl Khân, one of his *amîrs*, with some others who escaped the avenging swords of the royal army, made his way to the *haram* of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and for the sake of gaining a name for themselves, conveyed the ladies, in spite of much opposition and with much fighting, to Telingâna. Those of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army who threw away their arms and surrendered, were kindly treated, and were enrolled in the royal army, but those who persisted in following the path of disobedience became food for ravening beasts and their arms and horses became the spoil of the royal army.

(To be continued.)

ÂVANTÎ PRÂKRIT OF THE KARPÛRAMAÑJARÎ.

BY SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI, M.A.; PATNA.

THE *Karpûramañjarî* is the only drama composed entirely in Prâkrit, and as such, it is read by all students of Prâkrit philology. It has been critically edited with a learned introduction by Dr. Sten Konow in the Harvard Oriental Series. Commenting on its Prâkrits, Dr. Konow notes [1] that Râjaśekhara, who calls himself *sarva-bhâshâ-vichakshaṇa*, has used two dialects only—the Saurasenî (in the prose portions) and the Mâhârâshṭrî (in the metrical portions), [2] that the most striking feature of Râjaśekhara's Prâkrit is his abundant use of rare and provincial words, of which a list has been given by Dr. Konow; [3] that Nârâyana Dîkshîta and Apte have pointed out that for the majority of these provincial or vernacular words, our poet seems to be largely indebted to Marâthî; and [4] that the poet confused his two dialects—Saurasenî and Mâhârâshṭrî. Dr. Konow illustrates this confusion with various examples and concludes that the linguistic skill of Râjaśekhara was not so remarkable as he would have us believe. From the fact that Râjaśekhara "who knew all languages" did not correctly distinguish the different Prâkrits, Dr. Konow infers that the living knowledge of those dialects was, at that time, considerably diminished; possibly there was an obsolence of the said dialects at that period.

[35] This Salâbat Khân was sister's son to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk. He had been severely wounded at the battle of Sholâpûr.

[1] *Karpûramañjarî* (Harvard Oriental Series), Part III, p. 199.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 201. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.

It thus follows that Râjaśekhara was, in Dr. Konow's opinion, a braggart who boasted of his knowledge of all languages without knowing the peculiarities of any Prâkṛit dialect. Râjaśekhara was, indeed, much given to boasting, as is evident from his describing himself as an incarnation of Vâlmîki, Bharttṛ-Meṇṭha and Bhavabhûti.[5] But though he had no scruples as to how *paradosham iva hi svakaṁ guṇaṁ khyâpaye katham adhṛshṭatâjaḍaḥ*, is it not too much to state that he had not even a rudimentary knowledge of the special features of the Prâkṛits in which he composed elegant dramas and that yet he styled himself as *sarva-bhâshâ-vichakshaṇa?* In his recently published work, *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ*, Râjaśekhara discusses the question of the use of various dialects as the vehicle of poetry and has solved it thus:—*Śabdârthau te* (= *kâvyapurushasya*) *śarîraṁ, Saṁskṛtaṁ mukhaṁ, Prâkṛitaṁ bâhuḥ, jaghanam Apabhraṁśaḥ, Paiśâchaṁ pâdau, uro Miśram.*[6] Here he mentions *Sanskrit, Prâkṛit, Apabhraṁśa, Paiśâcha*, and *Miśra*, as different dialects or languages. His *Prâkṛit* is thus identical with the *Bhâshâ* and *Vibhâshâ* of Mârkaṇḍeya. But what is this *Miśra?* It is evidently a *mixed* language like the *Gâthâ* of the Northern Buddhists or Senart's *Mixed Sanskrit* of inscriptions which is nowhere referred to in Sanskrit literature. Shall we treat him, who has thus preserved an information unknown to later Prâkṛit authorities, as one innocent of Prâkṛit dialects? Probably his Prâkṛit is an unknown dialect and as such it causes so much perplexity. So before charging him of using incorrect Prâkṛit, let us turn to the various Prâkṛitic dialects and try to find out whether his Prâkṛit may be a different dialect.

Vararûchi (*circa* A. D. 500 ?) treats of the *Mâhârâshṭrî, Paiśâchî, Mâgadhî* and *Saurasenî*. The first is characterized by the loss or change into *h* of *all* intervocal explosives (except the linguals) which are preserved and hardened in Paiśâchî. The *Mâgadhî-Saurasenî* group mainly differs from it in preserving (the softened) intervocal *dental* explosives. Hence Râjaśekhara has confused his dialects by his loss of the dental intervocals in *uâra, maïrâ, pâü, maä, vaäṇa*, etc. in the prose portion which should be written in the *Saurasenî Prâkṛit*.

The later grammarians and authorities on Dramaturgy refer to a larger number of dialects—fourteen, sixteen or eighteen. Thus Mârkaṇḍeya classifies the Prâkṛit dialects thus:—I. **Bhâshâ**—*Mâhârâshṭrî, Saurasenî, Prâchyâ, Âvantî, Mâgadhî* and *Ardhamâgadhî*. II. **Vibhâshâ**—*Śâkârî, Châṇḍâlî, Śâvarî, Âbhîrî, Ṭâkkî* (? the dialect of Takka or the Punjab), *Oḍrî, Drâviḍî*. III. **Apabhraṁśa**. IV. **Paiśâchî**.[7]

In the above list we find the mention of the **Avantî** dialect. According to *Pṛthvîdhara, Âvantî* is the dialect in which speak *Vîraka* and *Chandanaka* of the *Mṛchchhakaṭika*. He notes *tathâ Śauraseny-***Avantijâ**, *Prâchyâ. etâsu dantyasakâratâ. tatr-Âvantijâ repha-vatî lokokti-bahulâ cha.* [Dental *s* occurs in *Śaurasenî, Âvantî* and *Prâchyâ*: *Âvantî* retains *r* (= *l* in *Mâgadhî*) and it is full of colloquial (provincial) words]. Mârkaṇḍeya remarks **Âvanti** *syât Mâhârâshṭrî-Śaurasenyos tu saṁkarât.* [*Âvantî* is a mixture of *Mâhârâshṭrî* and *Saurasenî*.][8]

As Avantî (Malwa) is situated midway between Mahârâshṭra and Śûrasena (Muttra), it is natural that its language should be a mixture of *Mâhârâshṭrî* and *Saurasenî*, and that has been

5 बभूव वल्मीभवः कविः पुरा ततः प्रपद भाव भर्तृमेठताम् । स्थितस्तायो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्त्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः ॥ बालरामायण प्रस्तावनायाम् ।

6 *Kâvyamîmâṁsa* (Gaekwad Sanskrit Series), p. 6.

7 Pischel's *Prâkrit Grammar*, § 3.

8 *Ibid.*, § 26.

clearly stated by Mârkaṇḍeya. Pṛthvîdhara has pointed out that it contains a large number of provincial words. Now this is exactly the case, as Dr. Konow has pointed out, with Râjaśekhara's Prâkṛit. We thus see that Râjaśekhara was not ignorant of the characteristics of the Prâkṛit dialects, but that he wrote his prose portions in the Âvantî dialect. The reason why he preferred the Âvantî dialect is not far to seek. The *Karpûramañjarî* was played at the instance of *Avantisundarî*. the wife of our poet.[9] Râjaśekhara's love and admiration for Avantisundarî is exhibited by his quoting her opinion as an authoritative statement in his *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ*. It is thus his ***amour*** for ***la belle d' Avanti*** that dictated him to write in the *langue d'Avanti* in spite of the dictum of Dramaturgy that the prose portions should be in Śaurasenî in the speech of the heroine, etc., etc.

DID PÂṆINI KNOW BUDDHIST NUNS?

BY K. V. LAKSHMAN RAO, M.A.; MADRAS.

While writing an article on *Ashtâdhyâyi* for the *Telugu Encyclopaedia*, a *Sûtra* in *Pâṇini* arrested my attention. In the second *Ashṭaka* there is a *Śûtra* कुमारश्रमणादिभिः [II. 1. 70]. All the commentators agree in interpreting this aphorism to mean that the word '*Kumâra*' enters into a *Tatpurusha* compound with the words in the *Śramaṇa*-group. The *Śramaṇâdigaṇa* consists of the words श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, कुलटा, गर्भिणी, तापसी, दासी, बन्धकी, अध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पण्डित, पटु, मृदु, कुशल, चपल, निपुण.[1] We find all these words enumerated in *Gaṇaratnamahô-dadhi* of *Vardhamâna* of the twelfth century and in the *Kâsikâ* of the seventh century. *Śâkaâya Vyâkaraṇa* which may belong to the ninth century and *Jainêndra Vyâkarana* which cannot be later than the fifth century A. D. have a Śûtra similar to that of *Pâṇini*. Unfortunately the *Vritti* and the *Mahâbhâshya* have not thought it necessary to comment upon this *śûtra* and hence we are not in a position to know *Kâtyâyanâ's* or *Patânjali's* interpretation of this aphorism.

The illustrations generally given under this aphorism are कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा. (Kāsika). कुमारी चासौ श्रमणा च कुमारश्रमणा, कुमारप्रव्रजिता (*Gaṇaratnamahô-dadhi*).

Though we know that almost all the words we now find in the *Śramaṇâdigaṇa* are given in the *Gaṇaratnamahô-dadhi* and *Kâsikâ*, it may be said that we cannot be sure that all the fifteen words were included in the group by *Pâṇini* when he wrote the Śûtra. Any how it cannot be doubted that the first three or four words formed part of the group then. Thus

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[9] *Châhuâṇakulamolimâliâ*
Râäschara-Kaïnda-gehiṇî
Bhattuṇs Kiïm Avantisundarî
Sâ pauṇjaüum eam ichchhaï.—Karpûramañjarî, p. 6

[1] Of the fifteen words now found in the *Śramaṇâ-digaṇa* the first seven are in the feminine gender and the rest are in the masculine. *Kâśikâ* says that the word *Kumâra* enters into compound as a word of feminine gender with those words which have feminine form and as a word of both masculine and feminine gender with those which have a masculine form. "यत्र स्त्रीलिङ्गाः पठ्यन्ते श्रमणा प्रव्राजिता कुलटेत्येव मादयस्तैः सह स्त्रीलिङ्ग एव कुमारशब्दः समस्यते, येतु पुंलिङ्गा अध्यापको ऽभिरूपकः पाण्डितइति, तैरुभयथा, प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणमिति." This means that the compounds कुमारश्रमणः, कुमारप्रव्रजितः, कुमारतापसः cannot be allowed, though both the compounds कुमारपण्डितः, कुमारपण्डिता: कुमाराध्यापकः कुमाराध्यापिका. are admissible. *Abhâyanandi* commenting upon an analogous sûtra (III. 65) in the *Jainendravyakaraṇa* (Pandit edition) explains in the same way: स्त्रीलिङ्गैरुत्तरपदैः स्त्रीलिङ्गः अध्यापकादिभिरुभयथा समस्यते. The purpose of the Sûtra is clearly to show that the word कमार comes always as the first member of the compound in all these cases. *Padamañjari* says कमार कुमारशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं वचनं.

the words *Śramaṇâ* and *Pravrajitâ* cannot but be taken as having been included in the *gaṇa* when *Pâṇini* wrote the *Sûtra*.

The word *Kumârî* means in Sanskrit either an unmarried girl or a very young girl. Hence the compound *Kumâra-Śramaṇâ* or *Kumâra-pravrajitâ* may either mean a *sanyâsinî* who has joined the order as a *brahmachâriṇî* without getting married or a *Sanyâsinî* who has joined the order when very young. Hindu girls rarely remained unmarried, and no where was *samnyasa* ordained for them. There was therefore no chance for a young Hindu girl to take orders under the Hindu Śâstrâs. In the Upanishads we hear of certain *brahmachâriṇîs*, who remained unmarried for a long period, but we do not hear of women who have undergone the ceremony of *pravrajana*.

Now, who were these *Kumâra-Śramaṇâs* and *Kumâra-pravrajitâs*—the virgin ascetics, the young nuns, the child-*sanyâsinîs* the girls who were admitted into the sisterhood of *pravrajitâs* (Pâli *Pabbajitâs*) when they were very young? Who could they be except the Buddhist nuns? Hinduism does not recognise *Samnyâsa* to women and *Śûdrâs*. It is *Buddha* who first founded the system of *Samnyâsa* for women and consequently references to *bikkhunîs*, *samanis*, *pabbajitâs* and nunneries are found in Buddhistic literature from the *Tripiṭakâs* down to the writings of the modern times We also find these terms applied to nuns in the inscriptions of Nâsik, Kârle and Amarâvati. We find in Buddhistic writings that even boys and girls of seven years, with the consent of their parents, were taken as *Śramaṇerâs*, and *Śramaṇerîs*, *i.e.*, as young novices to be trained up as a *Śramaṇa* and *Śramaṇî* (*Manual of Buddhism* by H. Kern. p. 77). It is no wonder then that these young female ascetics were called *Kumâra-Śramaṇâs* which necessitated a separate rule in *Pâṇini*.

Here I may take into consideration some possible objections to my statement that Hinduism does not recognise female *śramaṇâs* and *pravrajitâs*. The word *Śramaṇa* even in its masculine form has been monopolized by Buddhists and it now practically means a Buddhist monk. But I am aware of its use, though very rarely in the general sense of a *Samnyâsi* in the Hindu religious literature, perhaps prior to Buddha. *Sathapathî Brâhmaṇa* (XIV. 6. 122) has चण्डाला अचण्डाल:, श्रमणा: अश्रमणा:, तापस अतापस : *Brihadâraṇyaka* has a similar sentence (IV. 3. 22). *Taittariyâraṇyaka* also mentions वातरशना ह वा ऋषय श्रमणा ऊर्ध्वेन-न्थिनो. Even as to the meaning of the word *Śramaṇa* (in its masculine form) in the above passages, there may be some who may suggest that it refers to the Buddhist *Śramaṇâs* before the word was degraded in its significance in the eyes of the Hindus. I may here remind the readers that the late Prof. Goldstucker was of opinion that the Araṇyakâs were unknown to *Pâṇini* and came into existence during the period intervening between *Pâṇini* and *Kâtyâyana*. But the word *Śramaṇâ* or *Śramaṇî* (*i.e* in its feminine form) is unknown to the Hindu literature of the pre-Buddhistic period.

We know of a passage in Râmâyaṇa where a certain *śramaṇî* is mentioned (*Araṇya Kâṇḍa*. *Sarga* 73). There she is called शंमितव्रता तपस्विन. तापसीं, सिद्धा, सिद्धसम्मता. She is represented to have come from the low caste of *Śabarâs*. Her caste clearly indicates that the word *Śramaṇî* is not used here in the technical sense of a high caste woman entering into an order of *Samnyâsinîs*. Even those who may argue that in ancient times Hinduism allowed women to become *Samnyâsinîs* or *pravrajitâs* cannot go to the extent of asserting that women who were outside the pale of Hinduism could become *samnyâsinîs*, *śramaṇâs*, *pravrajitâs*, *tâpasîs* in the technical sense, when even men belonging to the Sûdra caste were denied that privilege. I think I need not quote any authorities for this statement, the story of Śambûka from the Râmâyaṇa itself will illustrate my point. Hence if a woman of a wild tribe is honoured as *śramaṇî* and *tâpasî*, it must be through the influence of Buddhism.

Besides we are not sure about the date of Râmâyaṇa. The original text may be very old, certainly pre-Buddhistic. But there are many interpolations in it, which we know are certainly post-Buddhistic. The very name of *Buddha*—the *Tathâgata* and the *Nâstika*—is mentioned in it (*Ayôdhya*, 109, 34). There are similar interpolations in the Mahabhârata also.

We find the word *pravrajita* (female ascetic) in *Manu* (VIII, 363), *Vâtsyâyanâ's Kâmasûtra* (V, p 69, XXI, p. 234, XXVII, p .290), *Arthâśastra* of *Kauṭilya* (I, 10 ; I, 12). But in all these places it is clear, from the contemptuous way in which the female ascetics are referred to, that they are the much hated Buddhist *pravrajitâs*.[2] These are generally mentioned along with women of bad character for purposes of espionage and as go-betweens. It is certain that the Hindus began to hate these Buddhist Nuns, as the institution was unknown to them, and as these nuns, at least some of them, must have led a life of doubtful morality. It is natural that they should have hence fallen very low in the estimation of the Hindus. Gradually the word *Śramaṇa* connoted the sense of a beggar-woman, an unchaste woman, a beautiful woman without character. These are some of the meanings given to the word *Śramaṇâ* in various Sanskrit lexicons.

I therefore consider the *śramaṇâ* and *pravrajitâ* mentioned in the *Sûtra* and *Gaṇapâtha* of *Pâṇini* as referring to the Buddhist *Samaṇīs* and *Pabbajitâs*.

SPECIMENS OF NEPĀLĪ.

BY R. L. TURNER.

The following examples of Nepālī are taken from a collection of stories which were written down at the time of hearing in phonetic script The narrators were men of the 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles, and their stories describe the campaigns in France and Palestine in which that battalion shared. I have chosen extracts only from stories told by men whose native tongue was Nepālī (Khaskurā) and not a Mongolian language

In preparing them for publication and annotation I have (with considerable reluctance) changed the phonetic script of the Société phonétique internationale to the Roman script for Indian languages adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society. In order however to preserve the more important differences of sound, I have had to use a few additional symbols. The chief points to notice are :—

ʌ denotes the *a* in Hindi *makkhan*.
a „ a shortened *ā* and must be distinguished from ʌ.
ə .. the neutral vowel *a* heard in H. *kartā citra*.
e .. the short *e* in English *set*.
o .. the short close vowel corresponding to the long *ō*.
ɔ .. the short open vowel of the English *hot*.
ɔ̄ .. the long open vowel of the English *awe*.
ɔi .. a diphthong like that of English *boy*.
ai au are diphthongs : aï aü two separate vowels.
s is a sound between English *s* and *sh*.
c ch j jh represent ts tsh dz dzh with a very slight palatalisation of the *s* element.

The aspirates are pronounced with much feebler aspiration than in Hindī. It will be noticed that Middle Indian intervocalic *-h-* has practically disappeared

2 *Manu* does not consider the offence of a man who secretly converses with a *parivrajikâ* to be very serious. He puts it along with the offence of conversing with a female slave. These offences are to be punished with a small fine. [VIII. 363.] In commenting upon the word *pravarjitâ* all the comentators explain it to mean a Buddhist nun. *Vâtsyâyana* proposes the use of *pravrajitâs* to seduce chaste women. Though Vâtsyâyana points them in this ugly light, we know from the *Malati Mâdhavam* of *Bhavabhûti* the noble and self-less part which these *Bhikkhunis* played in bringing together true, noble and virtuous lovers. *Kauṭilya* makes use of these Pravajitâs as spies for political purposes.

Intervocalic breathed stops tend to be slightly voiced; while final voiced stops lose their voice.

There is considerably less difference between dentals and cerebrals than in Hindī. For the dentals the tongue strikes slightly further back, and for the cerebrals the tip appears not to be turned over backwards so far.

The accent, which is a moderately strong stress, is on the first syllable of the word, except where otherwise shown by the sign ′.

I.

THE RETREATING TURKS DESTROY THE WELLS.

TOLD BY A ṬHĀKUR OF THE MALLA CLAN.

Hami heru Gāza bāṭi ʌgari bəryũ Us bēla hamiheru sʌbi bhʌnna pʌchi rizərb mā rākheka thiũ. ʌgari bərda bərda Turki ka dhēre gōla rə gōli hālne bākʌs tise lʌtha liṅge phālerə bhāgerə gae chʌn. Tyō din bhʌri hinḍe hinḍe thākerə hairā́n bhai rāko; pāni pʌni khānə nə paune mukh rə ghā̃ṭi pʌṭpʌṭi sukerə mərne khōjeka thiũ. Sā̃zə ko pā̃s bʌje mā yōṭa bʌgica mā bʌsyũ. Teā yōṭa Turki ko pāni ko kuā rēchə. Teā hamra sipaíheru. pāni bhərnə jā̃da pāni jhikne kʌl tuṭaíerə gaeko rēchə. Pāni khaũla bhʌni tʌchā́r rə mʌchar gʌri jā̃da tə testo tūṭeko kʌl dēkhinə. Tə mʌn mā isto krōd ubjo kʌsto bhʌṇe ēk ta pāṇi nə khānə paeko tyō māthi Turki le kʌl bhā̃cerə gāko. Tyō Turki lai pāya hunde, tese lai kāṭerə tes ko khun pāni jhaī khaierə tirkha bujhaúne thiũ. Sʌbe ka mʌn mā iste jhog uṭhya-ko thiu Phēri thōra dēri mā hamra Sərkār bādur ka bʌndobʌst le tyō kuā ko pāni jhikna lai enjinīr lai bōlaī pʌṭhaio rə tyō kʌl lai bʌnaio. Bʌnaierə mʌn mā tyo kʌl bʌni sʌkda dēkherə sāre rʌmaiũ: ʌbə pāni khānə paũla bhvni. Phēri enjinīr le pāni niká̄lerə bā̃rḍa ta yōṭā yōṭa tʌmlet pʌni dienə. Tirkha pʌni testo lāgya chə: pāni pʌni yōṭa tʌmlet. uī pʌni hukum bhəio rāti hinna ko lāgi tyō pāni lai binə hukum khāne chainə bhʌnero: jʌbə pʌra mā pugũla wʌā pāni khāne hukum milla.

Translation.

We advanced from Gaza. At that time we had been placed behind everyone in reserve. As we advanced, the Turks having thrown away anyhow all higgledy-piggledy many boxes containing shells and rifle ammunition have fled. Marching all that day we became tired and exhausted, and getting no water to drink, our mouths and throats becoming as dry as dry leaves, we were ready to die. In the evening at five o'clock we halted in a garden. There there is actually a Turkish well of water. There when our soldiers go to draw water, the machinery for getting out the water has been quite broken. As they went in a crowd saying 'We will drink', they had never seen machinery so broken. Then such anger arose in their minds because not only had they got no water to drink, but in addition the Turk had gone after breaking the machinery. If we had caught that Turk, we should have killed him and drunk his blood like water and so assuaged our thirst. Such rage rose in everyone's heart. Again, in a little while through the arrangement of our noble Government, an engineer was sent for to get out the water from the well, and he repaired the machinery. When he had repaired it, seeing that the machinery had been quite repaired, we rejoiced exceedingly in our hearts, saying: 'Now we will get water to drink.' But the engineer, having got the water out and distributing it, still did not give each man one water-bottle full. So great was our thirst and there was only one water-bottle of water; and in addition the order came, saying: 'On account of marching to-night you must not drink even that water without orders. When we reach the end of the march, then an order to drink will be received.'

Notes.

hamiheru : the plural affix *haru* usually becomes *heru*.

bāṭi < *bāṭai* emphatic of *bāṭa* 'from -*ai* > -*ei* -*e* -*i* according to sprachtempo.

ʌgari < *agāṛi* : -*r*- regularly becomes -*ṛ*-.

bəryũ < *baṛhyũ*.

bhʌnna < *bhandā* 'in comparison with' -*nd*- often > -*nn*-: cf. *hunno* < *hundo* below, *jānna* < *jāndaina*.

rākheka thiũ = had been placed; the active *rākhyo* and passive *rākhiyo* have generally fallen together.

hālne : verbal adjective = holding. -*ne* < -*nyā*. Is this an extension of the verbal noun representing a type *raksanika- > *rākhne* ? -*e* (< -*yā*) is used very frequently for the formation of adjectives from nouns.

tise < *tisai tesai* 'thus, anyhow.'

phālerə : past conjunctive participle, formed from the past tense in -*yo* plur. -*e* plus *ra* 'and'.

gae chʌn : perfect without *ko*. There seems to be now no difference in meaning between perfects with or without -*ko* -*kā*. Both forms are used with transitive as well as intransitive verbs. Possibly *gae chan* is the phonetic development of gaekā chʌn in rapid speech and not an originally *ko*-less form. On the other hand the original division may have been into *ko*-forms with transitive and *ko*-less forms with intransitive verbs. There are not yet sufficient data collected to make a decision.

hiṇḍe < *hīrdai*.

rāko < *rahyāko*. -*ayā* in perfect participles before -*ko* often becomes -*ā*: cf. *bhāko gāko* < *bhayāko gayāko*. Forms retaining -*ae*, e.g., *bhaeko gaeko*, are probably later formations after types like *gare phāle kāṭe*, etc. < *garyā phālyā kāṭyā* etc. The perfect participle is frequently, as here, used in narrative as a main verb without an auxiliary.

khānə : the infinitive has the following forms :—

(1) -*nu*, which appears whenever the infinitive is used (*a*) as a subject : *e.g.*, with *parcha* 'it is necessary'; *maile garnu parcha* lit. = the doing by me is necessary; *dinu na dinu āphnu khusi cha* ; (*b*) as an imperative : (*c*) with the auxiliary *ho* to express necessity : negative *chaina*.

(2) -*na* (> -*nə* in these texts), which is used generally as an object (*a*) with verbs like *lāgnu* 'begin' *pāunu* 'be allowed to' *khõjnu* 'try' *dinu* 'allow' *saknu* 'be able ;' (*b*) when dependent on adjectives : e.g. *testo sunna pani ayogya kurā*. (*c*) To express purpose : e.g., *ke bhanna āyau* ? = To say what have you come ? (*d*) Rarely with postpositions : e.g., *jā̃r khāna mā̃ bhulne mānis* = a man who goes wrong in drinking spirits : (*e*) With *tā* as an asseverative : e.g., *bēcna tā bēcne hõ : mõl tā sughā āphai garcha* = 'As for selling, it is for sale : but..........' It appears then to be an oblique case. Does it represent a phonetic development of -*nā* ?

(3) -*nā* (> -*na* in these texts) which is regularly used with postpositions. It is possible then that in this position before enclitics (if No. 2 *na* is derived from -*nā*) the length of the syllable was maintained.

(4) -*nē* < -*nyā* used with *hõ* to express necessity: e.g., *mai le jānē hõ* = I must go. This appears the same in form as the verbal adjective in -*nē* (see above). Possibly the starting-point of the construction is a sentence like *tyō garnē hõ* lit. = 'he is a doer,' whence *tes le garne hõ* (after *tes le garcha*) ; then *mai le garne hõ* (instead of *mā̃ garne hũ*) after the analogy *tes le garnu cha : tes le garne hõ* = *mai le garnu cha : mai le garne hõ*.

One form tends to become generalised for all uses at the expense of the others. This is most usually—*nu*, occasionally *-na*.

pʌṭpʌṭi sukera : lit. = becoming so dry as to make the sound 'paṭpaṭi'.

mərne perhaps < *marnai* emphatic of *marna*.

pā̃s < *pā̃c*.

Yōṭa < *yēuṭā yēwaṭā* < *ēka-* + *vṛtti-*. *-ōṭa* is then generalised for all numerals: *e.g.* *cāroṭa pā̃coṭa* etc. beside *cārwaṭā pā̃cwaṭā* etc.

teā̃ < tyahā̃ 'there.'

tuṭaierə < *tuṭāera*.

rēchə < *rahecha*, perfect of *rahanu*, in the sense of an emphatic *cha* 'is.'

dēkhinə : either singular for plural *dēkhinan* with *sipaiheru* as subject or passive with *kʌl* as subject : < *dēkhīyena* 'had not been seen.'

ubjo < *upjyo*, past of *upjanu* 'be produced.'

uṭhya < *uṭhyā* : the existence of forms with *-yā* beside more regular *-e* (< *-yā*) is perhaps due to new formations after the nominative in *-yo* which remains unchanged : e. g. *chōro : chōrā* or *upjo : upjā* (< *upjyo : upjyā*) produces *uṭhyo : uṭhyā* (in place of *uṭhe* < older *uṭhyā*).

bādur < *bahādur*.

bhəio < *bhayo*, but *bhae* < *bhaye* : cf. *gəio* : *gae*. *məryo* : *mare*.

sāre < *sāṛhai*.

hinna < *hīrnī*.

wʌā < wahā̃.

II.

THE ROAD DURING THE PURSUIT OF THE TURKS.

TOLD BY A ṬHĀKUR OF THE MALLA CLAN.

Tyō rāt mā tēī bās bʌsyū. Bhōli pʌlṭə biānə hukum bhəio dhēre ṭāra jānu chə : kʌmjəri manche jō hinnu sʌkdenə uslai chāṭerə yiā chərʌ bhʌnne hukum bhəio. Jō hinnu sʌkdenə thiu sʌbe lai āphna āphna kʌmpʌni bāṭi chāṭerə tēī chəryū. Təā bāṭi pā̃s bʌjə biānə hinna ko hukum bhəio. rə hinda hinda bāṭo mā Turki ka gōliheru bəmheru bāṭo ko daine baiyā phāli rākheka : kōi kōi ṭhaū mā pherkerə phair gʌre chʌn : khāli kārtusheru thupra ko thupri dēkhyo. ʌlli ʌghi gaierə Turki ka bhēra ko bʌthān bhēṭio. Lau tyō bhēra lai khānu persə bhʌni hamro dāktər sāb gaierə tyō bʌthān bāṭə ādha dʌbaierə lēyo. Tes mā kōi sʌʌtər ʌsi bhēra hunno hō. Taā̃ bāṭə ʌli ʌghi gaierə bāṭo ko daine tirə sāno sāno khālto rēchə. Tyō khālto bhʌri mʌreka Turkiheru dēkhyū. Gʌnaierə bilkulei nāk phuṭʌlla bhʌnne jʌsto bhəio. Tyō bāṭo bhʌri Turkiheru le āphna ghəra khʌcər bhaīsi gaiheru āphe le gōli hānerə mārerə phāli chāreka. Bāṭo bhari gʌnaierə tyō gʌndhə le kʌpāl sʌmit dukhāyo. ʌlli ʌghi gaierə yōṭa Turki bāṭa ka daine pʌṭṭi sāna ḍā̃ṛa ka ghē̃c mā jiunde rēchə. Hērnə jā̃da tə ādha āń uthāune ādha hʌlla nə cʌlla bhai rāko rēchə. Hamra mējər sāab le āphna mʌn mā ṭithaierə istécʌr mā bōkerə leāya.

Translation.

That night we remained there. The next day early an order came which said : 'There is a long way to go : choose out any weak man who cannot march and leave him here.' Choosing out from our own companies all the men who could not march, we left them there. The order came to march from there at five o'clock in the morning. And as we marched along the road, the Turks had thrown away their ammunition and bombs right and left of the road. In some places they have turned and fired : heap on heap of empty cartridges

were seen. Going a little further forward a flock of Turkish sheep was met with. Then our Doctor Sahib saying : 'Hullo, we must eat those sheep', went and cut off half of the flock and brought it back. In it there would be seventy or eighty sheep. Going a little forward from there, on the right of the road there was a small hollow. The hollow we saw was full of dead Turks. They stank so that it was just as if our noses were going quite to burst. All over the road the Turks had shot and killed and thrown and scattered their horses and mules and buffaloes and cows. And all over the road they stank so that our heads and all ached with the stink. Going a little forward, a Turk on the slope of a small hill to the right of the road still remains alive. When we go to see, he is able to raise half his body, but half he cannot move. Our Major Sahib taking pity on him in his heart carried him back on a stretcher.

Notes.

tyō : direct for oblique. as generally when the pronoun is used adjectivally. Contrast the oblique in *tes mã* below.

tẽĩ 'there,' emphatic of *teã* (< *tyahã*) : < *tyahaĩ* or *tyahĩ*.

biũnə < *bihānā* oblique case.

sakdenə < *sakdai na*. The negative of the present is formed from the emphatic of the pres. part. in *-dai* plus *na*.

bhanne lit := 'an order which says : . . . .'

taã 'there' beside *teã* (< *tyahã*) is probably due to the influence of *waã* (< *wahã*) ; similarly another form *tiã* is due to *yiã* (< *yahã*).

hiṇḍa= 'while going' does not necessarily refer to the subject of the sentence. In origin it is probably an absolute case, taking the place of the locative. It has become practically a verbal noun as shown by the extension : *gardā mã* 'in doing, while doing,' *gardākheri* lit.= 'at the time of doing.'

pərsə< *parcha* : cf. *khōlsa* < *kholcā*.

sāb < *sāhab*.

lēyo < *liāyo*.

sʌʌtər < *sahattar*. Double consonants in loanwords become single normally : cf. *ʌsi* < *assi* below. Double consonants exist however in emphatics : e.g. *alli katti sabbai* beside *ali kati sabai* ; and in paradigms : *e.g. millā* : *milnu* , *khannu* 'dig.'

hunno hō< *hundo*. Singular for plural

gʌnaierə< *ganhāera*.

III.

THE STORMING OF MACHINE GUN HILL.

TOLD BY A KHAS OF THE BISṬ CLAN.

Bārə tārik bihānə ē rə bī kʌmpʌni tōp ko rʌksa gərnə gae. Ē kʌmpʌni gaũ lierə ʌgari ka nāla mã gaierə bʌsyo ; bī kʌmpʌni gaũ ka pichari ka, nāla mã bʌsyo. Din bhər tōp ka gōla mʌsingʌn ka gōli ḍã̄ṅ ḍã̄ṅ bhai rēyo. Teã bāṭə cār bʌje sã̄zə sʌmə hameru tẽĩ bʌsyũ. Tyo bēla hamra dēbre tirə bāṭə gəra Iskat naũ gʌreko pʌltʌn ʌgari tirə bəryo, rə hami le sāre rāmrogʌri hēre thiũ. Uniheru ke māthi Turki le dhēre gōla gōli bərsaio. Tōp ka dhuã le ēk chin ʌ̃dhēro jhaĩ bhai gyo. Teã bāṭə uneru ḍər nə māni tyo ḍã̄ṛa mã puge rə hamrə tōpkhāna le uneru lai dhere goār diyo. Tʌrə uneruko riinphəs nə pugna le uneru sʌbbe manche mʌri gae. Phēri ū ḍã̄ṛa Turki le khōsyo. Phēri sã̄zə mã sikin ṭərḍ gōrkha lai uī ḍã̄ṛa khōsnu pərsə bhʌnne hukum āyo. Ùs bēla mã kʌmã̄ḍiṅ āpsər sāp le sunaie bī kʌmpʌni rə

ḍī kᴀmpᴀni phairiṅ lain, ē kᴀmpᴀni rə sī kᴀmpᴀni sᴀpōṭ. Ādha bāṭo jā̃da jā̃da kōi gōla gōli phair bhaienə. Un ko mārk ko ṭhaũ tə pugya pᴀchi gōla bini mᴀsingᴀn ka gōli bini ekkai chuṭṭei ᴀsinᴀ jasto bərsaie. Hamiheru lai dhēre kᴀṭhin bhəio ᴀgari bərna lai. Yōṭa plāṭun le kᴀbriṅ phair gᴀryo, yōta plāṭun dugerə gəio. Yesəri bərda bərda (dusmᴀn ko ḍā̃ṛa nirə yōṭa khōlsa thiu) hameru tyō khōlsa mā pugdakheri āphna manche ko gᴀnti gᴀryũ. Tyō khōlsa mā pugi sᴀkya pᴀchi bī kᴀmpᴀni sāp paile ghaile bhae bhᴀnikᴀnə khᴀbər pāyũ; ᴀli chin pᴀchi mᴀre bhᴀnne thā pāyũ. Wᴀā dēkhin hameru le luisgᴀn hānne manche lai bhᴀnyũ: dusmᴀn ko jā̃ mᴀsingᴀn ko ṭhaũ chə ũ ṭhaũ mā rāmrəri cīnerə bāklo gōli hāna bhᴀnerə. Wᴀā bāṭi phēri həmeru ᴀgari bəryũ. Hiṇde hiṇde gōli hānde hānde gaiũ. Luisgᴀn hānne manche le āphna mancheheru ka kā̃dha mā luisgᴀn lai rākherə dusmᴀn ka ṭhaũ mā gōli hānde ᴀgari bəryo. Rə dusmᴀn ko bᴀsne bᴀlio ṭhau khōsyũ. Ḍā̃ṛa mā kᴀsto hō bhᴀne. Dusmᴀn dhēre mᴀreka thie hamra tōp ka gōla le. Kōi kōi ṭhau mā dusmᴀn ka āṅ mā āgo lāge ko thiu. Dhēre pᴀni ghaile manche chōrerə gae. Hamra gōraheru pᴀni dhēre wᴀī mᴀreka thie. Mai le ēk gōra sārjᴀnt sāre nᴀrāmrogᴀri mᴀreko dēkhē: gāla mā nidhā́r mā ṭhaũ ṭhaũ mā sōṭ le ghōceko ᴀru khuṭṭa gōlighā̃ṭa lai nimuṭherə nikā́li rākhyo. Us bēla mā ᴀ̄dhero pəryo. Sᴀbbe ṭhaû mā ghaileheru le kᴀraũde thie. Hamiheru lai bᴀlio ār khᴀnnu pərsə: dusmᴀn le phēri ḍā̃ṛa khōsnə bhᴀni aune chə bhᴀnne hukum āyo.

Translation.

Early in the morning on the twelfth, A and B companies went to give protection to the guns. A company, having taken the village, went and halted in a wadi in front; B company halted in a wadi behind the village. All day long the shells and machine-gun bullets kept banging away. From that time till four in the afternoon we stayed there. At that time from our left a British regiment called the Scots (4th Royal Scots) made an advance: and we saw beautifully. On them the Turks rained shells and bullets. From the smoke of the guns in a moment it became as though dark. From there, not heeding fear, they reached the hill, and our guns gave them much help But because their reinforcements did not reach them, all the men were killed. Again the Turk took the hill. Then in the evening came an order saying: 'The 2/3 Gurkhas must take that hill.' Then the Commanding Officer Sahib announced that B and D companies would be firing line, A and C companies support. For half the way no shells or bullets were fired. But after reaching the place they had marked, in a twinkling they rained down both shells and machine-gun bullets like hail. It was very difficult for us to advance. One platoon gave covering fire, while one platoon ran forward. Advancing in this way (there was a wadi near the enemy's hill) as soon as we reached that wadi, we took count of our men. After having reached the wadi we got news first that B company Sahib was wounded: a little later that he was killed. After that we said to the Lewis gunners, 'Wherever there is a position for an enemy's machine-gun, at that place take good aim and shoot fast and thick.' From there again we advanced. We went shooting as we moved. The Lewis gunners resting their Lewis guns on the shoulders of their comrades fired at the enemy's position as they advanced. And we took the enemy's strong position. What was it like on the hill? Many enemy had been killed by our shells. In some places their bodies had caught fire. Many wounded men also they had left. Of our British soldiers also very many had been killed. I saw one British serjeant very horribly killed. In his cheek, in his forehead, in many places he had been pierced by bayonets, and his foot and ankle bones had been broken

and were sticking out. At that time darkness fell. In every place the wounded were crying out. But to us came the order saying : 'It is necessary to dig trenches quickly ; the enemy will come again to take the hill.'

Notes.

tārik < *tārikh*. Final aspirates lose their aspiration.

bʌje : loan from H. *bajē*.

pugya : particularly when followed by a postposition the oblique of the past participle retains the older *-yā* instead of changing to *-ē*.

bini : unemphatic form of *pani*. For the voicing of the breathed stop cf. *garnu* (*karoti*).

dugerə < *dugrera* : *dugranu*.

jā̃ < *jahā̃*.

rāmrəri < *rāmrogari*.

sōṭ from English *sword*.

IV.

THE BATTLE OF MESMIYEH.

TOLD BY A ṬHĀKUR OF THE MALLA CLAN.

Tyō ṭhaũ bāṭə tērə mail mā Turki ko rēl hinne bāṭo thiu ʌru ṭhulo rēl ʌrine jʌṅksʌn thia. Hamiheru tyō rēl hinne bāṭo lina lai pā̃s bʌje biā̃nə cā pāni biskuṭ khaierə hiṭyū. Teā bāṭi ēk mail nə pugde Turki le tōp le hānnə lāgyo. Tyō din diũsa mā lʌrai bhāko thiu. Tyō din mā hamro pūro dibisʌn ʌgari həryako thiu. Jʌgo kʌsto thiu bhʌne dēkhin : bilkule sʌmmə thiu. Sʌbe pʌltʌnheru ka hite ko cāl ʌnēk rīt ko kaida gʌreko. Tese māthi Turki le ʌsina jʌsto tōp ka gōla bərsaieko, mʌsingʌn ka gōli pʌni. Isto rʌmailo māninthiu lʌrai gʌri jʌsto kʌsele māndenə thiu. Mərne manche mərde thie : ghaile ghaile hunde thie. Jō lai kēi hundenə thiu us le khēl tʌmā̃sa jʌsto rʌmailo gʌri āpʌs mā bāccit gʌri hinde thie. Kʌpāl kʌpāl mā Turki kā gōla phūṭnə aunthie : uṭṭekheri sʌbe mancheheru jʌs ka ṭhaũ mā gōla phūṭnə āyo wʌhī suti jānthiu. ʌli chin mā phēri hā̃serə uṭhyo. Phēri uī mancheheru jʌma bhaīkʌnə hā̃si ṭhaṭṭa gərde Turki ka gōla ko ṭhāṭ gərde dhʌnnei māre ka thie : Turki ka gōla le ʌlli kʌtti birā̃yo bhʌnerə Turki ka gōla ko hā̃si ṭhʌṭṭə gərde ʌgari bəryū.

Translation.

Thirteen miles from that place there was the Turkish railway and a big junction where the railway stopped. Then at five o'clock in the morning, having eaten our tea and biscuits, we set out to take the railway. Before we had gone a mile from there the Turk began to shoot with his guns. That day the fighting was in the daytime. On that day our whole division advanced. What was the place like ? It was quite flat. All the battalions made their own way of advancing in different fashion. On them the Turk rained shells from his guns just like hail, and machine-gun bullets too. It seemed so very beautiful that none thought it was like fighting. Those to be killed were killed : those to be wounded were wounded ; those to whom nothing happened advanced talking among themselves as happily as though at an entertainment. The Turkish shells came bursting over their heads; and as one came, all the men in the place where the shell came to burst lay down Then in a little they got up laughing. Again the men collecting together were laughing and making jokes. They jeered at the Turkish shells, crying out : 'Well done !' We laughed and jeered at the shells, saying : 'That shell missed by ever so little !' : and so we advanced.

Notes.

bāccit < *bātcit.*
hinde < *hĩrde.*
uṭṭekheri < *uṭhdaikheri.*

V.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE SHEEP.

TOLD BY A THĀKUR OF THE MALLA CLAN.

ʌbə bhōli pʌlṭə biāne Birgeṭ bāṭə hamra ṭhūla sāp ko hukum bhəio : pʌcisoṭa bākhəra sikin ṭərḍ pʌltʌn ka bhāg mā pugyo : āphna bākhəra lējau bhʌnne hukum āyo. Wʌã bāṭi bī kʌmpʌni kʌmānḍər sāp le hukum die mə lai : Jʌmadār Dʌlbīr le pʌcis manche liera Birget mā tyō bākhəra lai kāṭerə liáula bhʌnne hukum die. Tyō hukum paierə Dʌlbīr bākhəra kāṭne phiṭin lierə gae. Birgeṭ mā puge. Birgeṭ bāṭə hukum milyo : tyō bʌthān bāṭə pʌcisoṭa bākhəra kāṭerə chāla nikālerə gāri deu aru sikār timiheru le lējau bhʌnne hukum pāyũ. Jʌmadār Dʌlbīr lai hukum thiu pʌcisoṭa bākhəra kāṭnu ko, tʌrə chʌbisoṭa biráũ le kāṭya chə. Bākhəraheru lai kāti sʌke pʌchi chāla nikālde thiũ : hamra pʌltʌn bāṭə hukum āyo : bākhəra kāṭne phiṭinheru chīṭo āphna pʌltʌn mā ai jau : pʌltʌn ʌgari bərnə bhʌni ʌrāyo. Testo hukum sunyo rə āturi gʌrerə tyō bākhəraheru ko chāla jhikyũ. Mancheheru le yōta yōṭa bākhro āphna kādha mā hālerə dugrerə āphno pʌltʌn bʌseka ṭhaũ mā pugyũ : tʌrə pʌltʌn hīri gā chə; khāli heḍkwātər seksʌn matri wʌhī hamiheru lai pərkheka rēchʌn. Tyō bākhəraheru lai teā pugerə Jʌmadār ʌjiṭʌn lai rāmrogʌri bujhai diē. Uni le ãṭ māthi lāderə jã pʌltʌn thiu wã lʌgerə puryāe. Phēri Jʌmadar ʌjiṭʌn sāp le Dʌlbīr jō le bākhəra kāṭerə lyeako thiu uni lai bolāe. Tə uni le gʌnti gʌre. Chʌbisoṭa bākhəra ṭhikke pāe ; tʌrə bākhəra ko pʌchi cāk tirə hune bōsa ko ḍʌllo nə dēkhta Jʌmadār ʌjitʌn sʌbə sōdchʌn : yō bōso ko ḍʌllo kã gəio ʌru kō le khāyo. Uni le juwāp din-hʌn. mai le ãṭ mā lʌdaunə sʌmə ṭhīk thiu ; tʌrə yiā aierə ʌli ʌdhero thiu. Mai le ãṭ bāṭə uṭhaierə yēk ṭhaũ mā thupraē. Thupraierə tʌpaī lai khōjnə bhʌnerə jāda nə jāne use bēla mā kō le po kāṭerə lʌgə chə mə lai kēi thā chainə. Kēi dhʌnda chainə bhʌni hameru duī jʌna le tyō bākhəra lai sʌbbi kʌmpʌni ko rə sāberu ko hisa bāto chuṭaierə bāṛi diũ. Tyō din mā mʌn mā isto mānyo : jʌsto bərsa din mā yōṭa ṭhūlo hamro cārbār aunchə ustei mānyo. ʌru din mā pāni pʌni nə khānə paune : tyō din mā pāni pʌni sʌste pāyo sikār pʌni pāyo. Tə tettiko hō pōkle khāde cā pʌni yōta manche le duī duī tʌmlet khāyo. Bēsari dʌsaī mānyo. Rāt bhʌri khūb rʌmailo bhəio. Biānə pakhə aṭek gərla bhʌnne hukum bhəio. Bhaierə mancheheru le bhʌnchʌn: hīju rāti sikār rə cā khāko rāt bhʌri dʌsaī māneko : tyō bʌl nikālnu pərsə. Bārə tārik ka din mā Turki māthi aṭek gʌryũ.

Translation.

Now early the next day there came from the Brigade the order of our great Sahib (*i.e.* the General), saying ; 'Twenty-five sheep have fallen to the lot of the 2/3rd regiment : take your sheep.' This order came. Thereupon B Company Commander Sahib gave the order to me, saying : 'Jemadar Dalbīr shall take twenty-five men to the Brigade, and shall kill and bring back the sheep.' Having received this order, Dalbīr took the working-party to kill the sheep and went. They reached the Brigade. From the Brigade the order was received : 'Kill twenty-five sheep out of the flock, take off their skins and bury them, and take away the flesh.' This order we received. Jemadar Dalbīr had the order to kill twenty-five sheep ; but he had killed twenty-six by mistake. After having finished killing the sheep,

we were skinning them ; an order came from our battalion : 'Do you , the working party to kill the sheep, come quickly to your battalion : the battalion has been ordered to advance.' Such an order was heard, and making haste we tore off the skins from the sheep. Each man putting one sheep on his shoulders and running, we reached the place where our battalion had been halted, but the battalion had gone. Only the headquarters section are waiting for us there. Arriving there, I handed over the sheep very correctly to the Jemadar Adjutant. He loaded them on a camel and took them away to where the battalion was. Then the Jemadar Adjutant Sahib called Dalbīr who had killed the sheep and brought them back. And they counted them Twenty-six sheep they found all right ; but not seeing the lumps of fat on the hindquarters of the sheep he asks the Jemadar Adjutant : 'These lumps of fat, where have they gone and who has eaten them ?' The other gives answer : 'Till I loaded them on the camel, it was all right ; but coming here, it was a little dark. I unloaded them from the camel and piled them in one place. Having piled them up, while going to seek for you, in the time before I came back, who indeed has cut them off and taken them away, I have no information.' Saying 'Never mind !', we two separated the portions for all the companies and the officers and distributed the sheep. On that day it seemed to our minds as though our great festival in the Rains is coming. So it seemed. On other days we had not got even water to drink : on this day we got both water in plenty and we got meat. So cooking and eating all this, each man also drank two water-bottles-full of tea. Indeed it seemed like Dasehra. All night it was very beautiful. Then in the early morning came the order : 'An attack will be made ' On that the men say : 'Yesterday night as we were eating meat and tea, all night long it seemed like Dasehra. That strength must be driven out.' So on the twelfth day we attacked the Turks.

Notes

tyō bākhəra : tyō singular for plural *ti*.
phiṭiṅ < Engl. *fatigue*.
sōdchan < *sōdhchan*.
juwāp < H. *juwāb*.

TATU MARKS IN BURMA.

BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.; CALCUTTA.

WHILE travelling in Burma on duty in 1902, I collected some notes on the tatu marks of the people of that country. One curious feature of the practice I noted was that in Burma tatuing is confined to the male sex, while in India females alone bear these marks. Another most conspicuous feature consists in the fact that in Burma the thickest lines and the boldest designs are selected. Even when they are linear, each line is sometmes as thick as the little finger, and each of the figures drawn occupies a space as much as would cover the palm. So copious and so thickly set are these bold designs that they completely cover nearly the whole of the body between the umbelicus and the knees below. Above the umbelicus the chest and even the upper limbs are also subjected to the operation. The difference lies only in the pigment selected, red being used for the upper, and blue for the lower part of the body. So painful was the operation, that in olden days, instances of death were not rare. The British Government stopped this torture. Nowadays, enlightened people do not tatu their sons.

Compared with tatu marks in the different provinces of India, the thick and heavy designs in use in Burma suggest a gradation. They can thus be classified in the following manner:—

Those in the Indo-Aryan tract of Kashmir, Punjab and Rajputana are drawn in thin delicate dotted lines. Similar delicate delineation is in vogue in Gujarat and Kathiawar. In Bombay, and along the Western coast of India, the lines used for producing tatus are either dotted or linear and are as thick as a pin. In the Deccan these lines increase in thickness to that of a sparrow's quill. The Deccan, it may be noted, belongs to Risley's Scytho-Dravidian tract. Further south, and south-east, that is in Risley's Dravidian tract, the thickness of the lines used for producing tatu marks ranges from that of a sparrow's quill to that of a crow's. In Bengal tatuing is not practised in the cities. Instances are met with in the interior, particularly in the south-east.

These facts lead me to believe that the delicacy of the lineament of the tatu marks has some relation to the civilization and culture of the different races using them. The design drawn by the lower classes or castes are very clumsy and often extremely primitive.

Ethnologically, the tatu marks of Burma furnish a link of the ancient connection of the people with China. Some of the designs are copies of the astronomical figures of the Chinese zodiac. I believe I accidentally discovered this connection when I visited the Sagaing pagoda. I found there some paper flags exposed for sale (plate 1, flag A). I bought a number of them and took them to a Burmese astrologer. I asked him to explain what they signified, because many of them resembled the figures of the tatu marks I have collected. The following is the explanation of the flag :—

The figure at the top, is a pagoda or the abode of the gods. The next figure is a *Garud*—the half-bird-half-man celestial charger of Vishnu of the Hindus. In Burma it is called *Kalon*. The *Kalon* represents Sunday in the Burmese calendar. The second animal next to *Kalon*, is a tiger called *hso* in Burma. It represents Monday. The third is a lion (*bar-sangha*) It stands for Tuesday. The fourth is an elephant with or without tusks. The former represents the first half and the latter the second half (noon to midnight) of Wednesday. It is curious that this elephant is called *Râhu*, the name of one of the *grahas* of India—the ascending node. The fifth figure is a rat. Burmese *nu*, representing Thursday. The sixth is an ox, Burmese *wa* which stands for Friday, and the seventh is a sea dragon, Burmese *topâi*. It represents Saturday. The introduction of Râhu, the headless monster of the Hindu mythology, is noteworthy. In addition to these similitudes, I found that these animals represent the eight cardinal points of the compass Then there is a curious folklore about them as regards their being well 'matched'. The selection of a wife, a husband, a friend, or a partner in business, has to be regulated with the help of these symbolic animals. The animal represented by the birthday of a man or woman has to be matched with the animal representing the day on which the other party was born. Thus Sunday, Thursday, and Friday make one well-matched group: Monday and Wednesday make up another group : Tuesday agrees with Saturday ; and Thursday has to meet Râhu—the first or second half of Wednesday. First, when the elephant has tusks, and second when it has none. The inauspicious matches of the days of the week are (*a*) Sunday and Friday, (*b*) Tuesday and Thursday, (*c*) Monday and Saturday, and (*d*) Tuesday and Râhu. Finally, the ill-matched days are (1) Sunday and Tuesday, (2) Monday and Thursday, (3) Friday

and Saturday, and (4) Wednesday and Râhu. It was clear to me from this astrological information that these very symbols influence the selection of tatu marks in Burma. I felt so interested in my astrologer that I told him I was born on a Tuesday. He said that in addition to the *lion*—the symbol of that day—I should tatu a *garud* and an elephant with tusks on my body. That, he said, would surely bring me good luck. This advice clearly disclosed the motives of the selection of these marks. I asked if he had any more advice to give me, and he added that I must not allow a tiger, a rat, a hare, or an elephant without tusks to be drawn on my body. They are unlucky for me. Outside the flag, I may select a cobra, if I undertake to drink milk every day!

I could get no explanation of the celestial duck tatued in Burma, either at the top of the eternal notch or at a point below the navel where the designs on the thighs meet. To these are added certain cabalistic geometrical designs (plate I, flag B) with curious legends to account for each. The tatuer in Burma is credited with the knowledge of certain potent drugs which he puts in the punctures to ensure invulnerability from bullets, swords, or scythes! Belief in sympathetic magic can be traced in the selection of scorpions or snakes, as tatu marks.

I am assured by an Anglo-Burmese traveller holding an important position under Government, a Christian by birth, that he can vouch for the protection afforded by the concoction of certain poisons inserted into these tatu punctures! He proudly showed me his own tatu marks, adding that when he was stung by a scorpion, he felt no pain beyond that produced by a mosquito bite. He attempted a "scientific" explanation on the inocculation theory! The distribution of the designs thus selected, is also regulated in a certain manner. The tiger and the cat are always tatued on the thighs and arms because, I am told, they infuse into man the prominent powers of these animals in jumping. Like the birthday animals of the flag, there are birthday trees in Burma. Sunday for instance is represented by *gangau*, Monday by *nega*, Tuesday by *muya*, Wednesday by *thambye*, Thursday by *thi*, Friday by *dhan*, and Saturday by *onynun*. Each of these tree-symbols proves lucky to those whose birthday it represents.

I said above that women do not get themselves tatued in Burma, but I found an exception among the Chins.

Curved lines, radiating from the nose and the centre of the forehead, are drawn close to, and parallel to, each other in so delicate a manner as to represent a mask. It is said that the practice originated from the fact of the Chin women being more beautiful than the Burmese and that the rulers of the latter tribe forcibly carried away girls from among them. I found that married women alone are disfigured and maidens whose youth should naturally have formed the strongest temptation, are left blooming. This shows that the practice possibly owes its origin to sexual jealousy.

Tatuing is a sign of marriage among many Dravidian tribes in India and it may mean the same thing among the Chins.

The conclusion is that (1) sympathetic magic, (2) necromancy, (3) astrology, and (4) marriage custom govern the selection of the designs. The acquisition of the agility of the tiger and cat, the animistic belief in the power of cabalistic diagrams and legends, (5) the influence of the planets on the birthday of individuals, and (6) the indelible sign of ownership by marriage involving disfigurement out of jealous motives, form the basis. One incident deserves mention here. I met a Burman carrying a full-grown cat in a bamboo

PLATE I





basket and asked him what he wanted to do with it. "For my house," "for my house," was the only reply; but I told him that no grown-up cat will ever remain in a new house. It is sure to return to its original haunts. My interpreter, a convert of the half patriotic half anti-Heathenism type, would not open his lips. He thought it derogatory to talk of idolatrous faiths, but luckily for me I met a communicative Burman who spoke Hindi, and who to my great astonishment explained that the flesh of the cat is much prized because it produces cat-like agility in the limbs! Here we are—from actual flesh-eating to symbolical representations producing "like from like."

It is interesting to compare the figures on the paper-flag with the signs in the Chinese zodiac. The following list is taken from Kemfer as quoted by W. Brennand in his *Hindu Astronomy* at page 15:—

(1) Mouse, (2) Ox or Cow, (3) Tiger, (4) Hare, (5) Dragon, (6) Serpent, (7) Horse, (8) Sheep, (9) Archer, (10) Cock, (11) Dog, (12) Boar.

MISCELLANEA.

AURTHI—GHYRETTY, GHIRÊTI: A CORRECTED IDENTIFICATION.

In my article, Side-Lights on Omichund (*ante*, vol. XLVII, pp. 265 ff.). I surmised for reasons therein given (p. 273) that Gaurthi, the Armenian form of the name of the place from which Omichund wrote his important letter to Khwāja Petros, was a corruption of *chauṭhrī* and indicated a pavilion near Plassey in the camp of Râi Durlabh.

Mr. S. Charles Hill has since pointed out that there is strong evidence for identifying Gaurthi with Ghyretty (Ghirêti) where the French Gardens near Chandernagore (Chandarnagar) were situated. After a careful re-examination of the dates of the occurrences connected with Omichund's letter, I am of opinion that I was in error and that Mr. Hill is right in his conclusions The mistake arose from the assumption that Clive was at Calcutta when he wrote to Watts on the 5th June (p. 269), whereas he was really at the French Gardens[1] (Ghirêti) from the 18th May until the 12th June 1757.

Admitting the error, I now take it that the sequence of events was as follows. Omichund's suspicions of the false treaty were roused during his interview with Râi Durlabh at Plassey on the night of the 30th-31st May. He rejoined Scrafton in the early hours of the 31st and proceeded with him to the French Gardens, and not to Calcutta as stated on p. 269. Here, in the neighbourhood of the former French Settlement he found many opponents of the English, and these no doubt furnished him with further confirmation of the fact that he was no longer trusted by Clive.

As Clive's letter, written on the 5th June (pp. 269-270) reached Watts in time for him to reply on the 8th, the journey between Murshidâbâd and Ghirêti must have been covered by runner (*qâsid*) in about 2½ days. Therefore, assuming Omichund's letter to be dated from the French Gardens, it would have been written about the 3rd or 4th June (not during the night of the 30th-31st May as stated in the former article, p. 273) and would have reached Petros on the 6th or 7th.

Mr. Hill has also drawn my attention to a sentence in the second paragraph of Omichund's letter.—"He says that they have written to Wâch from here that so long as we do not write no one is to come," obviously referring to Clive's letter to Watts, dated French Gardens, 2nd June 1757,[2] which contains also the following instructions:—"Having settled a plan of operations and the articles being sent to me by Mirza Omar Bey (Mirzâ 'Umar Beg), you will please to await my appointing the time for you to secure yourself and the gentlemen of Cossimbuzar." The same letter adds—"Mr Scrafton is just arrived." Therefore, if Omichund remained in Scrafton's company after rejoining him on the 31st May, it is clear that he reached the French Gardens on the 2nd June Details of Clive's letter to Watts were undoubtedly communicated to Omichund on his arrival by his agents, some of whom were probably among Clive's clerks.

Mr Hill has further pointed out to me that the fact that Watts did not mention the letter to Petros until the 8th June (p. 270) seems to show that he had only just received it. Had it come to his hands earlier, he would assuredly have forwarded it at once to Clive as evidence of the

1 *Bengal Select Committee Consultations*, 1757.

2 Hill, *Bengal in* 1756-57, II. 396.

correctness of his opinion and conclusive proof of Omichund's infidelity.

The above conclusions put an entirely different complexion on Omichund's interview with Râi Durlabh on the night of the 30th-31st May from that given in the former article (p. 273) and make it appear that Râi Durlabh had nothing to do with the concocting of Omichund's letter to Watts. They would also assume that Grigor Aratoon (Gorgin Khân) who was aware of the letter (pp. 268, 273), was with Clive at Ghirêtî when it was written, which is likely enough, as he was the general of Clive's protégé Mîr Kâsim (afterwards the second Nawâb Nâzim of Bengal). But it is not clear why Grigor should not have informed Clive of the fact as soon as he knew of it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

LITERARY HISTORY OF SANSKRIT BUDDHISM BY G. K. NARIMAN, pp. xiii and 382. Bombay, 1920.

This honest and valuable book is compiled on the now familiar lines of Mr. Nariman's work. There are 160 pp. of Text, 133 pp. of Appendices and 60 pp. of Notes, besides 41 pp. of Index. The plan is an historical account, with many quotations from, and appreciations of, authorities interspersed, followed by translations of the *ipsissima verba* of such authorities as Sylvain Levi, Winternitz, Luders, Hüber, Jolly and Bernouf, together with original researches by the author of the text himself, while the Notes contain contributions to the subject from a great number of well-known writers of all nationalities. There is no doubt that Mr. Nariman has thoroughly searched his authorities. One very interesting feature of the book is the reference to the discovery of Buddhist MSS. in Jain Libraries and other unlikely places.

Mr. Nariman explains that Buddhism, as contained in Pali Literature, has been extensively studied because it is to be found in a compact form, whereas the Buddhism contained in Sanskrit Literature has suffered from being procurable only in scattered forms difficult to bring together into one view. He then goes on to say :—"However extraordinarily rich and extensive the Pali Literature of India, Ceylon and Burma may be, still it represents only the literature of one sect of the Buddhists." And herein lies the object, and I may say the value, of this work, which aims at collecting as many of the scattered fragments as the author can get hold of. It is, of course, in this way only that the views of the sects, (and they are of great importance) represented in the Sanskrit Literature can be studied in the comprehensive manner they deserve. Roughly, the Pali writings relate to the Hînayâna Schools and the Sanskrit to the Mahâyâna Schools. This fact alone places the latter on a level with the former in the matter of interest and importance.

At the end of most of his chapters, and elsewhere throughout the book, Mr. Nariman has notes on his conclusions and appreciations. Some of these are worth detailing here. He thus explains that the *Mahâvastu* purports to be a Hînayâna work, "although it has assimilated some of the Mahâyâna features," and he then points out that in the *Lalitavistâra*, one of the most sacred of the Mahâyâna texts, "we have preserved both the very old tradition, and accounts younger by centuries, of the legend of the Buddha," wherein Buddha gradually "developes the features of a god above all the gods." Here we see the inevitable effect on Buddhism of the surrounding Hindu philosophy and thought in the centuries about the Christian Era. Mr. Nariman next discusses the *Avadânas* or stories of achievements on the borderland between Hinayâna and Mahâyâna Buddhism, with their allusion to the Bôdhisattvas. These Mr. Nariman describes as having "one foot in the Hinayâna and the other in the Mahâyâna Literature." He then passes to the *Mahâyâna sûtras themselves*, "which stand decidedly on the Mahâyâna soil . . . . The Buddha is, properly speaking, now higher than a god, above all the divinities, an immeasureably exalted Being, who has lived since countless æons and who will live for all eternity." Do we not see here the ideas that led to the latter-day Paramesvara, the Supreme of the Hindus ? Indeed, there is very much of Hinduism in the Âdibuddha who is the Svayambhu or Self-being, in Avalokitesvara the Redeemer, in Manjuśri the Helper, and the Bôdhisattvas generally, who are now fully developed. In fact, the rise of the Yogachâra School (how Hindu the term sounds!) explores "the tenets of the Śânkhyas, Vaiśesikas, Pâśupatas and other philosophical schools and religious denominations of Brahmanic origin." Then we come to the exponents of the views of the sects, Nâgârjuna and the Middle Doctrine, Asanga and the Yogachâra (Doctrine of Discipline), and the like. Of some of these Mr. Nariman pertinently remarks : "It seems to be the curse of Indian mentality that whenever it soars too high it lands itself in absurdity."

The decadence of Mahâyâna Buddhism is now reached by the influence of the Hindu doctrine of

Śakti or Female Energy, and Târâ, the Saviour, becomes the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara, giving rise to the *stotras* or hymns "in no way differentiated from those which are devoted to the veneration of Vishṇu or Śiva" to the *dhâranis* "intended to present in a nut-shell" various doctrines, but descending to mere unintelligible holy formulæ, that is, *mantras*: to the *tantras*, books of rites "worth consideration as a testimony of the complete mental decadence in Buddhism." All this is Sectarian Hinduism, and Mr. Nariman throws out the useful hint that the *tantras* were used "as the best means of amalgamating [Mahâyâna] Buddhism with the analogous creed of wizards," to which may be added that in India they were equally useful in creating a *liaison* between philosophic Hinduism and the prevalent phallic worship and Animism of the public.

Following on his discussion of Buddhism in decadence, Mr. Nariman has a useful chapter, on the mutual borrowings of Buddhism and Christianity, after a review of his authorities. This is well worth the perusal of those who wish to study the development of the religious ideas of the general "Aryan" variety of mankind. Then he gives us an equally interesting chapter on Indian Literature in general and its influence on the thought of the world, especially on the European thought. In this matter may not a suggestion I would throw out be worth following up ? Namely, that after all said and done, the European and the "Aryan" Persian and Indian are them selves the result of the physical as well as the mental development of one and the same fundamental variety of mankind. And does not this fact account for much that Mr. Nariman has observed ?

After some remarks on the study of Indian Literature in recent years, Mr. Nariman winds up his useful volume with a discussion of its chronology. He does not appear to think that we have gone far towards settling this contentious matter. I am not sure that I altogether agree with him here. Every day the study is advancing, as the pages of this Journal, for one among many, afford evidence.

I have thus briefly gone through this valuable book, but I think I have said enough to show how valuable it is, and I can do no better than express a hope that it will receive the attention it deserves from the Indian Universities.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE DECCAN BY G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL translated by V. S. SWAMINADHA DIKSHITAR. pp. 114. Pondicherry, 1920.

This is a translation into English of a well known work of Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil by his colleague, Professor Swaminadha Dikshitar, who is himself favourably known for his works on Architecture and Iconography. There is no index, unfortunately, but from the Contents list one sees that the book takes us from Aśôka, Khâravela and the Śâtavâhana Kings, through Śâkas and Pallavas, to the Dynasties of the Central, Western and Eastern Deccan, and those of the Kanarese districts. So it is comprehensive enough and embraces many controversial points. The period covered is between Aśôka and Pulikêśin II, *i.e.* from 261 B. C. to A.D. 610, and I am glad to see that Ancient India is looked upon as ending with the seventh century A.D., because I have myself, in a work dealing with the outlines of history in India as a whole, looked on the middle of the eighth century as the limit of ancient history, making the Mediæval period to extend from that time to the commencement of the sixteenth century. I note this, because I observe that even well known writers are inclined to call the fourteenth century "Ancient History" in India. The position of the Deccan between the North and South right across the Peninsula makes the study of its annals always important.

Adverting to the fact that Aśôka's only expedition into the Deccan was that to Kalinga, the very pertinent question is asked: how did Aśôka then come to be in possession of the whole Deccan ? This is answered by two suppositions. Either it was already in the possession of the Mauryas, or it submitted quietly on hearing of the doings in Kalinga, which in his recollection were so horrible that the memory of them affected Aśôka all his life.

With regard to the important king Khâravela of Kalinga, the date 170 B. C. is fixed for the commencement of his reign on grounds that carry much weight.

The early Śâtavâhana Kings are taken to have existed from the time of Khâravela to about 60 B. C. These dates are important and throw light on the difficult chronology of this ancient period.

Of the Śâkas there are some most interesting remarks on Nahapâna, or rather "the Nahapânas," and the coinage bearing that name. The remark that coinage bore that name long after Nahapâna or the Nahapânas had ceased to exist is in consonance with much that has happened in

India to modern times. Witness the name of Shah 'Alam on the coinage of the East India Company.

There is a long section on Châshtana the Mahâkshatrapa, "founder of the Śâka Era," which is well worth close study. Professor Dubreuil is quite sure that he was the founder, and on that presumption dates his accession in A.D. 79—a most important consideration as regards general Indian history. This leads him to a tentative chronology of the late Śâtavâhanas from Gautamiputra to Jivadâman and Vijaya Śatakarni as between A.D. 68 and A.D. 180, rather earlier than usual.

Professor Dubreuil then boldly tackles the question of "the Pallava Mystery," frequently referring to his former book, *The Pallavas*. He dismisses the theory that they were Pahlavas (Parthians) who strayed into the Eastern Deccan in the third century, and is of opinion that they were really a local family that rose to eminence in 225 A.D. on the break up of the power of the Śâtavâhanas. This is argued at considerable length, and there is much to say for such a theory, no doubt. After some original observations on the raid of Samudra Gupta into the Deccan, which he places in A.D., 335-340 the Professor goes on to the story of those arch disturbers of the peace of the South, the Pallavas, from 340 to 610, which brings him to his limit of his general history.

Turning to the Central Deccan, one finds the Vâkâtakas classed as a Deccan Dynasty for the whole of the fifth century, when it is claimed that "In the history of the Deccan the fifth century is the century of the Vâkâtakas." All this is practically new.

In the Western Deccan the first to come under discussion are the Abhîras of the third century, and then the Traikûtas of the fifth century, who are differentiated from the well known Kalachuris of Chedi of the sixth century, who in turn had disappeared by 610 before Mangalêśa, the Châlukhya.

In the Eastern Deccan are taken in succession the Ikshvâkus of the third century; the Brihatphalâyanas of Kudûra, which leads the Professor to some interesting identifications of Ptolemaic geography; the Śâlankâyanas of Vengi in the fourth and fifth centuries; the Vishṇukuṇdıns who succeeded them; and the Kings of Kalinga from A.D. 340 until they were wiped out in 609 by Pulikêśin II, the Châlukhya.

Of the important Kanarese Dynasties, there is a genealogy of the Kadambas from 340 to 565 onwards. There is also a discussion of that of the Gangas and as to who they were, with a chronology from 480 to 788 and onwards; and a history down to 605-650. At p. 110 is an important synchronization of the Dynasties of the Deccan from 425-550. The volume winds up with a chronology of the Western Châlukhyas until Pulikêśin II became master of the whole Deccan in 610, to fall himself in the end in battle in 642.

Professor Dubreuil has produced an arresting book and one that all students of East Indian history should study, even if they be experts.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LA FORMATION DE LA LANGUE MARATHE: PAR JULES BLOCH, directeur d'études á l'école des hautes études. Bibliothéque de l'école des hautes études. Champion, Paris, 1920. pp. XVI, 432. 25 fr.

The publication of this book marks an epoch in the historical study of the modern Indian languages. It is the first full account of the evolution of an Indo-aryan language to be written by a professed student of linguistics. Dr. Bloch has the authority of belonging to the Paris School of linguistic science, which owes so much to the genius of M. Meillet. In England, though we may perhaps claim it as the original home of the science, linguistics has been so neglected at all our universities that few of the works on modern Indian languages written in English display a thorough knowledge of linguistic principles. The same holds good of India and Indian universities: it is true however, that at Calcutta a determined attempt is being made to found a school of linguistic science, from which much may be hoped in the future for the study of Indian languages.

In this fact lies the great value of Dr. Bloch's introduction, which proposes generally the chief problems of Indian linguistic history. It is the book to which for the present all students must turn for instruction, the more readily because the development of all the Indo-aryan languages has run on the same general lines. As Dr. Bloch himself says: 'Faire l'histoire de l'une quelconque d'entre elles, le marathe, par exemple, revient donc essentiellement à montrer comment les altérations subies au cours de l'histoire par le système linguistique du sanskrit ont abouti à la constitution des divers dialectes du moyen-indien d'abord, et ensuite de cette langue moderne elle-même.'

The introduction is followed by a detailed exposition of the development of the Middle Indian (Prākrit) sounds from the Primitive Indian (Sanskrit), and of the Marāṭhī from the Middle Indian (pp. 43-176). Pages 177-262 deal with the history of the forms, and pages 263-274 with the

construction of the sentence. In these departments more than in any other further immediate research is required. The general outlines of Indian phonology are now known, and can be clearly grasped from Dr. Bloch's book ; but the history of many of the forms still remains dark. Only from study of the early mediæval literature of India can we hope to gain more certain knowledge of the many new forms, *e.g.*, the postpositions, the use of which has so profoundly modified the appearance of the Indian languages. In this connection a great loss has been sustained through the untimely death of Dr. Tessitori : for his researches into the early literature of Rajputana were just such as Dr. Bloch himself shows to be so necessary.

Lastly comes the index (pp. 285-430). This is indeed a first etymological dictionary of Marāṭhī and of the other modern Indo-aryan languages, despite Dr. Bloch's modest disclaimer that it has only the appearance of being such. It may be true that a 'real etymological dictionary would require much more minute and careful philological research'; but this is a fine beginning, to which all Indian linguists will have continual resort. Under each Marāṭhī word are given first the connected forms and words in other Indo-aryan languages, including Singhalese, Gipsy and the Dardic languages ; then, if traceable, the Prākrit, Pāli or Sanskrit forms.

It is greatly to be hoped that Dr. Bloch will see his way to publishing an English translation of his book. Without that it would seem impossible for it to attain the wide circulation in India that it should : for the Indian student has already to face the difficulties of learning one foreign language. The University of Calcutta might well undertake such a publication as a sign of its real interest in linguistic science : for at present the teacher of Indian linguistics, however good his intentions or his qualifications, has no books to which he can refer the Indian student unable to read French or German.

There are of course some points in Dr. Bloch's account of the history both of sounds and of forms with which all cannot agree, most notably perhaps the question as to what part accent has played in the development of the sounds. Dr. Bloch denies any action of a stress accent, either initial or penultimate, and refers all difference in treatment of vowels to their position in the word independent of any question of accent.[1] But Dr. Bloch himself presses most urgently the need for more and more research into the individual languages and dialects before an accurate picture of the evolution of the whole can be given. I venture here a few observations, which chiefly a small knowledge of Nepālī enables me to make.

P. 19 l. 2 ab infra. Nepālī may be added to Bengālī and Oriya as a language in which the sibilant is *ś* not *s*.

P. 27 l. 6 ab infra. The *ē ō* resulting from Middle Indian *ai au*, in Gujarātī at least, are open sounds' clearly distinguishable from the corresponding close vowels resulting from Sanskrit *ē ai*, *ō au*. The same open simple vowel in place of the diphthong is heard in the Hindōstānī of the Delhi District : *e. g.*, *hē bēṭhā* from *hai baiṭhā*. See Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, *Memorial Volumes Orientalia.* Turner, *e and o vowels in Gajarāti* and the literature there quoted.

P. 33 l. 20 ab infra. Nepālī shows the same tendency to pronounce initial *ē* - *ō* - as *yē-* and *wō-* or *wa-*: e. g., *yēk* or *ēk* 'one' *yōṭā* 'one < *yēuṭā* (*ēk ı-*), *warhlānu* or *ōrhlānu* 'descend' I have heard, the name *Ogilvie* regularly repeated as *Wōgalbi* by Gurkhas.

P. 54 l.20 (as corrected). It seems to me doubtful whether Dr. Bloch is right in adding Nepālī to the languages in which final vowels have not disappeared. On the contrary it would seem as a whole to have gone further than other Indo-aryan languages in reducing the quantity of final longs derived from Mid. Indian diphthongs or vowel groups. Hence forms which appear to retain Mid. Indian final vowels, such as the infinitive in *-nu* or *-na* beside *-nā*. or words like *āju* (*adya*) *taba* etc., are in reality cases of further shortening of a Modern Indian long vowel. *-na* < *nā* < *-nakāya* : cf. *ta* ,then' *kata* 'whither', *bihāna* 'early' beside *tā katā bihānā* ;*-nu* < * *-naũ* < *nakam* ; *āju* < **ājo* cf. *hijo* 'yesterday'; *taba* < **tabā* cf. *katā utā itā*. Normally Mid. Indian final vowels disappear : *e g.*, *hāt* < *hatthō* *bīj* < *vidyut*.

P. 132 l. 11, Is Dr. Bloch right in saying that the *b* of *baisṇē* (*upaviśati*) represents the stage **ubavisati* with apocope of *u* - occurring before the next stage **uvaṁsati* (attested by Pāli *uviṭṭha-* < **uvaviṭṭha-* and Armenian Gipsy *ves-*) was reached? The normal development of *-p-*; in this

[1] I should like to take this opportunity of apologising for the premature appearance of my article *The Indo-germanic accent in Marathi, JRAS.*, 1916, in which Dr. Bloch's theory is criticised. Dr. Bloch was kind enough to send me in advance a copy of the first part of this book, which appeared under the form of a thesis in 1914. The confusion and interference with mails due to active service during the war led me to suppose wrongly that his book had already been published when my article appeared in 1916. I had no idea I was referring to a work most unfortunately destined not to appear till 1920!

position seems to be *v. upānah*– M. *vahāṇ*; *upari* M. *var*; *upasthāna*– M. *vathāṇ*; *upaskara*–. Guj. *vākhro* 'furniture'; *upāyana*– Guj. *vāyaṇũ* marriage feast'. For M. *vakhār* Guj. *vakhār* *upasāra* –seems to be a better derivation than *avaskara*– suggested by Dr. Bloch. These forms with *v*– are paralleled by forms with *b*– in the *b*– languages. Hindi *bathān* 'hut' N. *bathān* ,flock,' Beng. *bākhār*. It appears to me more likely that –*p*– in this position became uniformly –*v*– before the loss of the preceding vowel brought into the initial position; and that this *v*- remained in the *v*-languages, but in common with originally initial *v*–became *b*–in the *b*-languages. In that case M. *baisṇe* Guj. bēsvũ Sin. *bihaṇu* Panj. *bēsṇā* Eur. Gipsy-*beša v* must be considered as common Indian loan words of a period subsequent to the change *v*-*b*- > in the *b*– languages. Armenian Gipsy is the only language which preserves *v*–in this word. Does this represent *upaviśati* or *vasati?* In Nepālī *basnu* (*vasati*) has completely ousted the derivatives of *upaviśati* in the sense 'to sit' : cf. also the contamination in M. *basṇē* beside *baisṇē* and *vasṇē*. A similar explanation must be given of M. Guj. *bi* (*api*) beside H. *bi* Gipsy *vi*.

P. 184 l. 8. Dr. Bloch is wrong in saying that Nepālī differentiates the sing. oblique from the direct case : e. g. *hāt* : *hāt le*. In the plural however there is differentiation when the plural affix *haru* is not used : *e.g.*, *dui hāt* 'two hands' : *dui hāta le*.

P. 188 l. 9. The history of the nominative masculine in–*o* in Nepālī suggests the possibility, though perhaps not the probability, of another explanation of M. –*ā*, which Dr. Bloch considers as a contraction of –*au* < –*aō*. In Nepālī this –*aō* –*au* regularly becomes –*o*. But the –*o* nominative is in fact in process of being displaced by –*ā*, taken over from the oblique –*ā* (< — *akāya*) or from the very frequent use of the honorific plural –*ā* (< -*akāḥ*). In the very common adjectival ending–*e* < – *yā* this substitution has regularly taken place, –*yo* < — *iaō* never being now found except in the case of the past participle serving as a finite verb.

P. 200 l. 15 ab infra. The N. *thaï* 'to, at' used with persons should be added to the M. *the*.

P. 202. l. 12 ab infra. Add N. *lāgi* c. ko 'for, on account of' 'beside *lāi* ' to, for'.

P. 205. l. 12. If it is supposed that the past participle *nita*– was used as a substantive and not as an adjective, the fact that its Marāṭhī descendant appears as a postposition in different cases makes no difficulty : since then *nita*—would be the equivalent of *naya*–. In Nepālī the past participle appears to have become a substantive. This explains the regular form of the past participle in which *ko* is added to the original participle : e. g., *gareko*=having done or having been done, lit.= belonging to or having (*ko*) something done (*gare* < *garyā*); and the use of the participle in phrases like *yeso garyā le*=by having done thus. On p. 261 Dr. Bloch draws attention to the same use in Marāṭhī. It may be further noticed that in the Dvāviṁśatyavadānakathā, a Sanskrit Buddhist text from Nepal, the past participle is frequently employed as a substantive.

P. 208 l. 9 ab infra. Add N. *tyō* 'that' obl.. *tes* or *tis* to M. *tō* and Guj. *tē*. *Tyō* owes its *y* to the influence of *yō* 'this'.

P. 212 l. 17 ab infra. N. *ma* 'I' though written so, is invariably pronounced with nasalisation [mɔ̃]. It is derived either as an unaccented word from *maï* (< **mayēna*) or was formed afresh on the analogy of the emphatics like *bihānai* : *bihāna* = *maï* : *mā*. Or, lastly, it may represent directly Skt. *mām*. Similarly *tā* ' thou ' beside emphatic *taï*.

P. 217 l. 1. The reduction of Mid. Indian -*tt*- to -*ŷ*- or zero seems to have been most common in Ardhamāgadhi (Pischel § 87); and it must be noticed that it is in Oṛiya we find traces of the development now: e.g., *puā* 'son': H. *pūt* (*putra*-). It would appear to be the same process which has reduced Mid. Indian *ṭṭhā* to Pāli -*ṭh*- Pkt. -*ḍh*-, as seen in a few modern Indian words like *kōḍh* *kōṛh* 'leprosy' < Pkt. *kōḍha*-Pāli *kōṭha*-(*kauṣṭha*-).

P. 235. l. 5. The Nepālī ending of the 3rd plur. pres. -*an* can be explained regularly as -*anti* > -*and* > -*an* (without compensatory lengthening as the syllable is unaccented). Cf. *cān* beside *cād* (*candra*–). *ām* beside *āp* (*āmra*–) *āṅ* beside *āj* (*aṅga*-). The 3rd plur. imperative -*un* is probably from -*ōn* (*ō* regularly becomes *u* before a nasal) with *ō* instead of *a* after the 3rd sing. -*ōs* where *ō* seems to be from -*au* > -*atu* (the final *s* is obscure).

P. 238 l. 15 ab infra. N. -*un* is only used in the imperative.

P. 241 l. 17. It should be noted that the so-called future in -*lā* of Nepālī is not used as a simple future, but almost always as implying necessity or will. The simple future is the tense formed by the infinitive in -*ne* plus *chu* or its contracted form. E.g. *garne cha* or *garcha*=he will do; *garlā* =he shall do.

R. L. TURNER.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 72.)

LXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN IBRÂHÎM QUTB SHÂH AND HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH REGARDING THE CAPTURE OF GULBARGA AND BÎDAR.

A.D. 1558. When the fame of Husain Nizâm Shâh's conquests and the account of his mighty army were spread abroad, Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh conceived the desire of entering into an alliance with him and sent Mustafâ Khân, one of his chief *amîrs,* who had no equal in the Dakan as a diplomat and politician, to Ahmadnagar, to conclude a treaty. Mustafâ Khân arrived at Ahmadnagar and was received by the king, and in a short time succeeded in concluding a treaty, by the terms of which Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was to meet Husain Nizâm Shâh and the two kings were then to capture both Gulbarga and Bîdar. Gulbarga was to be attacked first, and the fortress and all the districts dependent on it were to be handed over to Husain Nizâm Shâh, and the two kings were next to attack Bîdar which, with its dependencies, was to be handed over to Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh. After the conclusion of this treaty, Qâsim Beg was sent with Mustafâ Khân to Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, and it was agreed that the two kings should march from their capitals and should meet before Gulbarga. Husain Nizâm Shâh then assembled his army and marched on Gulbarga Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh also marched with his army from his capital and met Husain Nizâm Shâh and the army of Ahmadnagar before Gulbarga, which fortress the two armies then surrounded and besieged.

The fort of Gulbarga, although built on the plain, is yet very strong, and is surrounded by a deep and broad ditch full of water. It is so constructed that the walls cannot be damaged by artillery, for the ground at the top of the counterscarp of the ditch rises so high that all shot fly above the walls, while the depth of the ditch and the fact that it is always full of water prevent running.

Husain Nizâm Shâh, having encamped before the fortress, directed his attention to the best means of capturing it. He ordered Rûmî Khân and Mâdho Râm, who were in charge of the artillery, to push the heavy siege guns forward to the edge of the ditch and batter the walls, in order that a practicable breach might be made for the attacking force. Rûmî Khân and Mâdho Râm carried out these orders and the rest of the army pushed forward the trenches to the edge of the ditch. The garrison, who had great confidence in the strength of the fortress, were in no way daunted, and showed a most determined front to the besiegers, fighting most obstinately.

While these events were taking place, the king ordered the Sayyid Shâh Hasan 'Injû, who was one of the most famous *amîrs* of the army, Ghazanfar Khân, Daulat Khân, Nizâm Khân, Miyân Makhdûm and others to attack the fortress, and, after capturing it, to hand it over to the officers of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh. These *amîrs,* with the whole army which they led, besieged Gulbarga for a month, during which period the defence was most steadfastly maintained and the siege most vigorously pressed. The walls were, however, at length breached, and the troops advanced to storm the place. They were met by the defenders, and a most determined and bloody fight took place, in which Farang Khân, Ashraf Khân, and Khurshid Khân were slain. The fighting before the fortress and in the breaches continued not only throughout the day, but for a whole month more. At length the garrison were reduced to great straits and, having no more strength to fight, sent a messenger to 'Âdil Shâh setting forth their desperate circumstances. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was himself unable to contend with Husain Nizâm Shâh and sent to Râm Râj, ruler of

Vijayanagar, explaining that he was hard pressed by Husain Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qub Shâh, who were besieging Gulbarga, and asking for help. Sadâshivarâya, relying on the claim which his early protection of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh had given him on Ibrâhîm's gratitude, wrote a letter to him enjoining him to desert his alliance with Husain Nizâm Shâh, and to desist from harassing Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, and then set out from his capital, with his army, for Gulbarga. The letter and the news of Sadâshivarâya's approach reached Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh at the same time, and he at once violated the solemn treaty with Husain Nizâm Shâh and left Gulbarga for Telingâna in the middle of the night. The news of his flight was brought to Husain Nizâm Shâh in the morning, and Husain in his wrath, chose to believe that Qâsim Beg, who had been the agent who had brought about the treaty, was also concerned in Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh's violation of it. After closely questioning Qâsim Beg, he openly blamed him for Ibrâhîm's defection and ordered that he was to be imprisoned in Parenda. Maulânâ Inâyatullah Nâyatî, a learned and accomplished man, who had been introduced at court by Qâsim Beg, took fright at his patron's imprisonment and fled to the court of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh. Maulânâ 'Alî Mâzandarânî, who was distinguished in all branches of learning, but particularly in rhetoric, was appointed *vakîl*, and Bhopâl Râî, who had formerly been in the service of Malik Barîd and had entered the service of Aḥmadnagar at the suggestion of his late majesty, as already described, was appointed *vazîr*.[36]

When Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh had left Gulbarga for his capital, Husain Nizâm Shâh perceived that it would be unwise to tarry any longer and marched to Aḥmadnagar. On his arrival there, he summoned Qâsim Beg before him and compelled him to retire to his own lands, but after a short while he again bestowed his favour upon him and reappointed him to the post of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. At the same time Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh, relying on a safe conduct sent him by the king, returned from Telingâna to Aḥmadnagar and was again admitted to the royal service.

LXII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN DAULAT SHÂH BEGUM, DAUGHTER OF DARYÂ 'IMÂD SHÂH, AND HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH.

A.D. 1559. When Husain Nizâm Shâh, for the reasons already given, had abandoned his project of capturing Gulbarga and was again seated on his throne at Aḥmadnagar, it occurred to him that it would be sound policy to cement and renew the alliance which had

136 This account of the siege of Gulbarga does not differ materially from those given by Firishta and the author of the *Târîkh : Muḥammad Quṭb Shâhi*, except that Sayyid 'Alî represents Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I as still reigning in Bîjâpûr, whereas he had died before the siege opened, and it is probable that it was his death that encouraged the allies to attack Bîjâpûr, for the accession of his elder son ,Alî, who was a Shî'ah, led to disturbances. 'Alî appealed for aid to Sadâshivarâya of Vijayanagar and, according to the *T.M.Q.S.*, went to Vijayanagar himself to seek it. Sadâshivarâya responded to his appeal and actually marched from his capital to relieve Gulbarga, sending a message to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh to the effect that he would do well to abandon his alliance with Husain Nizâm Shâh and retire to his capital. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh had two good reasons for giving ear to the advice of Sadâshivarâya ; first, he was under an obligation to him for the protection afforded to him before he ascended the throne, and secondly, his southern frontier marched with the dominions of Vijayanagar and was open to attack throughout its length. According to the *T.M.Q.S.*, he had heard that Tirumala, younger brother of Sadâshivarâya, had already invaded his kingdom and was laying waste the Pângul district.

The *T.M.Q.S.* differs from all other authorities in stating that Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh did not suddenly desert his ally, but at his request met Sadâshivarâya and 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh I in the bed of the Krishna and arranged the terms of peace, but this account is belied by Husain Nizâm Shâh's subsequent treatment of Qâsim Beg and by the apprehensions which led Inâyatullâh Nâyatî to flee to Golconda.

existed between himself and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh by a marriage. He therefore summoned his advisers and took counsel with them in this matter. They applauded the proposal, and Maulânâ Alî Mâzandarânî was sent as an ambassador, with numerous and costly gifts, to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh. He succeeded in arranging an alliance between Husain Nizâm Shâh and Daulat Shâh Begum, daughter of Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, and it was agreed that the parties should meet at the town of Sonpet,[37] which was afterwards called 'Ishratâbâd.

A.D. 1559. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and Husain Nizâm Shâh marched to the appointed place of meeting; they encamped on the two banks of the river of victory and river Biyûr, and the marriage festivities began. There was much drinking, feasting and merriment, and at length, in an auspicious hour, the marriage was celebrated according to the rites of the holy law, and the *amīrs* scattered largesse and offered congratulations. After the consummation of the marriage, the two kings met once more and then each returned with great pomp to his capital.

LXIII.—ATTEMPT OF THE PORTUGUESE TO BUILD A FORT ABOVE CHAUL, OR REVDANDA.[38]

A.D. 1558. In the fifth year of the king's reign, an absurd and impossible idea entered the hearts of the Farangīs of Revdanda and they purposed to build a fort on the summit of the hill of Karlah, on which the lord of the fortunate conjunction, Burhân Nīzâm Shâh II has now built a fort, which he has named Burhân Drug, as will be related. They also purposed to build another fortress in the plain below that hill.

When this was reported to Husain Nizâm Shâh, he was wroth and purposed to undertake a holy war against the polytheists and idolaters, in accordance with the Quranic command; and it is evident that if kings warred not thus against idolaters and polytheists, the faith of the prophet would soon be destroyed, and would entirely disappear.

Husain Nizâm Shâh, with a view to rooting out and entirely annihilating the Farangîs, sent Rûmî Khân and Maulânâ Shâh Muhammad Ustâd, with a well-appointed and zealous army and several heavy guns, towards Revdanda.

When the Portuguese heard of the approach of this army and of the artillery, they repented them of their design and, excusing themselves, sought forgiveness. They sent an envoy to the king to express, through the agency of the *amîrs*, their repentance and contrition, and to promise that they would never again be guilty of such presumption, but would be faithful servants of the king. When Husain Nizâm Shâh was thus apprized of the repentance and submission of the Farangîs, he took pity on them and ordered his army to return to Ahmadnagar. In the same year Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I. departed this life[39] and, in

137 Sonpet is on the Wân, in 19° 2′ N. and 70° 29′ E. The closer alliance with Berar was a reply to the alliance between Bījâpûr and Vijayanagar.

138 This heading is not in the original MS. The account here given is in substantial agreement with that of Firishta (ii, 243) but differs considerably from the Portuguese version. "The governor, desiring to secure the promontory of Chaul, asked leave of king Nizamoxa (Nizâm Shâh) to build a fort there. The King not only refused to grant his request but seized the governor's messenger, and sent 30,000 men to the spot to erect an impregnable fortress at that place. The governor, Francisco Barreto, sent Alvaro Peres de Soutsmayor with some ships to blockade the port till he arrived, which was soon after. On the arrival of the governor, with an army of 4,000 Portuguese soldiers, besides a number of natives, the enemy thought better of it and sued for peace, which was concluded on condition that the work of the fort should not proceed."—*Danvers*, i, 510.

139 This event is misdated. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I had died late in 1557 or early in 1558, before the siege of Gulbarga. His son 'Alî did not succeed him without opposition, for Ibrâhîm had been a Sunnî and had filled the army with Sunnîs, expelling the Shî'ahs and most of the Foreigners. The army was, therefore, generally opposed to his succession. See note 36.

accordance with his will and with the concurrence of the army, 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh ascended the throne.

Immediately after this, according to some accounts, Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh obeyed the summons of God, and Tufâl[140] Khan, one of his *amîrs*, who was more powerful than all the rest owing to the strength of his army and his high position, became all powerful in the kingdom of Berar, as will be related hereafter.

LXIV.—An account of the quarrel between Husain Nizâm Shâh and Sadâshivarâya.[141]

A.D. 1560. There had long been quarrels between Ibrâhîm Âdil Shâh I and Sadâshivarâya, and Ibrâhîm's territories had suffered from the inroads both of Ahmadnagar and of Vijayanagar, many of the forts of Bîjâpûr being destroyed by the army of Ahmadnagar. Now that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had ascended the throne of Bîjâpûr, he began to court the friendship of Sadâshivarâya and sent him valuable gifts as tribute, so that Sadâshivarâya began to ignore and violate the treaties into which he had entered with the Nizâm Shâhî

140 This unusual name is written *Tafa''ul* ('augury' or 'divination') throughout the MS. *Tufâl*, as it is usually written, means 'spittle.' The form in the MS. is probably correct, but I have adopted the more usual form, partly for typographical reasons. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh died in A.D. 1560.

141 In this account of the invasion of the Ahmadnagar kingdom by Sadâshivarâya, 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I, and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, Sayyid 'Alî conceals much that is to the discredit of Husain Nizâm Shâh I, especially his bitter humiliation before the "infidel" Sadâshivarâya. It was to avenge the capture of Sholâpûr and Kaliyâni by Burhân I that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh entered into an alliance with Sadâshivarâya. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was compelled to join it for the reasons already given in note 36. Husain's advisers strongly urged him to attempt to purchase peace by the retrocession of Kaliyâni, but he obstinately refused to listen to the suggestion. The statement that "the accursed Bhopâl Râî" had surrendered aliyâni is not true. The retrocession of Kaliyâni was the least humiliating of the three conditions which Husain was eventually forced to accept. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh was not yet dead and Husain believed that he would be able to persuade him, Mubârak II of Khândesh, and 'Alî Barîd Shâh of Bîdar to come to his assistance. Khânjahân, brother of 'Alî Barîd, was now in the service of Daryâ in Berar. He was under the influence of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and not only dissuaded Daryâ from assisting Husain but invaded the latter's dominions with 5,000 horse and foot from Berar. Being utterly defeated by Mullâ Muhammad of Nîshâbûr, he was afraid to return to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh and entered the service of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh. Daryâ now made Jahângîr Khân, the Dakanî, his minister, and sent him with an army to the assistance of Husain. He marched to the borders of Bîjâpûr and did good service in cutting off the supplies of the powerful allies. Meanwhile, Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh began to repent of having joined the confederacy, for he feared that if Bîjâpûr swallowed Ahmadnagar he would be the next victim, and the conduct of the Hindus in destroying and defiling mosques and ravishing Muhammadan women was scandalizing all Muslims. He opened communications with the garrison of Ahmadnagar and assisted them greatly by allowing supplies to pass through his lines to the fort. At length he served his new allies as he had served Husain before Gulbarga, and retired in the night to his own kingdom, leaving his camp standing. The besiegers were now short of supplies, owing to the activity of Jahângîr Khân, and retired to Âshtî, sending an army to reduce Parenda; but Husain was in great distress and was forced to sue for peace, which Sadâshivarâya, who was, in fact, the leader of the confederacy against him, granted on three conditions, the restoration of Kaliyâni to 'Alî 'Âdil, the execution of the valiant Jahângîr Khân, and Husain's personal submission before him. Husain accepted these terms, and basely put to death a valiant ally, the servant of a friendly sovereign, to save himself and his kingdom. Sadâshivarâya was seated on his throne when Husain appeared before him and gave Husain his hand to kiss. Husain humiliated himself, but foolishly insulted the Hindu by calling for water and ostentatiously washing his hands. Sadâshivarâya said, in Canarese, 'If he were not my guest, the largest part of him that would be left whole would be the tips of his fingers.' Peace was, however, made between them, and Husain delivered the keys of Kaliyâni to Sadâshivarâya who gave them to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh. See F. ii, 67, 335, B.S.; 84; and *T.M.Q.S.*

dynasty and to show hostility to Aḥmadnagar, which line of conduct tended of necessity to the ruin of his kingdom.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh in person entered the territory of Vijayanagar and led Sadâshivarâya astray by means of costly gifts, and he and Sadâshivarâya then entered the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar with an army more numerous than the raindrops, and sent a message to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, urging him to join them. He was already beholden to Sadâshivarâya for the protection afforded to him by the latter in the reign of Jamshîd Quṭb Shâh, and therefore considered that he was not at liberty to oppose him. He marched to Telingâna with his army and joined 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Sadâshivarâya. The three armies then marched through the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar and the army of Vijayanagar plundered and devastated the whole country through which it passed. When the news of the approach of these armies was brought to Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh by the fugitives from the districts through which they had passed, the king summoned his advisers and took counsel with them regarding the plan to be adopted. They advised the king, as the army of the enemy largely outnumbered that of Aḥmadnagar and was too strong to be successfully withstood, to abandon the capital with his army and to remain in the country where he was not likely to be overtaken, owing to the slowness of the enemy's movements, and where he could amuse himself with hunting. They said that this policy should be continued until the rainy season, when, owing to the rain and the mud, and to the impossibility of obtaining supplies, the enemy would not be able to remain in the country and would either flee or sue for peace.

The king, following this advice, placed a garrison of picked men, well provided with artillery and other munitions of war, in the fort of Aḥmadnagar, and then, with the rest of his army, crossed the Godâvarî and made Paithan his headquarters. Immediately after his departure, Sadâshivarâya arrived at Aḥmadnagar with the army of Vijayanagar and encamped before the fortress, and the Hindûs began to plunder the country, to overthrow the dwellings of the people, and to persecute the poor among the Muslims. Sadâshivarâya, 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh remained thus for some time at Aḥmadnagar, laying waste all the country round about ; and then the rains broke with great violence. The mud and mire were so deep that the troops could not move and the elephants began to die for want of fodder. Meanwhile, the army of Aḥmadnagar began to harass the enemy by attacking the outskirts of the camp and slaying all whom they found, until none dare venture forth. Sadâshivarâya then ordered Sadâshiva Nâik, one of the chief officers of the army of Vijayanagar, to take his troops and harry the country as far as the Godâvarî, slaying all whom he met ; but spies brought information of this design to the king. The king sent an army of 'Irâqî and Khurâsânî horsemen under Mavâlî Khân, Sanjar Khân, Daulat Khân, Dastûr Khân, Vazîr Khân and Sâtya to intercept the Hindûs, and free the earth from their foul existence. This force came upon the Hindûs near the town of Jâmgâon and, after a determined battle, defeated them. The infidels had much difficulty in saving their lives by flight, and many horses, arms and standards fell into the hands of the army of Islam, who encamped on the battlefield. At this time Mîr Ḥusain, brother of Yughrish Khân, arrived and brought news that the accursed Bhôpâl Râi, who had been appointed by the king to the command of the fortress of Kaliyâni, had surrendered that fortress to the enemy. When this news was brought to the king, he decided, in accordance with the advice of his counsellors, to make peace with Sadâshivarâya, and sent Maulânâ 'Ali Mâzandarânî to Kaliyâni in order that he might secure the property of all the king's servants and surrender the fort. He also returned to Sadâshivarâya the horses and arms

which had been captured at Jâmgâon and recalled the troops from Jâmgâon to the royal camp. Kaliyâni was surrendered to the officers of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Sadâshivarâya then retired from the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar and Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh returned thither, and repaired the damage which had been done by the infidels. And at this time the king devoted special attention to the strengthening of the fortress of Aḥmadnagar, which was known as *Bâgh-i-Niẓâm*, and had been built of brick in mud, and he rebuilt the fortress of hard stone, and strengthened it so that it was superior to any fort on earth.

(*To be continued.*)

TOPAZ-TOPASS.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

A DISCUSSION on this interesting term took place in the pages of the *Ceylon Antiquary* in 1916, and the subject has been revived in the April number (vol. v, pt. iv) of that journal last year (1920). Several suggestions have from time to time been put forth as to the origin of the word, but only two of these have found acceptance with scholars, among whom there is still a difference of opinion regarding its derivation.

With the object of settling this vexed question, I have collected, in chronological order, as many references to, and definitions of, the term **Topaz** as appear in such authorities as Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, together with additional quotations cited in the *Ceylon Antiquary* and my own notes from original records and old travellers. The whole makes an informing series and, to my mind, solves the difficulty of the origin of the term.

There can be little doubt that the word is an early Portuguese corruption, through a form *tôpâshî* in Malayâlam (the first Indian language the Portuguese learnt) of the Indian *dubhâshî* (Skr. *dvibhâshi*), one with two languages, *i.e.*, a half-breed servant of Europeans ; thence a soldier, especially a gunner, and among sailors, a ship's servant, a lavatory or bathroom attendant, and incidentally, on occasion, an interpreter. In the form *topaz*, *topass*, the term became differentiated from *dûbhâshî* (in the mouths of Europeans, *dubash*), a superior native interpreter, and meant always a low-class half-breed. It has no relation to *tôp* a gun, or to *tôpî*, a hat.

1549. Father Anriquez, writing from Punicail on the 21st November, says that he was engaged for some time in making correct translations previously made by the **Topazes**. These **Topazes** had, moreover, a bad reputation and were excluded from the Jesuit College of Goa. *Derivation of Tuppahi* by S. G. P. (who quotes the original Portuguese) in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol, II. pt. i, p. 62.

1602. The 12th ditto we saw to seaward another Champaigne (Sampan) wherein were 20 men, Mesticos and **Toupas**. Van Spilbergen's *Voyage*, p. 34 (pub. 1648). (Quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* Topaz.)

1672. Madraspatam otherwise Chinnepatan, where the English have the Fort of St. George, garrison'd with **Toptazes** and Mestices. Baldaeus, *Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel*, quoted by Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 278.

1673. To the Fort then belonged 300 English, and 400 **Topazes**, or Portugal Firemen. Fryer, ed. 1698, p. 66. In his glossarial Index Fryer has **Topazes**, Musketeers. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1680. It is resolved and ordered to entertain about 100 **Topasses**, or Black Portuguese, into pay. Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time,* I, 121. (In *Hobson-Jobson.*)

1681. The Dutch at Policat taking in all the **Topasses** and Peons they can get to serve them. Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George,* p. 11.

1686. It is resolved as soon as English soldiers can be provided sufficient for the garrison, that all **Topasses** be disbanded, and no more entertained, since there is little dependance on them. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 159. (In *Hobson-Jobson.*)

1695. Ordered that . . . six soldiers Europeans, and six **Topasses** and twenty Peons go for a guard [with the present to the Nawâb's camp]. *Consultation at Fort St. George* (*Madras Records*).

1697. You doe very well in lookeing after the [concernes] of Manuell de Monte deceased or any other **Topasses**. *Letters from Fort St. George* (*Madras Records*).

1698. Pags· 44 : 12 : 2 expended att Fort St. David . . . for charges on 30 **Topaz** souldiers and 8 slaves, which the ship [took] in there. *Letters from Fort St. George* (*Madras Records*).

c. 1699. The garrison [at Fort St. George] consists of no more than three Companies of fourscore or a hundred men each, and one-third of these **Topazes** or Portuguese Indians. Salmon's description of Madras, quoted by Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, II,* 75.

1705. **Topases**, qui sont des gens du pays qu'on élève et qu'on habille à la Françoise, lesquels ont esté instruits dans la Religion Catholique par quelques uns de nos Missionaires. Luillier, *Voyage aux Grandes Indes*, pp. 45-46. (In *Hobson Jobson.*)

1711. The Garrison consists of about 250 Soldiers, at 91 Fanhams, or 1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* per month, and 200 **Topasses**, or black Mungrel Portuguese, at 50, or 52 Fanhams per month. Lockyer, *Trade in India,* p. 14. (In *Hobson-Jobson.*)

1717. Midford and his English Serjeant, Hill, were desperately wounded and made prisoners, together with five Europeans and forty-seven **Topasses** . . . The unfortunate **Topasses** who had their noses cut off were [afterwards, 22nd January 1718] formed into a company of marines, and had their pay augmented to Rs. 5 a month. In this odd way the Bombay Marine Battalion appears to have had its origin. Biddulph, *Pirates of Malabar,* pp. 93, 99.

1720. Expedition against Gheriah . . . Many of the casualties were caused by the bursting of a gun on board the *Phram.* The explosion fired the gun on the opposite side of the deck, which was loaded with grape, and pointing over a boat full of **Topasses**. Biddulph, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

1727. Some Portuguese [are] called **Topasses** . . . will be served by none but Portuguese Priests because they indulge them more in their villany. A Hamilton, *A new Account of the East Indies,* ed. 1748, I. 326.

1740. Number of men thought necessary for the Gunroom Crew—1 Gunner, 4 Gunner's Mates, 10 Quarter Gunners, 35 Europeans, 100 **Topasses**, 1 Syrang, 2 Tindalls, and 35 Lascars. Consultation at Fort St. George, 30th May. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras,* II, 295.

1743. There are a certain Christian people to be found in this country of Malabar, and throughout the extensive coasts of India, called **Topasses**, who cannot be reckoned as belonging exactly either to the Europeans or the natives, but from (*sic*) a third class. They are a mixed race : some are sprung from Portuguese settlers and slaves, whose children have inter-married with the blacks : but the greater part are the offspring of enfranchised Portuguese slaves. With these we must also reckon freed slaves of all races ; including Christian slaves who are chiefly of the Romish persuasion . . .

The name **Topas** is curious. It is supposed to be derived from two Portuguese words (" thou boy ") because the Portuguese in early times, having taught their language to the slaves born in their house made use of them as interpreters in dealing with the natives, and were in the habit of saying *Tu Pai falla aquel* or ' you boy, say so and so.' There seems to be a glimpse of truth in this account, for they still call the oldest and most respected slaves ' Pai '.

Others refer this word [to] *koepaj* [? in English, *kupai*], which in the Malabar language signifies a coat ; for they wear coat, shirt, and breaches (*sic*), like the Europeans, as likewise a hat, in sign of their freedom, and the more wealthy among them wear shoes and stockings, though more generally they go barefoot . . . But in my opinion the origin of this name must not be ascribed to *koepaj* (" coat ") but rather to *Toepay* (" interpreter ") ; because the race served as interpreters between the people of Malabar and Christians ; and to this day the same office is exercised by many of them and is esteemed a very honourable profession. J. C. Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, translated by Major Heber Drury, quoted in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 204.

1745. Les Portugais et les autres Catholiques qu'on nomme Mestices et *Topasses*, également comme les naturels du Pays y viennent sans distinction pour assister aux Divine mystères. Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques*, II, 31. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1747. The Officers . . . report their people . . . could not do more . . . against the force the enemy had, being . . . one thousand Europeans, besides **Topasses**, Coffrees, and Seapoys. Consultation at Fort St. David, 1st March (*India Office Records*).

748. William Barwell to Admiral Boscawen. I have already taken into pay all the **Topasses** and other People I could possibly procure. C. R. Wilson, *Old Fort William*, I, 213.

1749. 600 effective Europeans would not have cost more than that Crowd of useless **Topasses** and Peons of which the Major Part of our Military has of late been composed . . .

The **Topasses** . . . a black, degenerate, wretched Race of the antient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their Ancestors, lazy, idle, and vitious withal, and for the most Part as weak and feeble in Body as base in mind, not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary Requisites for a Soldier. *A Letter to a Proprietor of the E. I. Company*, pp. 57, 103. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1750. When our people arrived, they found English **Topasses** and peons holding Villupuram fort, on behalf of 'Abd-ul-jalil. . . . Sergeant Saint-Marc, ten Europeans with twenty **Topasses** and fifty sepoys . . . returned . . . Nâsir Jang Nizâm is encamped . . . with 200 English soldiers, 100 mestices, 200 **Topasses**, 400 sepoys and 600 Carnatic peons. *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, vol. VI., ed. Dodwell, pp. 387, 417, 431.

1756. List of the smothered in the Black Hole Prison, exclusive of sixty-nine (consisting of Dutch and English sergeants, corporals, soldiers, **topazes**, militia, whites, and Portuguese) . . . Holwell's *Narrative*, quoted by C. R. Wilson, *Old Fort William*, II, 216n.

1756. In this plight . . . I sustained the weight of a . . . **Topaz** bearing on my right. Holwell, *Narrative of the Black Hole*. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1758. There is a distinction said to be made by you. . . which, in our opinion, does no way square with rules of justice and equity, and that is the exclusion of Portuguese **topasses**, and other Christian natives, from any share of the money granted by the Nawab. Court's Letter, quoted in Long's *Selections*, p. 133. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1758. A **Topaz**. [Note.] A black Christian soldier: usually termed subjects of Portugal. *Annual Register*, 283 2. (In *O. E. D.*)

1766. **Topasses**, a tawny race of foot soldiers distinct from Portuguese marine natives, and called **Topasses** because they wear hats. J. H. Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*. (2d. ed.) I, xiv. (Glossary). (In *O. E. D.*)

1785. **Topasses**, black foot soldiers, descended from the Portuguese marrying natives, called **Topasses**, because they wear hats. Carraccioli, *Life of Lord Clive*, IV, 564. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1787. I have also recommended the corps of **Topasses** or descendants of Europeans, who retain the characteristic qualities of their progenitors. Fullarton, *View of English Interests in India*, p. 222. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1789. **Topasses** are the sons of Europeans and black women, or low Portuguese who are trained to arms. Munro, *Narrative of Military Operations against the French*, p. 321. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)

1793. **Topazes** seu *Dribâshi*, in ora Coromandelica *Dobâchi*, ex etymologia sui nominis interpretes seu duo idiotmata calentes, unum Indicum, aliud Europaeum. *Musei Borgiani Velitris Codices Manuscripti*, auctore P. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, Romae, p. 251.

[**Topazes** or *Dribâshi*, on the Coromandel Coast, *Dobâchi*, according to the etymology of their name, interpreters, or versed in two languages, the one Indian, the other European.]

Cola essi chiamansi *Mundocârer*, gente di veste bianca, per distinguerli dalli **Tupasi**, che parlano Malabar e Portoghese, e portano cappello e calzoni senza calzette e senza scarpe. Fra Paolino. *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, p. 144.

[In that place (Cochin) they (Christians) are called Mundocârer, men of the white robe, to distinguish them from the **Tupasis**, who speak Malabar (Tamil) and Portuguese, and wear a hat and trousers without stockings and without shoes.]

In a footnote . Fra Paulino explains the origin of the term **Tupasi.** The following is a translation of his remarks: The name **Tupasi** comes from the Sanscrit *Duibhâshi. dui*=two, and *bhâshi*=one who speaks two languages, interpreter, which all **Tupasis** are, for they speak their native vernacular and a European language, English, French, Dutch or Portuguese. In Cochin they are called 'gente de chapeau,' that is hat men, for they wear a *topi* or hat, whilst the other Indians, who are not descendants of the Europeans, wear the *Româli*, that is to say, a white turban or muslin of the finest cotton. *Note on Tuppahi* by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. iv, p. 282, where the extract from Fra Paolino given above, also occurs.

1809. **Topaz** : A word used by the Portuguese in India to designate a Christian who has father and mother of different countries. A Vieyra, *A Dict. of the Portuguese and English Languages* (quoted by A. Mendis Gunasékara Mudaliar in *Ceylon Antiquary*. vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.

1817. **Topasses**, or persons whom we may denominate Indo-Portuguese, either the mixed products of Portuguese and Indian parents, or converts to the Portuguese from the Indian faith. J. Mill, *Hist. of British India*. (In *Hobson-Jobson*)

1821. **Tuppahiya** : interpreter, burgher (in contempt). The Rev. B. Clough, *A Dict. of the English and Singhalese Languages*, (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62).

1855. **Topas** (Port *Topaz*, perhaps from the H. *topī*, a hat). A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the south of India : in the early history of the Company these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers; hence the term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the Peninsula : it is now obsolete H. H. Wilson *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*.

1862. **Tuppahi**, **tuppahiya**, from Hindi, *dobhâshiya*, an interpreter : or from Skt. *dvibhâshi*, a dubash, servant. The Rev. M. Winslow, *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dict.* (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i. p. 62).

1862. The East Indian community which is here [Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, 1743, *supra*] alluded to has undoubtedly undergone a great change since the days of our author . . . The term **Topass** has fallen into disuse, but it is singular enough that, to the present day, the Europeans in India invariably call 'Boy' whenever they require a servant, East Indian or native. Footnote by Major Heber Drury to his translation of Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, quoted in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 204.

1865. Thirty '**topasses**' on board the deserted ship launched a boat and got to Port Canning. *Daily Telegraph*, 24 October. In *O. E. D., s. v.* Topaz.

1871. **Topaz** (in India), a Christian that has father and mother of different countries. D. J. de Lacerda, *Portuguese-English Dictionary*.

1885. **Topaz** : a native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and an Indian mother in the South of India. G. C. Whitworth, *An Anglo-Indian Dict.*

1885. **Topass**, from *topi*, Hind., a hat, a person wearing a hat : a Christian of mixed descent, chiefly of Portuguese origin, employed on shipboard as a sweeper. Dr. E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*.

1886. **Topaz**, **Topass**, etc. A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent, and Christian profession. Its application is generally, though not universally, to soldiers of this class, and it is possible that it was originally a corruption of the Pers. (from Turkish) *top-chî*, a gunner. Various other etymologies have however been given. That from *topî*, a 'hat' has a good deal of plausibility, and even if the former etymology be the true *origin*, it is probable that this one was often in the minds of those using the term as its true connotation. It may have some corroboration not only in the fact that Europeans are to this day often spoken of by the natives (with a shade of disparagement) as *Topî-wâlâs* or 'Hat-men,' but also in the pride commonly taken by all persons claiming European blood in wearing a hat ; indeed Fra Paolino tells us that this class called themselves *gente dechapeo*. Possibly, however, this was merely a misrendering of **topaz** from the assumed etymology. The same Fra Paolino, with his usual fertility in error, propounds in another passage that **topaz** is a corruption of *do-bhâshiya*, 'two-tongued' (in fact is another form of dubash), *viz.*, using Portuguese and a debased vernacular. The **Topaz** on board ship is the sweeper, who is at sea frequently of this class. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* Topaz.

1886. **Topaz**. A bath-room attendant. Probably from the Portuguese. H. A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference on subjects connected with the Far East*. 2nd ed. [He is still the bath-room and lavatory attendant on board ships carrying passengers to and from the East.—R. C. T.]

1891. **Tuppahi**, naturalised [Singhalese] word derived from the Tamil *tupâsi*, interpreter. A. Mendis Gunasékhara Mudaliyar, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, p. 362 (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62.)

1892. **Topass** (*tôpâshi*, Mal.). Corruption of the hindostany doobash. A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother, in the early history of the Company extensively enlisted as soldiers ; now used on ships. *Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. III, *s. v.* **Topass**.

1892. **Topass, topaz**. Anglo-Indian name of any dark-skinned half-caste of Portuguese descent; the sweeper (who is often such a half-breed) on board ship. C. A. M. Fennell, *The Stanford, Dict. of anglicised words and phrases*.

1893. **Topass**. Applied to half-castes of Portuguese origin. The word now only survives on board steamers of the merchant service. A. T. Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent and Governor of Fort St. George* (Note on p. 11 of 1681).

1913. **Topaz**. Derived from Hind. *tôp*, gun, or Hind. *tôpî*, hat. H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 278 footnote.

1913. **Topass**. E. Indies. Also **topaz**. Adapted from Portuguese *topaz*. A man of two languages, interpreter, in which capacity these men of mixed descent were employed. A fancied derivation from Hindi *tôpî*, hat, making

the term = **tôpî-wâla,** ' hat-man,' European, has been current **since the** middle of the 18th century.

A dark-skinned half-breed of Portuguese descent ; often applied to a soldier, or a ship's scavenger or bath-attendant who is of this class. *Oxford English Dict., s. v.* **Topass**.

1916. **Topasses** was the name given by the Portuguese to Eurasians, and occurs frequently in the letters of old time missionaries. Both [the Sinhalese] *Tuppahi* and [Tamil] *Tupâsi* evidently come from this **Topass**, which is probably the Hindi word referred to by Winslow [*supra*, 1862]. It has the two significations given by Clough [*supra*, 1821]. The word **Topass** is said to be derived from Hind. *tôpî*. It would be a curious piece of "learned lumber" to know whether *Tuppahi* came into use in Sinhalese from the Tamil *Tupâsi*, or from **Topass** so frequently used by the Portuguese. The authority of the learned scholar, Mudaliyar Gunasékhara, is for its introduction from the Tamil . . . The Carmelite friar Paolino a S. Bartolomao was the first to propound the derivation of **Topaz** and Dubash from Dvibhâshi . . . But Yule very thoughtlessly ridicules the derivation . . . **Topaz** is not pure Portuguese, but a word Lusitanised from Hindi . . . Is the Hindi word *tôpî* or *dobâshi* (*dubhâshia*, Skt. *dvibhâshi*). . . The Turkish etymology suggested by Yule may well be neglected . . . That Eurasians came to be called "hat-men" is not strange . . . I think the use of *Tuppahi* in Sinhalese literature of the 16th and 17th centuries will bear out the statement that it was first used to discriminate Eurasians. [The writer is unable to verify this statement, which is suggested by the occurrence of the word in this sense in the translations of the *Parangi Hatana*] . . . Its use in the sense of "interpreter" is of much later date, and probably came in because Eurasians often served this purpose. It would be interesting to know the date of the earliest use of the word in the sense of "interpreter." (Father Anriquez uses **Topaz** in this sense in 1549, which is the earliest in India.) There seems to have been a different word for "interpreter" in Ceylon, *i.e.*, *Banaca* . . . Notes on the *Derivation of Tuppahi* by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, pp. 62. 124-126, 282.

1916. The Tamil *tupâsi* (of which *tuppâsi* is a modification) is evidently derived from the Hindi *dvibhâshi*, which literally means 'one who speaks two languages.' It is not genuine Portuguese. The Portuguese **topaz** is either a corruption of *dvibhâshi*, or of its Tamil equivalent *tupâsi*. The latter is more probable, owing to the words "South India" in Whitworth [*supra*, 1885]. . . The word cannot be connected with the Hindi *tôpî*, hat, for the reason that *s* (*ch*) in *tupâsi* or *z* in **topaz** is unaccountable, and because it is inconceivable that only a small and insignificant section of the people who wore hats came to be called *tupâsi* to the exclusion of the genuine Europeans who always wore hats. The Sinhalese *tappahi* (a modification of *tuppâsi*) may be from the Tamil or from the Portuguese, which, as shown above, adopted the word from the Tamil. Note by A. Mendis Gunasêkara Mudaliyar, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.

1916. The word **tuppahi** is used by the Sinhalese to signify "interpreter." The Sanskrit word *dvibhâsi* signifying one who speaks two languages, has taken the form *tupási* in Tamil, and the Tamil 'Tupási' has become 'Tuppahi' in Sinhalese. The word is also used by the Sinhalese to indicate a Portuguese descendant. Note by Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar on the *Derivation of Tuppahi,* in *Ceylon Antiquary,* vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.

1916. In the early intercourse of the Europeans with India, a man who was able to interpret between the European and the native, was called *dvibhâshi*, a a man of two languages. In Portuguese this *dvibhâshi* became dubash, which is the word applied now to a ship-chandler, while in court it kept its form purer and passed into Tamil as *tupâshi*, and into Sinhalese as **tuppahi**. In the latter language it means, in addition to interpreter, also a Portuguese descendant of the mechanic class. This class is of mixed Portuguese and Sinhalese descent, and speaks two languages. Hence the designation. Note by W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyar on the *Derivation of Tuppahi, in Ceylon Antiquary*. vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.

1916. In land-tombos **toepas** (*tuppahi*) means a person belonging to that class, but when followed by the word *moedianse* means interpreter (*tuppahi moedianse* = interpreter mudaliyar). So that a *tuppahi moedianse* is not necessarily a **toepas**. A person of mixed European and native descent (mestiço) was necessarily bi-lingual (**toepas**), and hence employed in Portuguese times as an interpreter. In process of time, the word which had reference to interpreter was used to designate a class, *i.e.*, the lower order of mestiço and native Christians. The Dutch called the interpreter-Mudaliyar "tolk modliaar." The *topi-wallah* or hat-man theory is, I think, rather far fetched. If such had been the case, one would have expected *topikarayah*, not **toepas** . . . Note by Historicus, in *Ceylon Antiquary*. vol. II, pt. i, pp. 191-2.

1918. In a note on a passage in the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (*supra*, 1750), with reference to "100 mestices, 200 **Topasses**," Mr. H. Dodwell remarks (p. 431n.), "Mestice merely means half caste. I cannot suggest why these people should apparently be differentiated from **Topasses**."

THE WOMEN POETS OF THE ṚIG-VEDA—A STUDY.

BY KRISHNAKANTA HANDIQUI, M.A.; JORHAT.

THE first noteworthy poetess whom we meet with in the *Ṛig-Veda* is Viçwavârâ Ātreyī (*R.-V.* 5. 28) who has composed a hymn to Agni in five verses couched in four different metres. Viçwavârâ's hymn is one of the easiest and simplest that we find in the *Ṛig-Veda*. Here is a translation of the fourth verse: "Thy splendour, O Agni, kindled and brilliant as thou art, I do adore. Showerer (of gifts) and possessed of wealth, thou art kindled in sacrifices." From the first verse of the hymn we gather that there were women "worshipping the gods with oblations," as there were men. In the third verse Viçwavârâ prays: "(Agni!) Do thou make the conjugal relation well-regulated mutually." The last two verses of Viçwavârâ's hymn were included in the Sâmidhenî verses, recited in kindling the sacred fire, in the New and Full Moon sacrifices (*Darça-paurṇamâsa*).

Then comes Apâlâ Ātreyī (*R.-V.* 8. 91). The hymn is based on a story in which Apâlâ herself is the chief figure. She seems to have been abandoned by her husband owing to her disease, but subsequently healed by the grace of Indra, for whom the forlorn lady could not

afford to press out the Soma juice with the *grâvans* or stones of the regular Soma ritual, but only with her teeth. She prays to Indra : "Thou who goest shining, a hero, to every house, drink this (Soma) pressed with (my) teeth, mixed with grains and curds, with cakes and songs" (8. 80. 2). She thus expresses the hope of women, wronged by their husbands, like herself—" May he (Indra) acquire strength enough, achieve enough, enrich us enough ; may we, wronged by (our) husbands, unite ourselves with Indra well enough" (8. 80. 4).

Apâlâ's verses are simple and direct like those of Viçwavârâ. The repitition of the word **कुवित्**, "much" or "enough," adds force to the fourth verse of the hymn, which we have just translated. There is no fixed sacrificial application of this hymn.

We should now turn to Ghoshâ Kâkshîvati (*R.-V.* 10. 39 and 40), who has two hymns of fourteen verses each. She is the most important of the lady poets of the *Rig-Veda.*

Ghoshâ belongs to a family that has produced a generation of Vedic poets. Her genealogy is

Uchathya (*R.-V.* 9. 50 etc.).
|
Dirghatamas (*R.-V.* 1. 140 etc.).
|
Kakshivân (*R.-V.* 1. 116 etc.).
|
Ghoshâ (*R.-V.* 10, 39 and 40).
|
Sauhastya (*R.-V.* 10. 41. Mentioned also as Ghosha in 1. 120. 5 according to Sayana).

Uchathya has only a few hymns in the ninth Maṇḍala, but his descendant, Dirghatamas who calls himself Auchathya ("son of Uchathya") and Kakshivân, rank high among the seers of the *Rig-Veda.* Ghoshâ has only two hymns and her son Sauhastya only one. Both Ghoshâ and her son offer their prayers to the Açvins. In direct contrast with the hymns of Viçwavârâ and Apâlâ, Ghoshâ's verses, besides being allusive, are grave and difficult : and in fact, Prof. Grassmann styles as obscure the last five verses of one of the hymns of Ghoshâ (10. 40). Ghoshâ has drawn almost all her allusions from the hymns to the Açvins composed by her father Kakshivân in the first Maṇḍala (1. 116, 117, 118 particularly) as well as to a slight extent from Hymn 1. 112, also addressed to the Açvins by the sage Kutsa, to whom she refers in 10. 40. 6, and has, in some cases, reproduced in new connections the very words of Kakshivân and Kutsa. For example.

GHOSHÂ—		KAKSHÎVÂN—
आ तेन यातं मनसः जवीयसा रथ etc., 10. 39. 12.	=	यः वाम् अश्विना मनसः जवीयान् रथः, 1. 117. 2. रथेन मनःऽजवसा, 1. 117. 15. मनसः जवीयान्, 1. 118. 1.
सुडवृत् अश्विना रथः , 10. 39. 1.	=	सुडवृता रथेन, 1. 118. 3.
युवं च्यवानं सनयं यथा रथं पुनः युवानं चरथाय तक्षथुः , 10. 39. 4.	=	युवं च्यवानम् अश्विना जरंतं पुनः युवानं चक्रथुः , 1. 117. 13.
युवं श्वेतं मेदवे, 10. 39. 10	=	युवं श्वेतं मेदवे, 1. 118. 9.
ममृवांसं, 10. 39. 9.	=	ममृवान्, 1. 116. 3.
.. ...अश्विना...शुभः मती, 10. 40. 14.	=	.. अश्विना...शुभः मती, 1. 120. 6.

		KUTSA—
अश्विना वृकस्य चित् वर्तिकाम् अंतः आस्यात् युवं शचीभिः ग्रसिताम् अमुंचतम् , 10. 39. 13.	=	याभिः शचीभिः..... .. याभिः वर्तिकां ग्रसिताम् अमुंचतम, 1. 112. 8.
एतवे कृथः , 10. 39. 8.	=	एतवे कृथः, 1. 112. 8.
अत्रये ओमन्ऽवंतम् , 10. 39. 9.	=	ओम्याऽवंतम् अत्रये, 1 112 7

These striking resemblances between hymns of Maṇḍalas 1 and 10, added and supplemented, have to be taken into consideration in fixing the relative age of the *Rig-Veda* Maṇḍalas.

Then, the allusions found in Ghoshâ's hymns, *e.g.*, the rejuvenating by the Açvins of the sage Chyavana and of Kali, the rescue of Taugrya from a watery grave, Vandana from a well, Rebha from a cave, Atri from fire, and the references to Saptavadhri, Pedu, Bhujyu and several others are far more fully treated, especially in the two long hymns of twenty-five verses each, by her father Kakshîvân (1. 116, 117) in the earlier Maṇḍala. But while her indebtedness to Kakshîvân is clear, Ghoshâ's originality, apart from her independent verses, is manifest in her condensing the selected allusions and giving them a new background to a considerable extent. The following is a translation of one of her verses:- " Where, among what people are the Açvins, destroyers of foes, lords of beauty, delighted to-day ? Who has detained them ? To what sages or what sacrificer's abode are they gone ? " (10. 40. 14).

A few personal facts about Ghoshâ are available. We find in Kakshîvân's hymn, 1. 117. 7, also indicated in verses of Ghoshâ herself, that she remained unmarried to an advanced age in her father's house till she was favoured with a husband by the Açvins, and from 1. 122. 5 we gather that he was Arjuna.[1] We need not take Arjuna as a common noun to mean, after Sâyaṇa, a white skin, for the word Ârjuneya in 1. 112. 23 and 4. 26. 1 is used as a proper noun to mean " a descendant of Arjuna." In one of her hymns (10. 40. 5) Ghoshâ calls herself a princess, so that Kakshîvân may have been a royal sage. In 10 . 40. 3 she refers to the twin gods Açvins as like " two sons of a king."

Ghoshâ's reference to a widow becoming the wife of her late husband's brother is important (10. 40. 2) : so also the word Kâpâ, " the panegyric of a king by his bard." Ghoshâ's hymns are recited in the Prâtaranuvâka of the Soma sacrifice and in the Âçvina-Çastra of the Atirâtra form of the same.

Couched in the Jagati metre, like Ghoshâ's hymns, are ten sweet and well-balanced verses in the ninth Maṇḍala (9. 86. 11-20), composed jointly by two other female poets, Sikatâ and Nivâvari. The verses form part of a hymn addressed to Soma, by various authors. Here is a translation of one of their verses :—" Clad in an armour (of lustre) that touches the heaven, worthy of sacred rites and filling up the sky, fixed in the worlds : and knowing the heaven, he (Soma) comes on with rains and worship heaven's ancient lord." (9. 86. 14.)

Then we have to mention a hymn to Indra in the tenth Maṇḍala (10. 134), of which six verses are by the sage Mândhâtri, but the seventh and last verse is by a lady named Godhâ. This is the only verse of Godhâ that we come across in the *Rig-Veda*. It runs thus :—" Never do we offend, Ye Gods, never do we neglect ; we act as revealed by the Mantras and celebrate here (the sacred rites) with might and main. " [2]

The six preceding verses of the hymn by Mândhâtri are distinguished from Godhâ's verse by a refrain repeated in each of them. There are other similar hymns in the *Rig-Veda* where the refrain is repeated in all but the last verse, *e.g.*, the hymns 1. 105, 106 by the sage Kutsa.

1 " **अर्जुनस्य नंशे** " "for gaining Arjuna " as the husband. The word **नंशे** is to be taken in this sense, as Sâyaṇa himself has explained elsewhere. (Sâyaṇa on 1. 122. 12.)

2 The exact literary version of the corresponding Vedic phrase would be " with the sides and the region below the arm-pits."

There is similarly a verse by another lady. the sister of the sage Agastya, in the first half of a heterogenous hymn of twelve verses in the tenth Mandala (10. 60). The first half is a panegyric of a king named Asamâti and the last verse of it (sixth in the whole hymn) is by Agastya's sister, the mother of Bandhu and others, who are the seers of this hymn along with their mother. She prays to the king thus:—"Thou dost yoke two ruddy steeds for (the defence of) Agastya's scions. Thou. O King. didst rout the niggardly Panis—all of them." The verse points to women taking part in celebrating glories of kings.

The Anukramanî ascribes another verse in a hymn of various authors (8. 1. 34) to a lady named Çâçvatî, but it seems to be rather composed by others about her. Similarly, the Anukramani ascribes hymn 10. 109 to a lady named Juhû or the sage Urdhanâbha. but in reality it appears to be a story composed by the latter about Juhû and her husband Brahaspati. So, putting aside the ladies Juhû and Çâçvati, as not being actual verse-writers, we should like to refer to two characteristic verses on love by Lopâmudrâ (1. 179. 1-2): addressed to her husband Agastya. who replies in two other verses, after which a disciple of the latter brings the hymn to a close with two more verses. It is not therefore a hymn addressed to any particular deity. Lopâmudrâ speaks to her ascetic husband :—"Those of old, who were defenders of the eternal Law and declared laws with the gods, abided by them, (but) did not attain the end : (so) will (now) wives be united with their husbands ?" With this verse and another Lopâmudrâ tries to turn her ascetic lord into a loving husband. Agastya's reply is in the same spirit.

There is a similar but indelicate conversation between king Bhâvayavya and his wife Romaçâ, being two verses added. without any apparent connection. to hymn 1. 126, composed by the sage Kakshîvân about the generosity of the king. They are in a different metre from the preceding verses and might very well be a fragment of a popular song. as Griffith has suggested.

So much for hymns by women. In the tenth Mandala there are two simple incantations (10. 145, 159), supposed to be by Indrânî and Çachî respectively. the subject being the overpowering of rival co-wives. Both Indrânî and Çachî are mythical names. but Çachî means "action" according to the Nirukta and it had probably a historical background. Here is a verse by Çachî : "My sons are destroyers of enemies. and my daughter supreme and I too victorious. Mine is the highest esteem with my husband" (10. 159. 3). Rivalry of co-wives is a matter of every day experience and it is not surprising to have a poem on the subject by the victorious party like that of Çachî. Çachî's tone is exultant indeed—"There rises the Sun. there my Fortune is up" (10. 159. 1).

Then we must note of some doubtful names. In the hymns concerned the seer is mentioned as the deity as well. in the Anukramanî Of the poem on Craddhâ "faith" (10. 151), Çraddhâ is the traditional composer. In the Anukramanî. the invocation of Râtri "Night" (10. 127) is however ascribed to Râtri or the sage Kuçika, and the poem on Dakshinâ, "Sacrificial gift" (10. 107) to Dakshinâ or the sage Divya. The latter names are the real authors in these cases. Sârparâjnî is another doubtful name with which hymn 10. 189 is associated. The deity of the hymn is said to be Sârparâjnî herself or the Sun. In the *Aitareya Brahmana* (5 2 4. 4) the word Sârparâjnî is explained as "sarpato râjnî," "the queen of all that moves," or the earth. This bespeaks the legendary character of the name. Suryâ (10. 85), Indramâtarah, "Mothers of Indra," and Yamî (10. 153, 154) are three other such names.

The philosophical hymn addressed to Vâch (10. 125) presents similar doubts. Vâch is treated as speech personified in a foregoing hymn (10. 71) and it is in fact the usual word for speech in the Veda. Another consideration is that the hymn runs in the first person and the two other hymns of this nature (10. 119, 48)—all the three being placed in the same category in the Nirukta (Daivatakâṇḍa)—are ascribed to a god (Indra), not to a human being, showing probably that the present hymn also is really ascribed to a goddess —Vâgdevî. At any rate the authorship is doubtful and if we suppose that by ascribing the authorship of hymn 10. 119 to Indra assuming the form of the sage Lava, it is really ascribed to the latter, the hymn ascribed to Vâch can similarly be concluded to be by the sage Ambhṛṇa, whose daughter Vâch is said to be in the Anukramaṇî.

Thus, even after putting aside the legendary and doubtful names we have not less than eight historical figures as the first women poets of India. Though women, their hymns were admitted freely into the Vedic sacrificial system and it was in a later age that they were debarred from sacred precincts of the Veda.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.

BY SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI, M. A.; PATNA.

(*Continued from Vol. XLVIII*, 1919, *p.* 23.)

(3) A critical estimate of indigenous sources.

I.—LITERARY.

Though the ancient Indians did not pay much attention to history, there are ample geographical materials.

Expansion of geographical knowledge is due to (1) military expedition and colonizing spirit, (2) commercial relations, (3) religious activity, (and, in the modern age, (4) scientific exploration). Alexander's Historians' and Alberuni's knowledge of India was due to the first cause. Pliny and the author of the Periplus utilized materials accumulated by commercial enterprisers. The Chinese pilgrims' visit to India was actuated by religion. Similar also is the case with the ancient Indians. Their foreign conquest and colonization are made known to us by a series of Sanskrit Inscriptions discovered in Further India and the Indian Archipelago. A fourth century A.D. Pillar Inscription of the Buddhist sea-captain Mahânâvika Buddhagupta of Raktamṛittikâ (mod. Rângâmâti in Murshidabad district, Bengal) has been discovered [2] in the Wellesley district of the Malay Peninsula. A series of inscriptions [3] proves clearly that there ruled, in Further India, from the second century A.D. up to the seventh century at least, a line of Śaiva Hindu kings (Dharma-mahârâjas) claiming descent from Aśvatthâmâ son of Droṇa. Four Yûpa inscriptions [4] of king Mûlavarman, in the fourth or fifth century A.D., in Pallava characters, discovered in 1879-80 at Koetei in East Borneo, show the existence of a powerful Hindu royal dynasty at that place. As for the Brahman colony in Fahien's Ye-po-ti (Java, or perhaps, Sumatra) and the extensive Buddhist ruins in Java, they are too well-known to call for any remark.

[2] Kern's *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, (1915), p. 255.

[3] Bergaigne's *Insc. Sansk. du Campa et Cambodge* (1893); Bul. Ecole F.E.O., II, p. 185. III, 206-11; IV, p. 918; XI, p. 264; XII, No 8, pp 15-16; XV, No. 2, pp. 3-5: Barth's *Insc. Sk. du Cambodge.*

[4] Dr. Vogel in *Overdruk int de Bijdragen tot de Taal-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* Deel 74, Aflevering 1-2, 1918.

Recent discoveries in Central Asia exhibit political and diplomatic relations of India with Central Asian states (so often referred to in Indian literature).

As for commercial intercourse, Von Ihering (in his *Prehistoric Indo-Europeans*) and J. Kennedy (in *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 241-88) have shown the activity of the early Indians in trading with the Persian Gulf tribes. A couple of Kanarese sentences found embodied in the Greek farce in the Papyrus of Oxyrhynchus[5] of the first or second century A.D. indicates commercial relations of an intimate nature between Egypt and the Kanarese-speaking Dravidians of Southern India. Cornelius Nepos (who died in the reign of Emperor Augustus, 14 B.C.—A.D. 14) had mentioned Indian commercial activity even in Germany.[6] There are clear statements in Tamil literature supporting Fahien's mention of early Indians' voyage to Java, Sumatra and China.[7]

As for religious activity in this direction, Asoka's sending Buddhist Missionaries to Syria, Egypt and Macedonia is known to all students of History. The recent discoveries in Central Asia exhibit the great influence of Buddhist Missionaries in that region. India's connection with Tibet, China and Manchuria does not require any comment. Even such a distant place as Lord North's Island in Micronesia[8] was indebted to Buddhist Missionaries for its religious instruction.

We thus see that the political, commercial, and religious activities of early Indians made them acquainted with the greater part of the then known countries of the world. And this acquaintance certainly broadened their knowledge of the geography of foreign lands. And though, owing to their so-called want of historical faculty or to their want of vanity, they left no autobiographies or private memoirs, peripli or itineraries like those of Fahien or Yuanchwang to perpetuate their names, yet, the stock of knowledge thus accumulated was not completely lost. It has been preserved in a corrupted form in the epic and Puranic conception of the world as containing seven concentric islands—Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Śālmala, Krauncha, Gomeda (Gomanda or Plaksha), and Pushkara[9]—encircled by seven *samudras*.[10] Though this conception is childish, we ought not to compare it with that of the twentieth century and stigmatize it as ridiculous. If we compare this fourth or third century B.C. conception of the earth with even the tenth or eleventh century Christian conception as depicted in the maps reproduced in Keane's *Evolution of Geography* (Edward Stanford, London, 1899), it would not certainly appear to be more ridiculous. The true conception of the earth is a thing of modern times—it was formed after the first circumnavigation. Ancient nations had strange notions. The conception of the different parts of

[5] *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 399-405.

[6] M'Crindle's *Anc. Ind.*, p. 110.

[7] Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian Hist.*, pp. 113-4.

[8] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. V, 194.

[9] The order varies in different sources.

[10] The Buddhist system counts eight *dvipas* and has different names for some of the Samudras. (See Pullé's *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, vol. IV, pp. 15-16; see also *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 142; 1907, p. 42.) In Jaina tradition we have new names. A chapter entitled *Dîva-samuddâ* inserted incidentally in *Jîvâbhigama-sûtra* names the following *dvîpas*:—1 *Jambu*, 2. *Dhâyaî-Khanda*, 3. *Pukkharavara*, 4. *Varunavara*, 5. *Khîravara*, 6. *Ghatavara*, 7. *Khodavara*, 8. *Nandîsaravara*, 9. *Arunavara*, 10. *Arunavaravâsa*, 11. *Kundala*, 12. *Kundalavara*, 13 *Kundalavaravâsa*, 14. *Ruyaga*, 15. *Ruyagavara*, 16. *Ruyagavaravâsa*, 17. *Hâra*, 18. *Hâravara*, 19. *Hâravaravâsa*. The names of the first two oceans are *Lavaṇa-samudda* and *Kâloya* (Sk. Kâloda); the other names are made by adding *uda* (=water) to the names of the dvîpas. *Bhagavatî-Sutra* (II, 8, 1-9) states *ayaṁ Jambuddîva savva-dîva-samuddânaṁ savvabbhantare* and that the first three only of the above dvipas are inhabited by men—the *Trikhaṇḍa* (II, 9, 1-2). (See Pullé's *Studi*, IV, pp. 19-20; *JBBRAS.*, II, p. 411.)

the earth as so many islands was maintained also by the Greeks, and is referred to by Teopompo in Eliano, by Erastothenes, and by Strabo.[11] As for the Indian theory of concentric islands, its origin may be explained thus :—(1) the change of meanings of the words *dvîpa* and *samudra* ; *dvîpa* (derived by Pāṇini as *dvi+ap* ; and thus etymologically connected with *doab*) meant, primarily, land having water (and not sea) on two (and not all) of its sides. The original meaning of *samudra* is a collection of water.[12] These words lost their original meanings and came to mean *island* and *sea* respectively. (2) Now when the Epic and Puranic writers (who had not the slightest personal knowledge of foreign lands) attempted the difficult task of arranging the traditional accounts of the different parts of the then known world handed down from those who actually visited them, they harmonized (?) the different accounts by reducing them to this system. But though their system is wrong and though there is plenty of the fabulous in Hindu Geography, their accounts of the different parts of the world were based on facts. Mr. Wilford collected an account of the River Nile and of its source and reconstructed a map out of the Purâṇas.[13] H. H. Wilson called him an "injudicious writer."[14] Cunningham remarked that his essay is a "wild speculation."[15] St. Martin stated him to be the first victim of the "imposture" geographical literature of the Hindus.[16] But Lieut. J. H. Speke, (in his *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, chaps. I, V, X) unhesitatingly states that when planning his discovery of the source of the Nile, he secured his best information from Wilford's map and testifies to the substantial correctness of the Puranic account.[17] Is is not enough to repay the labours of the Purâṇa-writers that it is they (and not Ptolemy, the great geographer of Greek Egypt) who helped the nineteenth century explorer with their accurate knowledge of that part of the country ? As the subject of our study is the ancient geography of India and not the geographical theories of ancient Indians, we dismiss the theory of seven *dvîpas* with these remarks and return to the sources describing India only.

The indigenous geography of India is, like every other Indian Science, chiefly dependent on religion. India is a land of *tîrthas*—every crag, every spring, every river, and every hoary tree is sacred. As it is a duty of every pious Indian—Hindu, Jaina, or Buddhist—to make pilgrimages, pilgrims travelled far and wide to pay their respects to the objects of their veneration. This expanded their knowledge which has been embalmed in the sacred literature—Orthodox (Hindu) or Heterodox (Jaina and Buddhist). Thus, though disregard to the historical order of things, owing to their peculiar religious idea that worldly existence is a misery, has caused the want of historical accounts, yet it is that same peculiar religion which did much to preserve the materials of geography. And though there is plenty of the fabulous in Indian geography of outlandish regions, the allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober. The main features of the country were adequately known in very early times.

Let us now examine the different branches of Indian literature as geographical sources. The **Vedas** are our only source of the geography of Vedic India. Vivien de St. Martin

11 Pullé's *Studi*, vol. IV, p. 20, quoting Berger's "Geschichte der wiss. Geographie der Griechen," p. 12.

12 St. Martin's *Géographie du Véda*, p. 62

13 *Asiatick Researches*, vol. III.

14 *Hindu Theatre*, vol. I, p. 9.

15 *A. S. R.*, vol. I, p. ii.

16 St. Martin's *Etat actuel des études sur l'Inde ancienne*, p xiii.

17 Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 87 and 230.

first handled the subject. It was also taken up by Zimmer in his *Alt-Indische Leben*. Hillebrandt, Pischel, Roth and other Vedic scholars also have touched on the subject, Brunhofer has attempted, in his *Iran und Turan*, to locate various Vedic rivers in regions outside India.

The *Ṛigveda Saṁhitâ* generally mentions tribes and rivers only. Names of countries occur seldom. In the mention of the following rivers, there is, as Sir A. Stein[18] has pointed out, a strict geographical order :—Gangâ, Yamunâ, (and the following tributaries of the Indus) Sarasvatî, Śutudrî (Satadru, Satlej), Parushṇî (Ravi), Asiknî (Akesines, Chenab), Marudvṛiddhâ[19] Vitastâ (Jhelum), Ṛrjikiyâ and Sushomâ (Sohan). As we find in this list (*Ṛigveda*, X, 75, 5) a strict geographical order in the mention of the eastern tributaries of the Indus, we ought to take the same order to guide us in identifying the western tributaries mentioned in the next verse—Tristâmâ, Susartu, Śvetî, Gomatî (Gomal), Krumu (Kurram), Kubhâ (Kabul) and Mehantu. In the next two verses (X. 75, 7-8) are named some rivers. As *Ṛigveda* X. 64. 8 mentions *trisapta sasrâ nadyaḥ*, thrice seven sister rivers, we ought to find the names of seven rivers in X, 75. 7-8. Sâyâṇa was ignorant of the geography of the North-Western Frontier, and therefore explained these words as adjectives. But these words are to be taken as proper names—Ūrṇâvatî, Sîlamâvatî, Ṛijitî, Enî, Chitrâ, Hiranmayî and Ruśatî—seven tributaries of the Indus to be located to the north-west. The last five (and Añjasî, Aṁśumatî, Aśmanmatî, Kuliśî and Virapatnî) have not been mentioned in Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*. But those five are to be taken as proper names, and geographical order will be a guide in the attempt to locate them.

The Indus and its tributaries are seldom mentioned in the *Yajurveda*, for the Aryans then lived in the territory of Kuru-Pâñchâla (Thaneswar and Rohilkhand), the old capital of which, Kâmpila, is mentioned. The *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* (I, 4, 1, 10-18) records the Aryan migration to Videha (Tirhut) ; while the *Atharvaveda-Samhitâ* shows that the Aryans were then acquainted with Aṅga and Magadha (which might have been known in Ṛig-vedic age as Kîkaṭa, a country of the non-Aryans, whose leader was *Pra-maganda* whose name may have some connection with Magadha). The *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* mentions the Aryan Vaidarbhas and the non-Aryan Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mûtibas. The Vaṅgas seem to be mentioned in the *Aitareya Âraṇyaka* (ii. 1, 1) as a non-Aryan tribe.

This gradual expansion of the Aryans can also be gathered from the **Dharmasûtras** and *Dharmaśâstras*. The Sûtras (*Vasiṣṭha, I*, 8 ; *Baudhâyana, I.* 1, 2, 9. etc.) state that the country of the Aryans—**Âryâvarta** lies to east of the region where the (Sarasvatî) disppaears, to the west of *Black forest* (**Kâlakavana**[20]), to the north of Pâripâtra and to the south of the Himâlayas. It is strange to note that this definition of Âryâvarta excludes the greater portion of the land of the Ṛigvedic Aryans. [A famous episode (Karṇa-Śalya-saṁvâda) in the Karṇaparvan of the Mahâbhârata also clearly states the impurity of the Punjab tribes during the Epic age.]

18 *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.*

19 Stein has identified it with the Maruwardwan which flows from north to south through the Maru valley of the Kashmir Jammu state and joins the Chenab at Kistawar.

20 I propose to identify Kâlakavana, the eastern boundary of Âryâvarta of the Sûtras, with Prayâga, the eastern boundary of Manu's Madhyadeśa, which is identical with the Âryâvarta of the Sûtras, As the other three boundaries are the same (Pâripâtra being a portion of the Vindhyas), the eastern limits also ought to be identical. In the later age there flourished a city (Prayâga) and a country there, where the earlier literature locates a forest. Ayodhyâkâṇḍa (LIV and LV) of the *Râmâyaṇa* states that Prayâga was then a clearing in a forest.

Various explanations may be suggested. (1) Dr. Bühler's [21] theory was that the reading of Vasiṣṭha presupposes a reading Ādarśa, [22] which was corrupted into Adarśana (=disappearance) and was then paraphrased as " Vinaśana " [of the Sarasvatî]. Ingenious as this theory is, it is not a good solution. Though some of the Sûtras and Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya (II, 4, 10) actually give the Western boundary to be Âdarśa, we gain little by this reading. Âdarśa cannot be located in the N.-W. Frontier so as to include the whole of the Panjab in this Âryâvarta of the Sûtras. (2) Recent study of the modern Indian Aryan dialects indicates, in the opinion of Sir George Grierson, at least two waves of Aryan migration into India. There arose a conflict between the Brahmanical later immigrants (now represented by the speakers of Panjabi, Râjasthânî, Gujaratî and Western Hindi) and the anti-Brahmanical earlier immigrants (now represented by the speakers of Kâshmiri, Marathi, Bengali and Oriya). This coniflct between the two waves of Aryan migrators might have caused the inhabitants of the Middle land to stigmatize the later immigrants as not truly Aryan and their country as outside the pale of Aryan culture. (3) The country to the West of the Sarasvatî was occupied in the later epic age by non-Aryan (Turanian) immigrants—the Takkas. They are now to be found in Jammu, Kistawar and other places.[23] They claim their descent from Takshaka Nâga.[24] The biting of King Parikshit by Takshaka Nâga probably symbolizes the destruction of the Aryan power owing to the inroad of the Takkas. Their name seems to have some connection with Takshaśilâ ; for in connection with the serpent sacrifice performed by king Janamejaya to chastise the Nâgas, mention is made of his invasion and conquest of Takshaśilâ (*Mbh*, Âdi P., III, 683-3 ; 832-4 ; XL—XLIV ; XLIX, 1954 ; L. 1991). As the Panjab was thus occupied by a non-Aryan race or races, it was outside the boundary of Âryâvarta.

The **Dharmaśâstra** of Manu, however, calls the Âryâvarta of the Sûtras to be the *Madhyadeśa* or Middle country (*Himavad-Vindhyayor-madhyaṁ yat prāk vinaśanâd-api, pratyag-eva Prayâgâchcha Madhyadeśah..* .) and greatly extends the boundaries of its Âryâvartta by defining it as *â Samudrât tu vai Pûrvâd â Samudrâchcha Paśchimât, tayor-evâ'ntaraṁ giryor-Âryâvarttam vidur-budhâḥ.*

The *Middle country* of the **Buddhist literature** expanded to the East. Its boundaries as mentioned in Mahâvagga, V, 13, 12 [and Divyâvadâna] are :—E., Kajangala [25] [or Puṇḍavardhana acc. to Div.] ; S.-E., River Salalavati [Sarâvatî] ;S., the town of Satakaṇṇika (*v. l.* set....) ; W., the Brahman district (or village) of Thuna[26] [Sthûṇa] ; N., Usîradhaja [27]

21 *S.B.E.*, vol. XIV, p. 2.

22 Âdarśa, the western boundary of the Âryavarta, has not been located by any scholar. As बृहत्संहिता XIV, 25, mentions Âdarśa with the sources of the Yamunâ, Trigarta etc.,it is to be placed not far from the ancient kingdom of Srughna and Trigarta (Kangra). Varâhamihira's mention makes it clear that it cannot be located in the N.-W. Frontier.

23 *A.S.R.*, vol. II, pp. 6-7.

24 Tod's *Rajasthan*, I, p. 9.

25 It is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Y. ch. who located it at a distance of above 400 li E. from Champâ (Bhagalpore). It was thus somewhere in Rajmahal district. It is the Kayangala mentioned in the com. on *Râma* [*pâla*] *Charita* (II, 6). The *ya* for *ja* is to be explained as due to Prakrit influence—intervocal explosive elided and *y* inserted to avoid *hiatus*—the *ya-śruti.* of Jaina Prakrit.

26 Thuna has not been identified by any scholar. As Y. ch's account makes Thaneswar the western-most country of the Buddhist Middle country, I propose to identify Thuna (or Sthûṇa of *Divyâvadâna*) with Sthânvîśvara. Sthûṇa and Sthâṇu seem to be different forms of the same word ; such metathesis of vowels being found in Pali and Prakrit. *Îśvara*, the second part of Sthânvîśvara (Mod. Thaneswar) is redundant, it being identical in meaning with Sthâṇu (=Siva).

27 Uśiradhaja is probably Uśira-giri, a mountain to the North of Kankhal (Hardwar).—Hultzsch in *Ind., Ant.*, 1905, p. 179.

[usira]. "The middle country is in length **300** yojanas, in breadth **250 yojanas, in circuit 900** yojanas."[28] The sixteen great countries **mentioned in the Pali literature** are :— (1) Aṅga (C. Champâ), (2) Magadha, (3) Kâsi (subject to Kosala), (4) **Kosala (C. Sâvatthî), (5) Wajjis, (6) Mallâ of Kusinara and Pâwâ, (7) Chedi, (8) Vatsa (C. Kauśâmbî), (9) Kuru, (10) Panchâla, (11) Matsya, (12) Surasena (C. Mathurâ), (13) Assaka on the Godâvari,** (14) Avanti (capital Ujjeni; Mâhissatî was the capital of the ***southern division of Avanti*** or Avanti-dakshiṇâpatha).[29] (15) Gandhâra (C. Takkhasilâ), (16) Komboja in the extreme North-West (C. Dvâraka ?)[30]. The Pâli literature gives important trade-routes also.[31] But it plainly indicates that Southern India was not then Aryanized.

The next stage of the expansion of the Aryans is to be inferred from **Pâṇini and his commentators**. [Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early H. Dek.* pp. 5-6.] Pāṇini (700 B.C.), an inhabitant of the extreme N.-W. of India, has mentioned many place-names of N. India and specially of the Panjab and Afghanistan. But of S. India, he has mentioned only Kachchha (IV. 2. 133), Avanti (IV. 1. 176), Kosala (IV. 1. 171), Karuśa and Kalinga(IV. 1. 178)[32]. Thus it appears that S. India was probably unknown in his time. Kātyāyana (400 B.C.), however, knows even Chola, Māhishmat and Nāsikya. In Patanjali's time (150 B.C.) the whole of India was known. [Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lecture I.* deals with the subject fully.]

The **Epics**. Both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have (*i*) chapters (the importance of which has been somewhat impaired by the corruptness of the texts) directly dealing with the geography of India. Kishkindhyā Kāṇda, (XL—XLIV) describes the various countries of the four quarters (of India) where the "Vānara" chiefs were sent in quest of Sītā. In the ninth chapter of the Bhīshma Parvan of the *Māhābhārata*, Sañjaya gives a general description of India—long lists of countries, nations, mountains and rivers. Again there are (*ii*) descriptions of certain routes which are invaluable; for though the distance is hardly ever mentioned, the direction and the mention of known places enable one to locate approximately the unknown. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes three routes :—(1) Râma's journey, in company of Viśwâmitra, from Ayodhyā to Mithilā; (2) Bharata's return from Kekaya to Ayodhyā; (3) Rāma's exile. [N. Dass, *Geography of Asia based on the Rāmāyaṇa*. Pargiter's *Geography of Rāma's exile* in *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 231.] The *Mahābhārata* mentions (1) [Âdiparvan] the twelve years' sojourn of Arjuna; (2) [Sabhāparvan] the conquest of the four quarters by the four brothers of Yudhishṭhira; (3) [Vanaparvan] an account of the "Tîrthas" and the Pâṇdavas' pilgrimage; (perhaps a later interpolation—but the geographical knowledge is certainly based on actual travels of Pilgrims). (4) Karṇa's digvijaya; (5) [Aśvamedhaparvan] Arjuna's expedition through various countries. The Udyogaparvan and the parvans describing the war mention almost all the Indian nations siding with the one party or the other. [Pargiter, *On the Nations at the time of the Great War* in *JRAS.*, 1908.] There are also (*iii*) numerous incidental references, [Sörensen's *Index of the Mahābhārata*]. Another important section is the chapters of the Sabhâparvan dealing with the presents made by different kings to Yudhishṭhira, and as such describing the natural and commercial products of the different districts of India.

28 Commentary on *Jâtaka* and *Sumaṅgala*. (Rhys Davids in *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 86.)

29 Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 43, 45.

30 Rhys Davids in *Buddhist India*, p. 23.

31 *Ibid*, pp. 103-4.

32 *Aśmaka* has been mentioned by Pâṇini. But as there was another Aśmaka in the N.-W., we are not sure which Aśmaka (N.-W. or S.) has been mentioned by Pâṇini.

The **Purāṇas** reserve (*i*) a section on Geography—*Bhuvanakośa*—giving lists of rivers, mountains, countries and tribes. They also deal with (*ii*) *Topographia sacra* and contain (*iii*) many incidental references. [Bhuvanakośa of *Mārkaeṇdya Purāṇa* with notes in Pargiter's translation of the Purāṇa published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Geographical names in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in *I. A.* XXVIII. p. 1.]

The **Mâhâtmyas** (of various *tīrthas*) also deal with *Topographia sacra*. These works (claiming to be sections or portions extracted from Purāṇas or Samhitās) set forth the legendary origin of *tīrthas*, the rites to be performed there, etc. Their importance may be illustrated thus :—A long and laborious but fruitless search was made for the site of Vātāpī, the capital of the early Chālukyas. Now the Māhātmya of Mahākūṭa, a *tīrtha* close to Badami (15° 55′ N. Lat. and 75° 41′ E. Long.) in Bijapore district localised there the story of the brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala vanquished by the sage Agastya. This localisation of the story of Vātāpi showed that Bādāmi, close to the *tīrtha*, is the city of Vātāpi. (*I. A.*, VIII, p. 238.) Dr Bühler, in his *Kaśmir Report*, pointed out the great geographical importance of the Māhātmyas and Dr. Stein has discovered many long forgotten sites with their aid. [Stein's *Topography of Kaśhmir* in his *Chronicles of Kasmīr*, Vol. II.] The Māhātmya literature is very vast.

There are also a few **works** professing to **deal with geography**. Mr. Wilford has long ago pointed out (*Asiatick Researches*, XIV. pp. 374-380), the existence of the following :—(1) Muñjapratideśa-vyavasthâ, (2) Bhoja-pratideśa-vyavasthâ (a revised edition of 1), (3) Bhuvana-Sāgara, (4) A Geography written at the command of Bukkarāya, (5) A commentary on the Geography of the Mahābhārata written by order of the Raja of Paulastya (? Paurastya ?) by a Pandit in the time of Hussein Shah (1489)—a voluminous work. A MS. acquired by Mr. Wilford once formed a part of the Library of Fort William College : it is now in the Government Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta. A detailed description,[33] of this MS. has been given by M. M. H. P. Śâstri in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1919). Prof. Pulle has mentioned (in pp. 13-15 of his *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, vol. IV) the existence of the following geographical works in the Library of the Nazionale centrale di Firenze (Italy) :—(5) *Lokaprakâśa* of Kshemendra (the celebrated Kaśmirian writer) : the MS. consists of 782 pages and it is profusely illustrated. Prof. Pullé has reproduced two of its figures in his *Studi*. (6) Three MSS. of *Kshetra Samâsa*, a Jaina work—with two different commentaries. (7) A MS. of *Kshetra Samâsa Prakaraṇa*. (8) Four MSS. of *Saṁghayaṇī* of Chandrasûri with two commentaries ; one of the MSS. is illustrated. (9) A *Laghu-Saṃghayaṇī*. He has also pointed out the mention of *Kshetra Samâsa* of Jina Bhadra (1457-517) in Kielhorn's Report (1880-1), of (10) *Laghu Kshetra Samâsa* of Ratnaśekhara in Weber's *Cat.* (No. 1942), of (11) *Trailokya dīpikâ* and (12) *Trailokya Darpaṇa* quoted by Wilford. Besides the above, (13) a Jaina *Tittha Kappa*, and (14) *Tristhalīsetu* dealing with the topography of Prayâga are also known.

St. Martin[34] characterized the works mentioned by Wilford to be "imposture literature" without sufficiently examining them. Be they "imposture" or not, they have not yet been sufficiently examined.

Certain works on **Poetics**, *e.g*, Râjaśekhara's *Kâvyamīmâṃsâ* (Gaekwad Oriental Series) Vâgbhaṭa's and Hemchandra's works (printed in the Kâvyamâla Series), contain a section on geography, in order to acquaint a poet with the flora and fauna etc., of the various

33 *Gazetteer literature in Sanskrit.*

34 *Etat actuel des études sur l'Inde ancienne*, p. xiii.

districts, so that his description of them may be faithful. The ***Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata** (Kâvyamâla Series) also gives details as to the colours with which to paint actors personifying the various tribes of India and its borders. It thus gives geographical and ethnological data. [*JASB*, 1909, pp., 359-60.]

The **Vâtsyâyana Kâma Sutra** and its commentary by Yaśodhara [ed. by the late M. M. Durgāprasāda] are also valuable. The Sutra refers to various countries and the commentary indicates their location.

The **Râjataraṅgiṇî and the historical poems**—the **Charita Kavyas**—Harshacharita, Gauḍa vaho, Navasāhasāṅkacharita, Vikramāṅkadeva-charita, Dvyāśrayakāvya, Kumārapāla-charita, Rāma(pāla)-charita, Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya, Kīrtikaumudî, Vasantavilāsa, Vallāla-charita, Hammîra-mardana, Vemabhûpâla-charita, Achyutarāyābhyudaya, etc. Though these works have many shortcomings as a source to history, they are "invaluable" (as Sir A. Stein says of the R. T.) "for the study of historical geography."

Even the **ordinary literary works** sometimes incidentally introduce geography. The plots of some of the plays, the classical poems, and the collection of imaginative stories and fables (*e.g.*, Jātakas, Pañchatantra, Kathāsaritsāgara) were woven round geographical names. And such allusions can, to a certain extent, be put to a practical use. Thus the statement of the Daśakumāracharita that Tāmalipti (Mod. Tamluk was in the Suhma country settled the location Suhma (which was formerly identified by H. H. Wilson with Arakan and Tipperah). Similar incidental references are to be met with in every department of literature. The *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭilya* and various *Ratnaśâstras* and *medical works* referring to the natural products of the various countries also throw some light on this subject.

Astronomical works. Astronomers discarded the theory of a circular earth (Parimaṇḍala) with Mt. Meru in the middle, and proved that the earth is an immovable globe suspended in space. They knew the dimensions and indicated the poles and the equator.[35] They calculated *deśântara* (longitude) and prepared globes. The **Kûrmavibhâga** of the बृहत्संहिता (chap. XIV) of वराहमिहिर is very important for geographical study. Here *Kûrma* means the earth, because it resembles a tortoise, being round, surrounded by the water, and having a globular convexity on its surface (Alberuni.) Its special object is to provide an arrangement from which it may be determined what countries and peoples would suffer calamity when particular *nakshatras* are vexed by planets. The 27 nakshatras are divided into nine groups and so is the earth (*i.e.* India). Dr. Fleet first examined the list (*Ind. Ant*, XXII, p. 169 *ff*.). Prof. Mario Longhena[36] did the same, giving references to passages of the epics which mention the same nations, etc. The com. of Utpala on the बृहत्संहिता (*Vizianagram Sanskrit Series*, Benares) gives quotations from the *Parâśara-tantra* on the same subject which has also been treated in chap. LVIII of the *Markaṇḍeya Purâṇa*. Comparing these three lists, we find a number of various readings and the original reading can be reconstructed in some cases.

The third chapter of Bhâskarâchârya's work and the 12th chapter of *Sûryasiddhânta* are also important.

The **introductions and colophons of MSS**. sometimes incidentally give historical and geographical notices. The place of composition or copying is mentioned in some MSS. with details.

[35] Thibaut in his *Astronomie* (Grundriss), pp. 21, 30, 37.

[36] Pullè's *Studi Italiani*, vol. IV.

II.—TRADITIONAL.

Local traditions, when properly sifted and corroborated by other sources, give some geographical information. Thus Dr. Fleet's identification of Śākala with Sialkot is due to the local tradition recorded in Cunningham's *ASR.*, XIV, pp. 44-46, that it was founded by Śalya and that it was originally called Śākala.

But tradition sometimes turns out to be wrong. Thus Gaibandhā (Rangpur district claims to be the country of the Matsyas; Badnagar (Patna district) to be Kuṇḍinapura (the capital of Vidarbha); but the Epics show otherwise. Hence uncorroborated tradition has little value. The literary sources also sometimes mention names which cannot be located. Again tribes die out and disappear; towns decay and are deserted; seaside emporia sometimes shift: "the names of countries" [cities, etc.] "change" [Bhaṭṭotpala's *Commentary on the Bṛhatsaṁhitā*] though the places themselves survive. All these facts make indentifications of sites mentioned in foreign and indigenous literary sources difficult. Hence we have to turn to

III.—ARCHÆOLOGY

with its three branches (*i*) Monumental, (*ii*) Numismatic, and (*iii*) Epigraphical.

(*i*) The **monumental** remains of a place enables one to compare its present ruins with those described in a foreign or indigenous source. Thus Mahāban was long taken as the site of Aornos; but Dr. Stein's survey has proved beyond all question that the natural features of that mountain are totally dissimilar from those ofAornos as described by the historians of Alexander. [*Ann. Rep. of A. S. I.*, 1904-5, p. 42.] The existence of a double-chambered cave answering to the description of Sudatta's proves the identification of Po-lu-sha with Shahbazgarhi. (Cunningham's *ASR.*, V., 9-15.)

(*ii*) The discovery of **coins** sometimes enables one to locate a particular nation or tribe. Thus at Nāgari, a small town 11 miles north of Chitor, have been found seven copper coins (found nowhere else) with the legend "Majhamikāya ś(*i*)bijanapadasa" showing that the *Mādhyamikas* should be located there. (Cun. *ASR.*, VI, pp. 196 205.) But coins pass from one country to another and so identifications based on their places of discovery may be wrong. Monuments themselves cannot enable us to indicate the real site, unless (*a*) an ancient description of the monument is found or (*b*) it speaks through an inscription. Hence for ancient geography, as for everything else connected with the past of India, we are really dependent on the (*iii*) **Epigraphic records** which regulate everything that we can learn from tradition, literature, coins, architecture or any other source. Thus when find a we pillar *in situ* bearing the inscription that "here was born the Śākya sage" we make an identification of which there can be no doubt.

Dr. Fleet classified the epigraphic records according to their topics thus :—

A. Records making a plain statement of events: the Hāthigumpha inscription, the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and a few other are due to an historical instinct.

B. Records due to Religious motives: the Piprawa relic vase; the Rock and Pillar edicts of Asoka, etc. To these are to be added a new group:—

C. Records of Religious endowment: Barabar cave inscription of Asoka, Bhitari Pillar, etc.

D. Records of Secular donation. To these are to be added a new group:—

E. Literary inscriptions (to preserve Kāvyas and Nāṭakas).]

The DONATIVE RECORDS (C. D.) are by far the most numerous of all. These are title-deeds of real property and of certificates of the right to duties, taxes, fees, and other privileges. The essential part of all these records was the specification of the details of the donor, donee and donation. As donation consisted in most cases of lands, these deeds specified the village, the trerritory wherein it was located, its boundaries, etc. Hence these records are valuable as a source of geography. 'Thus, not with the express object of preserving the history (and geography), but in order to intensify the importance of everything connected with religion and to secure grantees in the possession of properties conveyed to them, there was gradually accumulated almost the whole of the great mass of epigraphic records on which the Indian Archæologists chiefly depend.'

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M. A. CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from p.* 58.)

CHAPTER II.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT—ASHTA PRADHAN COUNCIL.

Shivaji a great Civil administrator.

"Shivaji Raja was famous for his forts," says *Lokahitavadi.*[7] He had captured and built no less than two hundred and fifty forts and strongholds.[8] He prized them highly and large sums were usually granted for their upkeep and repairs.[9] The importance of these forts in a defensive war had been amply demonstrated in his lifelong struggle amongst the Moghuls; yet no one will concede for a moment that the fortification of inaccessible hills and submerged rocks formed Shivaji's best claim to the reverence of posterity His greatness as a military leader has never been contested but his greatness as a Civil Administrator is perhaps still more undoubted. The Maratha has been well-known for his military prowess from time immemorial. The old "Rastrika," his ancestor, was a soldier of no mean reputation. They fought under the banner of the Chalukya Prince Pulakeshin and they beat back the victorious army of the great Harhavardhan. Ferishta tells us how difficult the Bahamani Kings found it to tackle the mountain chiefs of Maharastra. They again won fresh laurels under the celebrated Malik Amber, when the Moghul forces of the great Akbar had to beat an ignominous retreat before them. Shivaji therefore found the materials for an efficient army ready made. The rocks and hills, the mountain passes of his native land, offered suitable sites for impregnable forts. But neither the nature of the country, nor the character of the inhabitants was favourable to the establishment of an orderly government.

Shivaji had to evolve order out of chaos. The Nizam Shahi dynasty had been overthrown by the Moghul arms while Shivaji was still a little child. The Bijapur government was not strong enough to maintain peace and order. The country was devastated by war and even the neighbourhood of Poona was depopulated. Dadaji Konddev was forced to offer rewards for killing wolves[10] that infested the uncultivated fields and deserted homesteads; and the people who lived in the Mawal valleys were in many respects worse than the beasts of their native wilds. Blood feud was the order of the day, and plunder and rapine formed the normal state of things. Almost every Watan had two or more claimants and they

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7 *Lokahitavadi, Aitihasik Goshti P.*

8 *Sabhasad*, pages 98-101.

9 *Rajwade, M. I. S.*, vol. VIII, pp. 17-19.

10 See *Bombay Gazetteer.*

fought to the bitter end. In his blind fury and rage the Maratha Watandar felt no pity for the widow and the orphans of his rivals. But even the apparent destruction of the family would not bring the feud to an end. The loyalty of the old adherents would often conceal a pregnant lady or an infant heir in some village or mountain fortress far away from their native hamlet. The child would never be allowed to forget the wrongs of his family. When arrived to manhood, he was sure to return to his village and to avenge his dead relations, and plundered houses.[11]

Jagdale of Masur.

The anarchy of the time has left its bloody marks on the family papers of the old Deshmukhs, and nowhere do we get a more faithful account of these feuds in all their horrors and bloodshed than in the papers of the Jagdales of Masur and the Jedhis of Rohid Khore. The Jagdales could not even count on the fidelity of their own servants. Their family history runs as follows:—The Desai of Karhad was Jagderau Rajgardal Deshmukh. He had two wives. They had four sons. Babaji Rau was the son of the first wife. The sons of the second were three—the eldest Ramaji Rau, the second Vithoji Rau and the youngest Dayaji Rau. Such were the four (sons). Then the father became old, and they began to quarrel. The father said: "You should not quarrel. I shall divide among you what is yours." So he said. Then he gave to the eldest Babaji Rau the Patilship and the Deshmukhi of Masur and the villages under its jurisdiction. To Ramaji Rau (and others) he gave four villages, Karhad, Aud, and two other villages under the jurisdiction of Karhad. Then Ramaji Rau stationed two barbers of Aud as his agents at Karhad and two clerks, Raghunath Pant and another, for the work of management. . . . . At that time the barber, the clerk and the Mokasi had united. Then these three decided to murder the three brothers Ramaji Rau, Vithoji Rau and Dayaji Rau. They shut the two brothers Ramaji and Dayaji Rau in a room and murdered (them). Then the remaining brother Vithoji Rau fled and came to Masur . . . . At that time the Patilship of Targav also was ours. Then a Brahman was stationed as Agent there. The Brahman engaged two servants, Kaligade and Khochre, and he and his son proceeded to Benares. On the way they were murdered by Koligada and Khochre. Then these two began to quarrel about the Patilship . . . . And Babaji Rau became very old. He had two sons, the elder Vithoji and the younger Kumaji. A *mâlî* (gardener) was in his service. Every day five maunds of flowers were strewn on his bedstead, for Babaji Rau's enjoyment. Then he became very old and the Mujavar (sweepers of the mosque) waxed strong in the village. The sons of his old age (being very young) were 4 and 1½ years of age. So he engaged the Mali for the management of his household, and for the management of the fields was engaged a Dhangar, who tended (his) sheep. Mangi Dhangrin was his mother. The Mujavar, the Mali and the Dhangarin made common cause and decided to murder Babaji Rau and his children. . . . . And then the murderers came. (They) wrapped the younger son in a rug and threw him below the cot, and murdered Babaji Rau in his bed. Then the eldest son said: "I have recognised you. You are sweepers of the village

11 He would often seek the assistance of a powerful neighbour. (पाठींराखा) generally at the price of a portion of the disputed Waton, and this man would take up the quarrel as if it was his wun. *See* Rajwade *M.I.S.*, vol. XV, pp 17-118

(mosque) and you have murdered my father." Thus he spoke, and they murdered him Babaji's wife had concealed herself in a corner. She fled to Chitly with the younger son Kumaji.[12] The Mujavars however did not escape unpunished. Young Kumaji wreaked a bloody vengeance and decapitated three of them.[13] These are by no means the only murders in the bloody annals of the Jagdale family. Shahaji, father of Shivaji took the Patilship of Masur with the life of its owner, an uncle of Mahadji Jagdale Deshmukh.[14] The revenge of those irreconcilable spirits knew no awe or respect for power, and the Jagdales sought a strong enough ally, to assert their claim against Shahaji's son Shivaji. But their connection with the Moghul brought fresh disasters on them, and at length these turbulent Deshmukhs were compelled to lower their pride and seek Shivaji's protection and patronage.

Jedhes of Rohidkhore.

If the Jagdale annal is a bloody one, no less is that of the Jedhes. One of the two Jedhe brothers while returning from the Adilshashi capital with a *farman* of their Watan, was waylaid and murdered by one Khopre a rival claimant. The surviving brother Baji fled to the sea-coast, assembled a few adherents, purchased the assistance of twelve good swordsmen at the cost of a portion of his ancestral property, and calmly waited for a suitable opportunity. Such an opportunity came when Khopre was off his guard while celebrating his marriage. Hardly were the nuptials over, when Baji Jedhe with his followers fell upon Khopre and murdered him with sixty of his attendants. Kanhoji, a descendant of Baji, became so

[12] कराहाडचे देसाई जगदेराऊ राजगर्दल देशमुख. त्यांचा बायका दोघांजण. वडील बाइकेचा लेक बाबाजीराऊ. धाकटीचे तिघेजण; वडील रामोजीराऊ, मधला विठोजीराऊ, धाकटा दयाजीराऊ, ऐसे चौघे जण होते तो। बाप माहतारा जाहाला आणि ते झगडूं लागले. बाप ह्मणऊन लागला कीं तुम्हीं झगडूं नका. तुमचे तुम्हांस वाटणी करून देतो. ह्मणउन बोलिले. मग वडील बाबाजीराऊ यासी मसुरीची पाटेलगी व देशमुखी व गांव त्याख्याले दिल्हे. मग रामोजीराऊ यासी कराड व आउद व आणखी दोन गांव कराडाखाले ऐसे च्यार गांव त्यास दिल्हे. मग रामोजीराऊ यांणीं कारभार करावयासी दोघे नाहावी आउंदचे मुतालीक कारहडामधें ठेविलें व कारकुन दोघे रघुनाथपंत व आणखी एक ऐसे ठेविले . . . . ते वेळेस नाहवी व कारकुन व मोकासी ऐसे तिघे जण एक जाहले होते. मग हे तिघ जण मिळोन रामोजीराऊ व विठोजीराऊ व दयाजीराऊ या तिघां भावांस मारावें ऐसें केलें. मग दोघे भाऊ रामोजी व दयाजीराऊ यांसि घरामधें कोंडुन मारिलें. मग एक भाऊ विठोजीराऊ मसुरास पळोन आला . . . . मग तेव्हां तारगांवीची पटेलकी ते ही आमचीच आहे. मग तेथे मुतालीक ब्राह्मण ठेविले. मग त्या ब्राह्मणांनीं चाकर ठेविले; कोळीगडे आणि खोचडे हे दोघे जण ठेविले. आणि ते बापलेक काशीस दोघे चालिले, मग हे वाटेस कोळीगडा व खोचरे यांनीं मारिले . . . आणि बाबाजीराऊ बहुत माहातरा जाहाला त्याचीं पोटीं लेक दोघे जण; वडील विठोजी, धाकटा कुमाजी ऐसे दोघे होते त्याचे चाकळीस माळी होते. रोज पांच मण फुल बाबाजीराऊ याच्या पलंगावरी भोगवटयास पडे. मग त्याचें बहुतच माहातरपणचे लेक एक चौवरसाचा आणि एक दिडावरसाचा. ह्मणउन घरच्या कारभारास माळी ठेविले आणि धणगर मेढरें राखत होता तो सेताचा कारभारांत ठेविला. आणि त्याची आई मंर्गा धणगरीण ऐसी होती. मग मुजावर व माळी व धनगरीण ऐसे एक होऊन सुत केले कीं बाबाजीराऊ मारावा आणि मुलें हि मारावी . . . . आणि मग मागेकरां आले. तो धाकटा लेक पासोडीमधें गुंडाळून पलंग खालीं टाकिला. आणि बाबाजीराऊ पलंगावरीच मारिला. मग थोरला लेक बोलिला कीं, म्या तुम्हास ओळखले . . . मग त्यांनी त्यासी मारिलें मग त्यांची बाईल ऐके कोनीं लपाली होती ती मग धाकटा कुमाजीराव घेऊन चितळीस पळोन गेली —Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, vol. XV, pp. 4-9.

[13] Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, vol. XV, p. 9.

[14] शाहाजी भोसलियानें माझा चुलता जिवें मारून ॥ मह्रची देशमुखी घेतली.—Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, vol. XV, p. 1.

powerful that he defied the authority of the Adilshahi king. He left seven sons, the youngest of whom, Naikji, however, was won over by the Sultan; two of his elder brothers killed him in their anger and were in their turn murdered by Naikji's men. The *watan* passed to Ansaba, Naikji's widow, who afterwards gave birth to a posthumous son. Her infuriated brother-in-law, however, had no mercy either for the widow or her baby. Ansaba was soon after murdered, but the devotion of a nurse saved the child, who took shelter with Baji Pasalka. Hardly was the family quarrel settled, when Kanbhoji, son of Naikji entered into a contest with the Bandal Deshmukh and a bloody battle was fought. Their difference was, however, settled when Kanhoji entered the service of Shivaji.[15] The Khopres, although humbled, had not been rendered altogether harmless. They joined Afzal Khan against their rivals' master, Shivaji.[16] Such were the men with whom Shivaji had to deal and the times in which he had to work.

Lack of willing co-operation.

He was further handicapped in his work of re-organising the civil administration of hid country by lack of willing co-operation from some of his officers. The art of fighting as a source of honour and emolument appealed to them more than the art of peace. If they had been allowed to follow their individual inclination, they would gladly have renounced, the work of consolidation for a campaign of conquest. No less a man than Nilopaut Majmudar had earnestly prayed to be relieved of his civil duties so that he might "render military service like other men and capture forts when necessary." Nor was he reconciled to his duties until Shivaji had assured him that his services in his civil capacity were as important as that of a commanding officer, and would be appreciated in the same manner as the military exploits of the Peshwa.[17]

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15 *Sardesai*, pp. 173-174.

16 Rajwade *M.I.S.*, vol. XV, p. 394.

17 Rajwade *M.I.S.*, vol. VIII, pp. 8-9. The document is so important that it will bear quotation *in extenso*, an English translation is not necessary as the sense has been given above.

राजश्री निळोपंत मजमुदार यास वतनीचा कारभार करावयास ठेविलें. माहोली पासून भीमगडापावेतों व इंदपुर, पुणे, चाकण, कदीम वतनीचा कारभार करावयासी पंडित माइलेनें साहेबासी अर्ज केला कीः—आजी कामाचे दिवस आहेत. वतनीचा कारभार आणीक कोण्हास सांगावा आपण बराबरी येऊन दाहा लोक कामें करितील तैसी करून देऊन गड घेणें पाडले तरी घेऊन देऊन. ऐसा अर्ज केला त्यास साहेबीं उत्तर दिधलें कीं वतनी राहाणें हेंही काम थोर आहे. वतनी राहाणें येथें तुह्मांस बकशीस इमारतीस पैके पावतील त्यास दरसदे दोन २ दोनांप्रमाणें पावतील. ऐसे साहेब बोललियावरि पंडित मा. इले बोलिले कीः—जरी वतनीचेंहि काम थोर आहे तरी बहुत बरें. एकानें सिद्ध संरक्षण करावें, एकानें साध्य करावें, दोन्ही कामें साहेब बराबरीनें मानिताती तरी–आपण वतनीं राहोन परंतु इमारतीचे पैके पावबुन बकशीस घेणार नाहीं मोरोपंत त्रिंबक व शिवनेर येथें पाठविले आहेत. ते गड घेतील व मुलुक घेतील कामें करितील. साहेब थोर कामास जातातीं तें कृपेनें होऊन येईल. त्यांस राजश्री मोरोपंतास मेहेरबानीनें पंचवीस फुलें दिधलीं तरी आह्मांसहि वीस फुलें द्यावीं ऐसा साहेबीं निश्चय केला पाहिजे. त्यावरी साहेबीं ऐसाच तह दिधला कीः—वतनीं राहोन कारभार करावा. इमारतीचे पैके पावबून बकशीस न द्यावें. राजश्री—मोरोपंत काम करितील, गड घेतील पैके मि ळ) वितील. सुरगिरीचा प्रयत्न करून घेतील. त्यास मेहेरबान होऊन पेशवे आहेत याकारितां पंचवीस फुलें दिधलीं तरीं तुह्मांसही मजमुच्या काईदियानें वतनींचें काम ते काम बराबरी ऐसें समजोन त्यास द्यावीं तेच वस्त्रा तुह्मांसहि २० वीस फुलें पाठवावीं या हिसेबा (नें) जैसे त्यास पावेल तैसें तुह्मांस देऊन ऐसा साहेबीं निश्चय करून पंडित माइलेस वतनीचा कारभार करावयास ठेविलें. असे पंडित माईलेनेंहि सदरहु प्रमाणें मान्य केलें असें मोर्तबसुद.

(मर्यादेयं) (विराजते)

Shivaji a practical statesman.

But Shivaji never tried to achieve the impossible. A practical statesman, he wisely rejected all unworkable ideals. In fact no Maratha statesman before or after him has yearned for theoretical perfection. He knew that the difficulties in his way were great, but he also knew that without an orderly government his kingdom would not be worth a moment's purchase, and that so long as private war and blood feuds continued, he would not be able to introduce into his infant army that strict discipline which was essentially necesary for its very existence. Peace and order were therefore absolutely necessary. But unless he could unite under his banner the numerous chiefs who exercised petty sovereignty in Maharastha, a strong orderly government would be an idle dream. Once his aim was defined, he refused to be hampered by ordinary scruples. Policy required that he should try conciliation firs it and he did so. He was frequently successful, but whenever conciliation failed, he did not hesitate to employ treachery. And, one by one, the Deshmukhs of Mawal did submit to his authority and a considerable portion of the Bijapur territory was conquered. It was now that Shivaji had to frame a working scheme of Government. Here, however, he was confronted with a very difficult problem. He had to decide how far the old system should be continued and to what extent reformed. Wholesale conservation and wholesale reform were equally out of question. The first would grant a fresh lease of life to feudalism with its concomitant evils of private war, blood feud, anarchy and oppression. A keen observer, he did not fail to notice the evil effects of the feudal system in the tottering kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. But the total abolition of feudalism would alienate most of his countrymen, some of whom had submitted to him but reluctantly. He knew that the great defect of the Maratha character was its selfish individualism. The Maratha *watandar* thought of his *watan* first and of his country afterwards. Shivaji had therefore to strike a mean between the two extremes that would at the same time reconcile the *watandars* and ensure comparative order and peace.

General structure of Government village system unaffected.

The village communities in Southern India flourished from the dawn of history. When these democratic institutions first originated no one knows.[18] But in the absence of a highly developed central Government, such as we now have, they served the needs of the time admirably. Shivaji decided to leave them undisturbed in their internal organisation. In fact, the village republics exercised almost the same powers, enjoyed the same privileges and underwent the same responsibilities from the time of their origin down to the establishment of the British Government of India, when many of their immunities and privileges were found incompatible with a modern Government. Over a group of these self-contained units had formerly been placed the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes. Originally appointed for revenue collection, they had gradually made their office hereditary and had assumed and exercised almost sovereign authority. The circumstances of the time helped this feudal evolution. But Shivaji could not allow this state of things to go on uninterrupted. Feudalism was incompatible with a strong monarchy. Shivaji therefore appointed his own Revenue officers but the Deshmukhs and the Deshpades were left in the enjoyment of their old rights and perquisites. They were, however, on no account to exercise their tyranny. *Rayats* were given to understand that henceforth they would have nothing to do with the Desais and Deshmukhs. To render them

[18] The Maratha Village system has been fully described in my *Administrative System of the Peshwas*. There was only one difference. Shivaji did not allow the Patil to act as a Revenue Collector.

altogether harmless, Shivaji further prohibited them from building any walled or bastioned castle; and, like Henry II of England, he demolished some of the strongholds of these local tyrants.[19] "In the provinces, Sabhasad says, the Rayats were not to be subjected to the *jurisdiction* and regulations of the zemindars, the Deshmukh or the Desai. If they offer to plunder the *rayats*, by assuming authority over them, it does not lie in their power. The Adilshahi, the Nizamshahi and the Mughlai Desh was conquered by (Shivaji); in the Desh all the *rayats* used to be under the Patil and the Kulkarni of those places, and the Deshkukhs. They used to make the collection and to pay an unspecified sum (as tribute). For a village where the Mirasdars took one to two thousand (Hons or Rupees ?), (they) used to render two hundred to three hundred as quit-rent. Therefore the Mirasdar grew wealthy and strengthened (himself) by building bastions, castles and strongholds in the village and enlisting footmen and musketeers. They did not care to wait on the revenue-officers. If the revenue-officers said that they could pay more revenue, (the Mirasdar) stood up to quarrel with them. In this way (they grew) unruly and forcibly misappropriated the (lands in the) Desh. On this account did the Raja demolish the bastions, the castles and the strongholds. After conquering the Desh, where there were important forts, he placed his garrison. And nothing was left in the hands of Mirasdars. This done, (he) prohibited all that the Mirasdars used to take at their sweet will, by Inam (right) or revenue farming, and fixed the rates of the dues in cash and grains for Zamindars, as well as the rights and the perquisites of the Deshmukh, the Deskulkarni, and the Patil, and the Kulkarni, according to the yield of the village. The Zamindars were forbidden to build bastioned castles. (They were to) build houses (and) live (therein). Such were the regulations framed for the provinces." In this manner the danger of feudal anarchy was to some extent averted.

The Ashta Pradhan Council

Like the Kamavisdars and the Subadars of the Peshwa period, the Karkuns, Tarafdars, Havaldars and Subadars of Shivaji had to look after all branches of Civil administration. At the head of the Government was the king himself, assisted by a council of state or the Rajmandal. It is also known as the Ashta Pradhan council, as eight ministers had seats in it. These were :—

(1) The Peshwa or the Mukhya Pradhan.
(2) The Mazumdar or the Amatya.
(3) The Waknis or the Mantri.
(4) The Dabir or the Sumanta.
(5) The Surnis or the Sachiva.
(6) The Pandit Rav or the Royal priest.
(7) The Senapati or the Commander-in-chief
and (8) The Nyayadhish or the Chief Justice.

19 Sabhasad, pp. 32-33.

मुलखांत जमीदार, देशमुख व देसाई यांचे जमीखालीं कैदेत रयत नाहीं. इदलशाही निजामशाही मोगलाई देश कबज केला, त्यादेशांत मुलुकांचे पाटील कुळकर्णी यांचे हातीं (व) देशमुखांचे हातीं कुल रयत यांणीं कमाविसी करावी आणि मोघम टक्का द्यावा हजार दोन हजार जे गांवी मिरासदारांनीं द्यावे ते गांवीं दोनशें तीनशें दिवाणांत खंड मक्ता द्यावा त्यामुळें मिरासदार पैके करी होऊन गांवास हुडे वाडे कोट बांधून प्यादे बंदुखी ठेवून वळावले. दिवाणास भेटणें नाहीं दिवणानें गुंजाईस अधिक सांगितल्यानें भांडावयास उभें राहतात ये जातीनें पुंड होऊन देश वळाविले त्यास देश काबीज करून हुडे वाडे कोट पाडिले. नामांकित कोट जहाला तेथें ठाणें ठेविलें आणि मिरासदारांचे हातीं नाहींसें ठेविलें असे करून मिरासदार इनाम इजारतीनें मनास मानेसारखें आपण घेत होते ते सर्व अमानत करून जमीदारास गल्ला व नख्त गांव पाहून देशमुखास व देश कुळकर्णी यांस व पाटील कुळकर्णी यांसी हक बांधून दिला. जमीदारांनीं वाडा रजांचाबांधु नय घर बांधून राहावें ऐसा मुलकचा बंद केला.

When this council was first organised, we do not precisely know. At the time of the Coronation, the eight 'Pradhans' (ministers) had stood on either side of the throne to pour holy water from gold and silver jars and basins, over the king's head.[20] Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis tells us that it was at this time that the Council came into being.[21] These offices, however, were by no means new. Though the Mukhya Pradhan, the Amatya, the Mantri, the Sumanta, the Sachiva and the Senapati were unknown, people were quite familiar with the Peshwa, the Muzumdar, the Waknis, the Dabir, the Surnis, and the Sarnohat. What Shivaji did was to retain the old posts with new Sanskrit designations. But whether these new designations meant any new power or new responsibilities is not certain. It is, however, significant that an official paper (Kanu Jabta) was drawn up in the first year of the Abhisheka era, to enumerate the duties of the eight cabinet ministers (Pradhans) and other heads of departments.[22] But it is quite possible that the paper was drawn up simply to enforce a stricter method in the existing organisation. Sabhasad tells us that the following officers had enjoyed the privilege of taking part in the coronation ceremony as cabinet ministers :—

When was the Council organised ?

(1) Moro Pant, son of Trimbak Pant as Mukhya Pradhan.
(2) Naro Nilkhantha and Ram Chandra Nilkantha as joint Amatya.
(3) The son of Raghunath Rav as Pandit Rav.
(4) Hambir Rao Mohite as Senapati.
(5) Dattaji Trimbak as Mantri.
(6) Ram Chandra Pant, son of Trimbakji Sondev Dabir as Sumant.
(7) Annaji Pant (Datto) as Sachiv.
(8) Niraji Ravji as Nyayadhish.[23]

These men had already held these offices for some time. Sabhasad, while describing the coronation, refers simply to their new Sanskrit designation but does not say that these posts were newly created. (**येणें प्रमाणें संस्कृत नांव ठेविणें**). It is quite possible that Chitnis had also in his mind the introduction of Sanskrit designations when he wrote of the Raja's decision of appointing a council of eight Both Sabhasad and Chitnis make frequent mention of past incumbents of these offices. Sabhasad, for example, says that one Shanirav Nilkanth was Moro Trimbak Pingle's predecessor in the Peshwaship.[24] Shivaji's first Sarnobat was one Tukoji Chor Maratha.[25] He was succeeded by Mankoji Dahatonde.[26] We do not know why

Past incumbents of these offices.

[20] Sabhasad, p. 82 : Chitnis, p. 162.

[21] Chitnis, p. 161 **त्रयोदशीचा दिवस प्राप्त झाला असतां अष्टप्रधान करण्याची योजना करून आठ सिद्ध केला.** But all these offices existed long before the coronation. By the word Ashta Pradhan here, Chitnis therefore does not mean the mere offices or the officers, but the Council. In the next sentence he mentions the appointment of two secretaries. These were also by no means new appointments. It is quite possible that the old officers were formally re-appointed, according to the rites prescribed by the Shastras for the coronation ceremony.

[22] Sane, *Patreyadi Bagaine*, p. 357. The date of the document is given as follows :—**कानु जाबता राज्याभिषेकशके २ आनंद नाम संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठ वद्य १३ त्रयोदशी भौमवासरे,** and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. Also see *Sanads and Letters* edited by P. V. Mawji and D. B. Parasnis.

[23] Sabhasad, p. 83.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8 and 11 ; *Peshwas' Diaries*, vol. I, p. 41.

[25] *Ibid.*, p 8.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Tukoji or Mankoji lost their master's confidence, but after the conquest of Jawli, the chief command of the army was conferred on Netaji Palkar,[27] destined to be famous as the second Shivaji. Netaji was dismissed for his failure to succour Panhala[28] and an enterprising cavalry officer, Kadtaji Gujar, obtained the Sarnobatship with the title of Pratap Rav. Finally, after Pratap Rav's heroic death in a hard fought-battle, his Lieutenant Hasaji Mahite, was promoted to the command in Chief.[29] It was this Hasaji or Hambir Rav, the fifth, or according to another account the sixth, Sarnobhat,[30] who stood with a silver jar, filled with milk, at the time of the ceremonial bath. during Shivaji's coronation.[31] Similarly, Nilo Sondev and Gangaji Mangaji had served as Surnis and Waknis respectively. before Annaji Datto and Dattaji Trimbak. It is also certain. that both before and after his coronation, Shivaji frequently held council with these and other officers. To cite only one instance, when Afzal Khan invaded his infant kingdom, Shivaji called a council of his principal ministers, among whom figured not only Moro Pant, Nilo Pant, Annaji Pant, Sonaji Pant, Gangaji, Mangaji, Netaji Palkar and Raghunath Ballal.[32] (most of them afterwards held seats in the Ashta Pradan Council) but also men like Gomaji Naik, Krishnaji Naik and Subhanji Naik.[33] It does not appear therefore that the council was first organised at the time of the coronation. Nor can it be maintained that the Ashta Pradhan Council owed its origin to the creative genius of Shivaji. The Persian designation of such officers as the Dabir, the Surnis, the Waknis, and the Mazumdar clearly shows that analogous offices did exist under the Muhammadan Government of the South. Mention has also been made of such Councils in old Hindu works on polity. In Sukraniti, for example, we find that the chief priest and the Chief Justice should have seats in the cabinet, and this was a special feature of Shivaji's Rajmandal.[34] When the Peshwas rose to power, most of these offices had become hereditary. but in Shivaji's time the Pradhans, or cabinet ministers, were not appointed for life. They were liable to be dismissed at the king's pleasure and could not transmit their office to their sons or brothers. In the Peshwa period great officers generally became founders of new families. This was impossible in Shivaji's time. First, because he took good care to keep all offices, both high and low, free from a hereditary character. We have seen how six commanders-in-chief had been in succession appointed by Shivaji, but not in a single case had he selected for the post a near relative of the last incumbent. Suryaji Malsure was no doubt appointed Subadar of the Mawli forces, after the death of his brother Tanaji, but in this case the officer in question had rendered such distinguished service as fully deserved public recognition;[35] secondly, because Shivaji made it a rule not to assign any Jagir to any officer, civil or military. It was strictly laid down that no soldier or military officer should have anything to do with the revenue collection of the country, and there was, in those days of anarchy and war. hardly any officer who was not required to take up arms sometime or other. In Sabhasad's account we find that the balance of their dues (was paid by) '*varats*' (orders) either on the Huzur (Central Government) or on the District (establishments). In this manner were their annual accounts punctually settled. Mokashe Mahals or villages with absolute rights should

The Council not a new conception of Shivaji.

Offices not hereditary and no Jagir attached to them.

27 Sabhasad, p. 11. 28 *Ibid*, p. 59. 29 *Ibid*, p. 79.

30 J. N. Sarkar says (*Modern Review*) that according to Narain Shenvi Anand Rav succeeded Pratap Rav Gujar.

31 Chitnis, p. 162. 32 Sabhasad, p. 11. 33 *Ibid*, p. 14

34 A more detailed discussion is reserved for a subsequent thesis.

35 Sabhasad, p. 56.

on no account be granted to the (men in the) army, the militia and the fort establishment. Every payment should be made by '*varats*' or with cash from the treasury. None but the Karkuns had any authority over the lands. All payments to the army, the militia, and the fort establishment, were to be made by the Karkuns.[36] These wise regulations had their desired effect and arrested for the time being the growth of Feudalism in Maharastra. In the words of Ranade, "None of the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's time, were able to hand over to their descendants large landed estates. Neither Moropant Pingle, nor Abaji Sondev, nor Ragho Ballal, nor Datto Annaji or Niraji Raoji, among the Brahmans, nor the Malusares or Kanks, or Pratapro Gujar, Netaji Palkar, Hambirrao Mohite or the Maratha Sardars, were able to found ancient families such as Shahu's ministers in the early part of the eighteenth century succeeded in doing." [37]

Was the Council a bureaucratic organisation?

Though we do not know precisely when the Ashta Pradhan Council came into being, yet we have fairly accurate knowledge of what was expected from the Pradhans. In a paper,[38] already referred to, their duties have been clearly defined. From this and other state papers, it does not appear that Shivaji aimed at a bureaucratic form of Government. A great Maharashtra Scholar, the late Justice Ranade, however throws out clear hints that the Ashta Pradhan Council, in its essential characteristics, bore a striking resemblance to the Viceroy's Council. Says the great Savant, "The Peshwa was Prime Minister, next to the king, and was at the head of both the civil and the military administration and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The Senapati was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side Amatya and Sachiv sat next to the Peshwa, while the Mantri sat next below the Sachiv and was in charge of the king's private affairs. The Sumant was foreign secretary and sat below the Senapati on the left. Next came Pandit Rao, who had charge of the ecclesiastical department and below him on the left side sat the Chief Justice. It will be seen from these details that the Ashta Pradhan System has its counterpart in the present constitution of the Government of India. The Governor-General and Viceroy occupies the place of the Peshwa. Next comes the Commander-in-chief of the army. The Finance and Foreign Ministers come next. In the Government of India, the Executive Council makes no room for the head of the ecclesiastical department or for the Chief Justice on one side and the Private Secretary on the other, and in their place sit the member in charge of the Home Department, the Legal Member and the Public Works Minister. These variations are due to the difference of circumstances, but the conception which lies at the bottom of both the systems is the same, that of having a Council of the highest officers of the State—sitting together to assist the king the proper discharge of his duties." [39]

Ranade's views examined.

Although there seems to be some apparent resemblance between the Ashtopradhan Council of Shivaji and the Executive Council of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the principle underlying the two are by no means identical. The Government of India is widely known to be a bureaucracy. The subordinate officers are responsible to the heads of their depart-

[36] Sabhasad, p. 30. वरकड वांटणी हुजूर व मुलुकावरि वगता येणेंप्रमाणें सालझाडा वरचेवर करीत होते लष्करांत व दशमांस व गडास मोकाशे महाल गांव वरोवस्त देणें नाहीं जे देणें ते वरातिने द्यावें अगर पोताहून रोख एवज द्यावा. मुलखांत साहेबीं कारकुना खेरीज कोणाची नाहीं लष्करास व दशमास व गडास देणें ते कारकुनांनीं द्यावें.

[37] Ranade, *R.M.P.*, pp. 129-130.

[38] Sane, *Patre Yadi Bagaire*, p. 357.

[39] Ranade, *R.M.P.*, pp. 126-127.

ments, and these departmental heads are mainly responsible for initiating the policy in their particular branch of administration. Although they can and do deliberate upon grave questions affecting departments other than their own, there is a clear cut division of duties. The Law Member is never called upon to lead a military expedition, nor is the Commander-in-Chief required to hear a Title Suit. But six out of the eight members of Shivaji's Council had to perform military duties whenever necessary, and all the eight had, as occasion arose, to attend a Hazir Majalasi to hear appeals in both civil suits and criminal cases. The first Pandit Rav [40] had to render diplomatic service when he was sent on an embassy to Jai Singh. But no one to-day would ever think of sending the Lord Bishop of Calcutta or the Bishop of Lahore on an embassy to the Amir of Afghanistan. This is, however, not the only difference. The Viceroy, though he can in theory override the decisions of his Executive Council, is in practice expected to be guided by them. But neither his subjects nor his officers ever expected that Shivaji should always be guided by the wisdom of the Rajmandal. He was not bound to call them unless he left inclined to do so. The ministers were frequently absent on distant expeditions, and some of them were further encumbered with the heavy work of a provincial government. Shivaji's ministers cannot therefore be regarded as Heads of Departments and his Government was by no means a Bureaucracy. It was, if any thing, an Autocracy. But the Autocrat, fortunately for his people, was a good statesman and acted as a " Benevolent Despot." His ministers were his assistants in the widest sense of the word, and his government had more resemblance to those of his Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors than to the British Indian Government to-day. Of European institutions, Napoleon's great council perhaps came nearest to it.

The Duties of the Pradhans.

The detailed statement of the duties of the eight Pradhans will further confirm the above conclusion. And nothing will serve our purpose better than the Kanu Jabta (Memorandum) drawn up in the first year of the Coronation (Abhisheka) Era and published by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane. All that is required here is to reproduce the paper in full with a fairly intelligible translation:—The Kanu Jabta of the year 1 of the Coronation Era, the Sambatsar being Ananda by name, Tuesday the thirteenth day of Jaisthya.

The Mukhya Pradhan should perform all works of the administration. He should put his seal on official letters and documents. He should make expeditions and wage war with the army and make necessary arrangements for the preservation of the Districts that may come into (our) possession and act according to the orders (of the king). All military officers should go with him and he should proceed with them all in this manner (should he work). (Seal) (item 1).

The Senapati should maintain the army and make war and expeditions. He should preserve the territories (newly) acquired, render an account of (the spoils) and act according to the orders (of the king). He should make known (to the king) what the men, *viz.*, the army, have to say. All military officers should go with him. (Seal) (item 1).

The Amatya should look after the account of income and expenditure of the whole kingdom. The Daftardar and the Fadnis should be under him. He should carefully estimate the writing work (to be done ?) He should put his sign manual (or seal) on the letters from the Fadnis' and the Chitnis' office. He should render military service in (times of) war. He should look after the Districts and be guided by (our) orders. (Seal) (item 1).

[40] Sabhasad, p. 41.

The Sachiv should carefully look into the royal letters and make (necessary) correction of the contents, whenever there is a letter in excess or whenever a letter is omitted. He should serve in war, preserve the (newly) acquired Districts, and beha according to (our) orders. On royal letters (and official documents) he should put his seal as a sign of his approval. (Seal) (item 1).

The Pandit Rav should have jurisdiction over all religious questions. He should punish (all offences) after judging what is right and what is wrong. He should put his sign of approval on all papers relating to custom, (आचार) conduct, (व्यवहार) and penance (प्रायश्चित). He should receive Scholars of reputation. He should perform, when occasion arises, charity (दान) and Shanti (performances to appease offended deities) and celebrate other religious performance. (Seal) (item 1).[41]

The Nyayadhish should have jurisdiction over all suits in the kingdom and try them righteously. After finding out what is right and what is wrong, on the judgment paper, he should put his sign of approval. (Seal) (item 1).

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SARVAJÑÂTMA AND ŚAṄKARÂCHÂRYA.

In Vol. XLIII of this Journal there is a note on *Sarvajñâtma* by Mr. Venkatesvaran, wherein he indentifies the *Manukulâditya* mentioned by the former in his work *Samkshepaśârîrika* with Aditya I, the Chola king, after refuting Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of the same with the Chalukya *Vimalâditya*. Herein, he makes Âditya the personal name of the king and not the component part of a compound name. But we meet with the name *Manukulâdityan* in a Travancore inscription. There is a Vatteshuttu inscription from Tirumulikkulam dated the year opposite to the 48th year of king *Bhâskararavi Varman*, a king of Kerala, which is published in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 45-46. In it there is mentioned a grant of some Cherikal lands (lands on the slopes of hills) by a king named *Manukulâdityan*, and the inscription deals with the resolution of the townsmen of Tirumulikkulam regarding their management. From the terms of the inscription it would appear that the grant had been made some time before the date of the inscription. Now Tirumulikkulam is in North Travancore near Kaladi the birthplace of *Śaṅkarâchârya*. The occurrence of the name *Manukulâdityan* as the personal name of a ruler of the district wherein the great Âchârya was born and the fact that the principal Maṭha of his sect is in Śringeri in the west, make one doubt the correctness of splitting up the name and interpreting it as Aditya of the Manu family, and thus identifying him with a king of the East Coast. As regards the objection that the verse of *Sarvajñâtma* depicts *Manukulâdityan* as a powerful sovereign, 'as commanding the world,' it may be suggested that a petty king might loom large in the eyes of his subjects, and also that such adulatory epithets are not uncommon in Indian poetical works.

Now, as to the date of *Sarvajñâtman* and *Manukulâdityan*, the following facts may offer some solution. From the astronomical data furnished by a copper-plate of one *Bhâskararavi varma*, dated 2nd+6th+35th year of the reign, Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai has fixed his accession at 978 A.D. But there are others with the same name but with single dates (Vide *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. II, pt. II), and Mr Pillai suggests

[41] The late justice Telang summarised the duties of the Pandit-Rav in the following manner :— "It states that the Pandit-Rav's duties are to exercise all the ecclesiastical powers of the State, and to order punishment to be inflicted after investigating into what is and is not in accordance with religious law. He is to receive learned persons on behalf of the state and countersign all documents that may be issued from the sovereign relating to Achara, Vyavahara, and Prayaschitta, that is to say rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances, the three branches of Dharmashastra. He is also to look after the performance of Shantis and other ceremonials, and the distribution of royal bounty." (R.M.P.), p. 261.

that there may be two different kings having the same name *Bhâskararavi, viz.,* one whose years are dated opposite to the second year and another without it. Now the Tirumulikkulam inscription belongs to the latter class, while the famous Cochin plates of *Bhâskararavi* belong to the former. Though a superficial comparison of the two inscriptions just mentioned does not disclose any difference in their palæographical characteristics, yet a closer examination shows that the single dated inscriptions belong to a king slightly earlier in date. For instance, compare the Grantha *Swa.* And since the *Bhâskararavi* with the double or treble dates lived towards the close of the tenth century, we might place the *Bhaskararavi* with the single date in the early part of the same century approximately. Hence *Manukulâditya* and *Sarvajñâtma* must have flourished about 900 A.D. And since *Śaṅkarâchârya* was the Guru's Guru of *Sarvajñâtma,* the former must have lived about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

A. BALAKRISHNA PILLAI.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE LUZUMIYAT OF ABU'L-ALA. Selections in English verse by Ameen Rihani. 2nd ed. New York. James T. White & Co., 1920.

The blind poet, philosopher and Arabic scholar, whose fame has come down to the present generation by his title of Abu'l-'âlâ, was a Syrian, and lived from 974 to 1055 A.D. He was a great teacher of the philosophic doctrines and professed creed of his day, as current among the learned and thoughtful, and also a great poet. In consequence, he was a real power in the realm of Islamic thought. His home was an obscure village—Ma'arra—in Syria, south of Aleppo, but despite his misfortune, the result of smallpox in his early childhood, he travelled as far as Baghdad in one direction and as far as Tripoli in another, and came in touch with the learned world of his time. After his illness he could never see well; he gradually became totally blind in his mature age, and lived to be 82. He was never a sycophant or time server; on the contrary he was always boldly outspoken, and that in his day involved a life of poverty. So he lived and died a poor man. The illness that so injured his sight destroyed also his personal appearance, and he never married or mixed himself up with the other sex. All these things affected his verse and the philosophic views contained therein, and it will be seen also that he was essentially a product of his time and surroundings.

Abu'l-'âlâ just preceded the astronomer-poet of Persia, whom the English poet Fitzgerald has taught the European and Christian world to call Omar Khayyam on paper with a whole-world variety of pronunciation. Omar Khayyam was imbued, as was Abu'l-'âlâ, with the philosophy of his time as coloured by the Islam they both professed. But otherwise their lives and surroundings were as poles apart. In him we find a great mathematician (though Abu'l-'âlâ was that also) with a high official position and influential connections—a man of the world who had done great practical things and had taken to expressing his philosophy in his retirement in the style of verse current in his day and country, chiefly apparently for his own private satisfaction—no conscious general teacher of his kind and no great poet in the estimation of his contemporaries and countrymen. Fitzgerald has made him that by his rendering of the philosophy he expressed in Persian quatrains for an English speaking and reading public to whom, in its unacquaintance therewith, it was a revelation.

The object of the work under review is, I take it, mainly to bring home the Islamic philosophy of the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. to the English reading public, and incidentally to show how much Omar Khayyam is indebted to Abu'l-'âlâ. In all probability he was indebted to a certain degree. A man so placed, and with such opportunities of access to the great literature of his time and faith as Omar Khayyam, could hardly have been unacquainted with the works of Abu'l-'âlâ. But as to whether he was indebted for his actual expressions to such a degree as Mr. Ameen Rihani hints, is open to considerable doubt. The fact appears to be that both authors were in the first place brought up under Islam, were both well acquainted with the Greek and Sufi philosophies as developed by their time, were well read men and knew therefore something—perhaps a great deal—of mediæval Christianity and Hinduism, at any rate from the philosophic standpoint. In their day, the educated professors of Islam had developed those esoteric heterodox opinions which have invariably risen in every known form of religion that the world has ever adopted, and of which in their surroundings

the Sufis were the chief exponents. Abu'l'-âlâ, from the social and physical condition which governed his life, expounded the ideas generally afloat in the philosophic air about him in a way that was his own, and detached himself from the usual method favoured by the Sufis of presenting his philosophy in esoteric terms adopted from erotic poetry, where it expresses human and carnal love. Omar Khayyam, living in very different conditions, followed the fashion of the writers about him. It may be objected, however, that Abu'l-âlâ was not a Sufi :—probably not, but he knew the doctrine and the method. He did not quite escape it. Witness Mr. Ameen Rihani's first two quatrains ;—why I say Mr. Rihani's quatrains will presently appear :—

The sable wings of night pursuing day
Across the opalescent hills, display
The wondrous star-gems which the fiery suns
Are scattering upon their fiery way.

O my companion, Night is passing fair,
Fairer than aught the dawn and sundown wear;
And fairer too than all the gilded days
Of blond illusion and its golden snare.

On the whole, it will, I think, be safest to say that there is no proof that Omar Khayyam consciously followed Abu'l-'âlâ, but that both, each in his individual way, were influenced by the learning of the centuries in which they existed in the respective lands of their birth.

I have spoken above of Mr. Ameen Rihani's quatrains. His selections from Abu'l-'âlâ are given in a form which is a direct challenge to Fitzgerald's version of Omar Khayyam's *Rubâ'iyât.* As Fitzgerald infused himself into Omar Khayyam, so has Mr. Rihani infused himself into Abu'l-'âlâ. Neither work is a translation, but both are adaptations, intending, and no doubt honestly, to give the real sense of the original in the verse of a foreign tongue. As Fitzgerald has been successful with Omar Khayyam, so in my personal judgment has Mr. Rihani been with Abu'l-'âlâ. His quatrains are all extraordinarily smooth, and they read like the production of an Oriental mind and convey the Near Eastern manner of composing captivating verse. Mr. Rihani is no mean poet, as is shown by his lines to Abu'l-'âlâ with which his book opens, and he has the advantage of a training, for all his fine command of English, which is apparently Near Eastern. He is also honest with his author, for Abu'l-'âlâ lashed out at all whom he thought were humbugs—Christian, Muhammadan, Sectarian—great and small, and Mr. Rihani does not hide his invective at all :—

Muhammad or Messiah ! Hear thou me,
The truth entire nor here nor there can be ;
How should our God, who made the sun and moon,
Give all his light to one, I cannot see.

Abu'l-'âlâ was accused of infidelity and of leanings towards Hinduism. He was a vegetarian and a great opponent of wine-drinking, and exhibited extraordinary tenderness towards animals. All this is brought out, and some of it echoes Indian philosophic ideas :—

The life with guiltless life-blood do not stain—
Hunt not the children of the wood, in vain
Thou'lt try one day to wash thy bloody hand :
Nor hunter here nor hunted long remain.

His verse was also full of the doubt that was then so much the fashion :—

The way of vice is open as the sky,
The way of virtue's like the needle's eye ;
But whether here or there the eager Soul
Has only two companions—Whence and Why.

His infirmities and his poetry affected all his life and are reflected in his verse, and the last quatrains given by Mr. Rihani are specially pathetic, as they show that behind his despair of the world and his cynicism he held on to the hopes inculcated by the faith in which he was brought up :—

But I, the thrice imprisoned, try to troll
Strains of the song of night, which fill with dole
My blindness, my confinement and my flesh—
The sordid habitation of my soul.

Howbeit, my inner vision heir shall be
To the increasing flames of mystery,
Which may illumine yet my prison's cell,
And crown the ever living hope of me.

Mr. Rihani has produced a great book which deserves to be well and widely read by those who would understand something of the perennial Oriental mind.

R. C. Temple.

Early History of Vaishnavism in South India by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Madras University Special Lectures. Oxford University Press: Madras. pp. x and 112.

This little book is the outcome of a suggestion from Sir George Grierson that Vaishnava Literature should be made better known to the European public, and in effect is a critical examination of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religions,* conducted in the

spirit, not of mere controversy, but of assistance towards the knowledge of the truth of the facts. There is a good index.

The first lecture deals with the definition and general explanation of Vaishnavism, and I may say at once that, all the lectures being given by a Hindu to a Hindu audience, a general knowledge of Hinduism is presupposed. The author sums up the "fundamental idea of Vaishnavism" thus :—" It is contained in one verse of Tirumalisai Alwâr which may be freely rendered : 'Let thy grace be for me today : let it come tomorrow : let it wait still longer and come sometime after; Thy grace I am sure is mine I am certain. O Nârâyana, I am not without Thee, nor art Thou without me.'" Here speaks true philosophic Hinduism.

The Professor holds Vaishnavism to be the direct offspring of the doctrine of Bhakti or Devotional Faith and agrees with Professor Bhandarkar that it is traceable to "the age of Buddhism and Jainism," *i.e.* to the earliest historical times. He holds also that the doctrine originated in the North, was elaborated in the South and "sent back in a more realistic reflex wave which swept over the whole land of India." The Vaishnava teachers were firstly the Alwârs, the popular poet-saints (as distinguished from the Nâyanmârs of the Saivas), and secondly the Achâryas or professional propagandists. The former are placed between the 5th and 12th centuries A.D.

As the history of Vaishnavism in the South is necessarily the story of the Twelve Alwârs, the remaining lectures are naturally devoted to a critical examination of them. The crucial names for historical purposes among the Alwârs are those of the Alwâr Kulaśêkhara and Nam Alwâr, and the second and third lectures are respectively devoted to these two names. The usual date for Kulaśêkhara is the 12th or even 13th century A.D., but Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar argues that the true period is more likely to be the 10th century. Some space is given to his identification, a matter obviously bearing on his date, and finally he is placed 7th in the chronological order of the Alwârs.

More legend has grown around the name of Nam Alwâr (really a nickname arising out of his popularity and the reverence felt for him, and meaning 'Our Alwâr') than round that of any other, and for serveral reasons of belief he is popularly placed last of all. This position the book strongly controverts, taking up the arguments in support of it one by one and critically examining them. The old authority, Vedânta Dêśika, places him 5th, which would put him before Kulaśêkhara, probably in the 8th century A.D. or even earlier. To this view the Professor inclines.

The last lecture deals with Poygai, Bhûtattâr and Pêy, the earliest of the Alwârs in general estimation, the fourth being Tirumalisai. The first three are placed in the 2nd century A.D., and the traditional order is adopted as probable.

This question of the dates of the Vaishnava Alwârs has a far greater importance to history than would at first appear, for on it depends the wider question of the respective dates for the rise and development of the two great varieties of philosophic Hinduism—the Śaiva and the Vaishnava. Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's book is a valuable contribution towards the solution of this important matter of history.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE LIṄGÂNUŚÂSANA OF VÂMANA WITH THE AUTHOR'S OWN COMMENTARY. Edited with Introduction and Indexes by Chimanlal D. Dalal, M.A. (Central Library, Baroda). Price Six annas.

This is the sixth volume of the 'Gaekwad's Oriental Series,' for the publication of which lovers of Sanskrit literature are indebted to His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda. The present work is a small book of 30 *âryâs* on the genders of Sanskrit nouns. An incorrect edition of it was published by Prof. Peterson in his third report in search of Sanskrit MSS. The present volume gives a critical edition of the text. As for the commentary, now published for the first time, there are many lacunæ.

Discussing the date of the author, the learned editor has come to the following conclusions :—(1) That Vâmana, the author of the present work, which quotes Mâgha and Bâṇabhaṭṭa, is most probably identical with the author of the *Kâśikâ* and with the author of *Kâvyâlaṅkârasûtravṛtti* which quotes verses from the works of Mâgha, Bhavabhûti, and Bhaṭṭanârâyana and which was quoted by Ânandavardhana (about 857-84 A.D.). (2) That this Jaina or Buddhist Kashmirian scholar was identical with the Vâmana who, according to Kalhana, was one of the learned ministers of king Jayâpiḍa of Kashmir (776-807 A. D.). (3) That he left Kashmir, most probably on account of the oppression of the king (as described in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* IV. 634-7) and went to the court of Jagattuṅga (the Râshṭrakûṭa king Govinda III, 794-813 A. D.), for he gives *Jagattuṅga-sabhâ* as an example in the 9th *Kârikâ* of the present work and mentions the name of a village Śrîbhavana, which occurs also in the Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates of the same king.

As to Mr. Dalal's identification of our author with the author of the *Kâvyâlaṅkârasûtra*, though there is no direct proof, there is no difficulty and the date proposed suits well. But his identification of the present Vâmana with Vâmana the author of the *Kâśikâ* is not convincing. He has overlooked the fact that Itsing (690 A. D.) is said to have referred to the *Kâśikâ* (Sir A. Stein. *Notes on Râjataraṅgiṇî* IV. 497.) Hence, in spite of Dr. Böhtling's assent to the current Kashmirian tradition that Vâmana, the minister of Jayâpîḍa, is the author of *Kâśikâ*, this theory and its offshoot, *viz.*, Mr. Dalal's theory that the three Vâmanas are identical, cannot be accepted so long as Itsing's reference to *Kâśikâ* cannot be explained away (as has been done with Mâgha's reference to *Nyâsa* in the verse *anutsûtrapadanyâsâ*).

The editor has also pointed out the important geographical names mentioned in it, *e.g.*, Varendra, Tirabhûkti &c. But he has omitted to remark that our author names (p. 18) *Khalatikaparvata*, mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR ŚÂSTRÎ.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS

19. Toddy Horse.

11 *July* 1682. *Translate of a letter from our Bramine Chendra Sheceriah* [*Brâhman agent, Chandra Śivâchâriya*] *and Madana from Codaloore* [*Kûdalūr*], *to the Right Worshipfull William Gyfford Esqr., Governor of Fort St. George.* I am going to Porto Novo, the Toddy [coloured, *i.e.*, brown] horse is troubled with a paine in his breast and the Staggers, and the black horse is hipt [lame], for which reason no body would ride upon him, and they are both in a bad condition, concerning which it may please your Worship to order as you Shall thinck fitt. (*Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St George*, 1682, vol. II, p. 56.)

R. C. T.

20. The Company's premises at Cuddalore.

11 *August* 1682. *Letter from Robert Freeman and Council at Coralore* [*Cuddalore, Kûdalûr*] *to William Gyfford at Fort St George* . . We Shall now give you a short account of the Commodiousness of our house, which is the best in Towne next Seir Cawnes [Sher Khān] but nowise fitt for our businesse, built by [? for] an Idolytrous Jentue [Hindu] house and fitt only to worship the Devil in. It has been for many years Tenented by batts, and pitty they should have been disturbed, for they have left such a smelling savour behind them enough to [kill] Christians. The roomes are small and darke, and the doores low and narrow to[o] little to get a bale in, soe that we must be forced to house the Companys goods in the Bankesall Godownes [warehouses at the wharf], which will be noe small Charge, besides the inconveniency; if we continue here, shall alter it the best way we can to make it of some use, which will be Chargable, though done with frugality. . . . . . (*Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682, vol. II, pp 69-70).

R. C. T.

ISLAM AS UNDERSTOOD IN THE MALAY STATES.

The following extract from p. 17 of the *Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu for* 1918, is illuminating and interesting as vouching for the existence of a Muhammadan *guru*, perhaps from a misunderstanding of the term *guru*.

"*Death of Ungku Said.*

"57. Ungku Said of Paloh, head of the Trengganu Arab community and theological schools, died on September 6th, a few hours after the arrival of the Commission from Singapore. He age was reputed to be 100; his descendants (who include great-great-grandchildren) certainly exceed that number.

"For the last forty years Ungku Said possessed, throughout the length of the East Coast, the reputation of a 'Saint' with semi-miraculous powers (particularly in the healing of disease); his home was an object of pilgrimage for Muhammadans from Patani to Pahang; and his family acquired great wealth from the offerings of the pious. He was religious teacher (*Guru*) to the late Sultan."

R. C. T.

JAN BADSHAH—JIMMY BRADSHAW.

The accompanying cutting from the *Times*; June 2nd, 1919, discloses an excellent "Hobson-Jobson" and reminds one of the Theobald and Sophia of the Third Burmese War (1885-1889) which was the soldiers' rendering of Thibaw and Suphayalat the names of the last king and queen of Burmah.

"PESHAWAR, May 20 (delayed).—The stormpetrel, Mullah Mir Sahib Jan Badshah, whom the troops call Jimmy Bradshaw, has appeared at Bajaur, but was forced to leave. In 1915 he induced a combined force of Mohmands and Sawis to try and throw over the Government with disastrous results. He recently visited the Mohmands, but the latter, who were busy dividing the loot obtained at Dakka, dismissed him.—*Reuter.*"

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 106.)

LXV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND TREATY ENTERED INTO BY IBRÂHÎM QUTB SHÂH WITH HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH, AND OF THE STRENGTHENING OF THE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THEM BY A MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE.

A.D. 1561. It has already been mentioned that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had succeeded, with the assistance of Sadâshivarâya, in recovering possession of the fortress of Kaliyâni from the officers of Husain Nizâm Shâh, and Husain Nizâm Shâh was constantly revolving plans for the capture of the fortress. Qâsim Beg and Maulânâ 'Inâyat-ullâh[142] now considered that it would be wise to renew the alliance with Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and to cement it by bestowing one of Husain's daughters on him in marriage; and they tendered this advice to the king. Husain Nizâm Shâh, having regard to the exigencies of the situation, agreed to the proposal, and an ambassador was sent to open negotiations with Ibrâhim Qûtb Shâh. It was agreed that both parties should meet before the fortress of Kaliyâni and should first celebrate the marriage and then lay siege to the fortress, and capture it. After the settlement of the terms of the treaty, the two kings met at Kaliyâni, where the marriage was celebrated, and then laid siege to the fortress (A.D. 1562).

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard that Husain Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh were besieging Kaliyâni, he was much perturbed and could devise no remedy but a second appeal to Sadâshivarâya. He therefore had recourse to him, and that accursed infidel marched with a mighty army towards Kaliyâni. When 'Alî Barid Shâh heard that Sadâshivarâya was marching on Kaliyâni, he also collected his forces and marched from Bîdar and joined him, and when Ibrâhim Qutb Shâh heard of the approach of the army of Vijayanagar, he disregarded the bond which bound him to Husain Nizâm Shâh and, following his former practice, broke faith and left Husain Nizâm Shâh and joined the army of Vijayanagar. Husain Nizâm Shâh was now much perturbed, and perceiving that he could not possibly, with his small army, withstand the great hosts of the enemy, retreated to Ahmadnagar. When the news of his retreat reached Sadâshivarâya he, with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and 'Alî Barîd Shâh marched on Ahmadnagar. Husain Nizâm Shâh despaired of being able to offer a successful resistance in Ahmadnagar and, after leaving a picked garrison in the fort, retired to Junnâr. The allies then encamped before Ahmadnagar and again did

[142] Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh had returned to the service of Husain Nizâm Shâh while the allies were besieging Ahmadnagar, and had been the principal channel of communication between Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and the garrison. It was he that inspired this foolishly provocative policy. It was in the beginning of A.H. 970 (September or October, 1562) that Husain and Ibrâhim met at Kaliyâni, and Jamâl Bîbî, daughter of the former, was married to the latter. Sayyid 'Ali fails to mention Husain's misfortunes before his retreat on Ahmadnagar and Junnâr and slanders Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh. When Husain heard of the approach of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, who had been joined by Burhân 'Imâd Shâh or rather Tufâl Khân (who resented the murder of Jahângir Khân), and 'Ali Barîd Shâh and Sadâshivarâya, he and Ibrâhim Qutb Shâh marched to attack them. Husain found himself opposed to the Hindus while Ibrâhim was opposed to the Muhammadan allies, and apparently retreated before them. Husain lost most of his artillery, on which he chiefly relied, in the deep mire, and it was captured by the Hindus. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's camp was attacked, but was saved by the exertions of his minister, Mustafâ Khân Ardistâni. Husain and Ibrâhim then retreated towards Ahmadnagar. At Ausa Ibrâhim left Husain and returned to Golconda, while Husain continued his march to Ahmadnagar and thence to Junnâr.—F. ii. 245.

the infidels and accursed polytheists stretch forth their hands to vex the unfortunate Muslims and plundered all that they could find in and around the city. When the Muslims had endured the oppression of the infidels for a time and were reduced to the utmost straits, Malika-yi-Jahân, Malik-i-Humâyûn Bibi Amâna, the king's mother, who was then in the fortress of Ahmadnagar, sent a message to Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh,[143] to say that the whole of the land of Islâm was groaning under the oppression of the idolators and that it ill became Muhammadan sovereigns to instigate idolators to persecute Muslims. This message took effect on Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and stimulated his religious zeal and his jealousy for the faith, so that he resolved to retreat and to be no longer a party to the oppression of Muslims. He therefore went to Sadâshivarâya and complained of the disorganization of his army and of the great delay in the siege of Ahmadnagar, saying that it was impossible to foresee what the end of the campaign would be, or when it would come, seeing that Husain Nizâm Shâh would not meet them in the field, but that he feared that the army might become disorganized and suffer a defeat. He then recommended that one of three courses should be followed (1) that the expedition should be abandoned for that year and that each of the allies should withdraw to his own country, returning in the following year to attain the object which they had in view, (2) that he himself should be allowed to withdraw to his own kingdom in order that he might reorganize his army and rejoin the allies when he had completed this task, or (3) if it was desired to press the siege that 'Âdil Shâh, on whose behalf the expedition had been undertaken, should make loans to the allies to enable them to reorganize their armies. Sadâshivarâya and his brother Eltamrâj approved of these proposals, and what Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had said was communicated to 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh. 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was strongly in favour of the continuance of the siege, but his avarice prevented him from accepting the third proposal and he therefore returned no definite answer.

A.D. 1563. At sunrise on the following day, Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh marched with his army on his return to Golconda, and when Sadâshivarâya, who also was weary of the interminable siege, heard of his departure, he too retired with the army of Vijayanagar to his own dominions, and 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh was compelled to retire without having attained his object.[144]

143 Sayyid 'Alî seems to have confounded the two different invasions of the Ahmadnagar kingdom by the Hindus. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was now with neither army, having retired to Golconda. After fruitlessly besieging Ahmadnagar for a short time, the allies followed Husain towards Junnâr, but were so harassed by Husain's light troops and so apprehensive of being overtaken by the rainy season (May, 1563) that they retired to Ahmadnagar. Here Sadâshivarâya's army encamped in the bed of the Sina. The rains broke and the river came down in flood, carrying down with it 300 of Sadâshivarâya's elephants and 12,000 of his cavalry. After this disaster he and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh retired to their own kingdom.-F. ii, 68, 335 ; B.S. 86 ; *T.M.Q.S.*

144 Burhân Nizâm Shâh I. had first set the example of calling upon Vijayanagar to intervene in the quarrels of the Muhammadan Kings of the Dakan, when, in 1552, he formed an alliance with the Hindu state against Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I., and he could not, therefore, justly complain of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh for following the same disastrous policy; but the behaviour of the Hindus during the two invasions of Ahmadnagar scandalized all Muslims. They lodged, worshipped their idols, and played their music in the mosques, and ravished Muhammadan women. Sadâshivarâya behaved as though he were the overlord of all the Muhammadan kings, and the Hindu soldiers openly scoffed at them as his vassals. On his way back to Vijayanagar, he compelled 'Alî Âdil Shâh to cede the districts of Hippargi and Akalkot, and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh to surrender the forts and districts of Kovilakonda, Pângul, and Ghanpûra. Ever since his first alliance with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh he had treated the envoys of the Sultans as the agents of vassals, refusing them seats at court and making them run beside his horse.—F. ii. 69.

Thus the country was relieved of the oppression of the infidels by means of the wisdom and wise policy of the Malika-yi-Jahân, and the Muslims again breathed freely after their intolerable sufferings at the hands of the idolators.

When Husain Nizâm Shâh was relieved of his anxiety with regard to the infidels, he returned to his capital and devoted all his attention to making reparation for the suffering which they had caused and to devising plans which would prevent their repeating their insolence.

LXVI.—An account of the causes of the uprooting and overthrow of Sadâshivarâya, the chief of the infidels, by God's predestination, and by means of Husain Nizâm Shâh.

A.D. 1564. When Husain Nizâm Shâh had rest from settling the affairs of his kingdom and restoring peace and plenty to all his subjects, he bethought himself that both merit and profit were to be gained by the inauguration of a holy war against the infidels of Vijayanagar, and he devoted all his attention to preparations for the conflict.

Sadâshivarâya was distinguished above all the kings of Vijayanagar for the strength of his army and for his power and was puffed up with pride owing to the extent of his dominions. He possessed the whole of the kingdom of Vijayanagar with its sixty sea-ports. Its length was near 600 leagues and its revenue 120,000,000 *hûns* and that accursed infidel had reigned over this kingdom for a long time. From the time of the prophet, no Muhammadan king had attempted to subdue this kingdom, but all had sought the friendship of its kings and had treated them with courtesy.[145] But Sadâshivarâya, in the pride of his power, had broken the treaties which he and his predecessors had made with the sovereigns of Islâm, and had invaded the territories of Islam and deluged them in blood, and had destroyed the dwellings of Muslims and slain large numbers of them. Now, therefore, Husain Nizâm Shâh determined to be revenged on him and took counsel with his advisers as to the best means of overcoming the enemies of religion and of the faith. His counsellors, chief among whom were Qâsim Beg and Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah, applauded the king's intention, but said that it was impossible to attack Sadâshivarâya with any hope of success so long as an alliance existed between him and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and advised the king to open negotiations with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh. The king then, by the advice of the counsellors, first approached Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh on the subject of an alliance of the Muhammadan sovereigns, and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, who was delighted with the idea, sent Sayyid Mustafâ Khân, one of his chief *amîrs*, to Ahmadnagar to carry on negotiations. Sayyid Mustafâ Khân went on from Ahmadnagar to Bîjâpûr and there set himself to induce 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh to join the league. He said that it was common knowledge that the Dakan, even when it was subject to the rule of one powerful king, always suffered from the inroads of the idolators, and that now that the

145 This misstatement is so palpable as to be ridiculous. The author has himself chronicled the numerous wars between the Bahmanî kingdom and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. No Bahmanî King had been able to subdue Vijayanagar, and fortune was not constant, but the balance of success was largely in favour of the Muhammadan Kingdom.

Historians naturally disagree in the assignment of the honour of being the prime mover in the confederacy against the 'infidels.' Firishta, the historian of Bîjâpûr, assigns it to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, but the author of the *T.M.Q.S.* agrees with Sayyid 'Alî in assigning it to Husain Nizâm Shâh. Sayyid Alî naturally omits to mention that it was 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh who threw down the gauntlet to Sadâshivarâya by sending an envoy to Vijayanagar to demand the retrocession of the Râichûr Dûâb and the districts of Hippargî and Akalkot. The envoy was received with gross discourtesy and expelled from the city, whereupon 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh declared war on Vijayanagar.

country was divided between three kings it was evident that the lives and property of Muslims, would be always at the mercy of infidels—a state of affairs which was neither pleasing to God, nor acceptable to His people. He said further that rulers should earnestly consider how they would answer to God for neglect of their duty in protecting His people, and that it now behoved the princes of Islâm to sheathe the sword of intestine strife and to form an alliance among themselves and cement it by intermarriage, in order that they might act as one against the infidels.

These arguments took effect on 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and his anxiety regarding Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh was removed. It was agreed that the alliance between Bîjâpûr and Aḥmadnagar should be cemented by intermarriage, and that Chând Bîbî (daughter of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh) should be given in marriage to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and Falaḥ Bîbî Hadya Sulṭân, sister of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, to Shâhzâda Murtaẓâ, afterwards Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh I. These marriages were celebrated amidst general rejoicings, the people regarding them as an earnest of future peace and prosperity. When the festivities had come to an end, Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh bestowed the fortress of Sholâpûr on Chând Bîbî as dowry,[146] and delivered the keys of the fortress to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh. It was then agreed that the three kings should meet with their armies at Sholâpûr in the following year and should march against the infidels. They then separated and employed the interval in collecting and strengthening their forces.

In the following year,[147] 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, having collected very large armies, met at Sholâpûr, and Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, as soon as he heard of their meeting at Sholâpûr, set forth from Aḥmadnagar at the head of a numerous army to join them. On his arrival at Sholâpûr, on *Jamâdi-ul-awwal* 8, he gave audiences to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, and on the 20th of the same month, the three kings marched from Sholâpûr towards the kingdom of Vijayanagar. They marched to the village of Tâlîkota, situated near the Krishna river, and, when they arrived there, found that the passage of the river, which was wider than two arrow-flights and was very deep, would be most difficult.

When the Râya of Vijayanagar heard of the meeting of the Sulṭâns and of their march towards his kingdom, he resolved to march to meet them. He sent his youngest brother, Venkatâdri, with 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, and 100,000 foot as an advanced guard, to the Krishna, to hold the fords and prevent the passage of the Muslims, and he sent his other brother, Eltamrâj, following him, with 12,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, and 200,000 foot, and he himself followed Eltamrâj with a great host;[148] and the three Hindu armies met on

146 This sensible arrangement might have been expected to terminate the perennial dispute regarding this fortress, but it only put it to rest for a time. Chând Bîbî bore no sons to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, who was succeeded by his nephew, Ibrâhîm II.; and when she ultimately returned to Aḥmadnagar, the return of her dowry, that is to say the restoration of Sholâpûr, was demanded. The demand was justified by the Islamic law, but not by sound policy.

147 The year H. 972. *Jamâdi-ul-awwal* 8 and 20 of this year corresponded to Dec. 12 and 24, A.D. 1564. Firishta does not mention the meeting at Sholâpûr on the earlier date, but says that the allies met near Bîjâpûr on the later. The *T.M.Q.S.* agrees with him.

148 The strength and distribution of the Hindu army at Tâlîkota are thus given by Firishta (ii. 250). (1) Right, under Tirumala, here called Eltamrâj, and by Firishta Timrâj, consisting of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 500 elephants : (2) centre, under Sadâshivarâya himself, consisting of 37,000 horse, 500,000 foot, and 1,000 (elsewhere 2,000) elephants : (3) left, under Venkatâdri, consisting of 25,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 500 elephants ; in all 82,000 horse, 900,000 foot, and 2,000 (or 3,000) elephants. Sayyid 'Alî says that Venkatâdri commanded the Hindu right, and on this point the *T.M.Q.S.* agrees with him.

the banks of the Krishna, and encamped by a village opposite to the ford apt for the passage of the Muslims. They occupied posts opposite to all the fords and thus prevented the passage of the Muslims.

When the Sultans of the Dakan learnt that all the fords were guarded, they sent a reconnaissance patrol of sharpwitted and experienced men to discover another ford; but this patrol, after a careful reconnaissance, reported that there were but three fords, and that the best and shallowest of these was that which lay immediately before the allied armies, but that all three were carefully and strongly guarded by the infidels, who had thrown up entrenchments and batteries over against them. Husain Nizâm Shâh then desired his advisers to devise a plan for the passage of the river, but they were unable to do so, and counselled a retreat. Husain Nizâm Shâh himself then said that it was best that the allied armies should march along the bank of the river to search for another ford. Accordingly, on the next day the armies marched a day's march along the bank and on the following day marched again along the bank. The infidels, fearing lest the allies should thus discover another ford, marched abreast of them along the other bank, and deserted the main ford.

LXVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVER BY THE ALLIES AND OF THE BATTLE WITH THE INFIDELS.

As it had been decreed by God that the armies of Islâm should be victorious over the infidels, it followed that when the Muslims, by the direction of Husain Nizâm Shâh, marched along the river bank, the infidels deserted the best and most practicable ford over the river, the only ford by which the Muslims could hope to cross in safety. A body of troops from the allied army was sent back to the deserted ford, and traversed the distance with such speed that they did three days' march in one day. With them was Husain Nizâm Shâh, who, on his arrival at the deserted ford, immediately crossed the river with the force accompanying him and was followed by the whole army of Islâm.[149]

When Sadâshivarâya heard of the passage of the river by the Muslims, which seemed to be a presage of their success, he was much perturbed and alarmed; but it occurred to him that as the three kings had marched with such speed, a large part of their armies and of their baggage must have been left behind, and that if he marched immediately against those who had crossed the river, he would have a good chance of success.

When Husain Nizâm Shâh heard of the approach of the infidels, he was overjoyed at the prospect of encountering them and drew up the allied armies in battle array. 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh commanded the right and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh the left, while Husain Nizâm Shâh in person commanded the centre.[150]

When Sadâshivarâya and the Hindu army became aware of the readiness and zeal of the warlike armies of Islâm, they were terrified and decided not to fight on that day but to make the most of their last day of dominion and power. They therefore withdrew from the

149 According to Firishta and the other authorities (*T.M.Q.S.*, *B.S.*, and *H.A.*), the allies marched along the river bank for three days, and then, suddenly turning back, returned by one day's forced march to their starting point. Their advanced guard crossed the river, unopposed in, the evening, and the rest of the army during the night. Before the morning they had advanced towards Sadâshivarâya's camp, about ten miles from the river.

150 All authorities agree as to the positions occupied by the three kings, and from Husain Nizâm Shâh's commanding the centre, the post of honour, it is evident that he was regarded as the leader of the allies. Sayyid 'Alî has omitted to mention that 'Alî Barîd Shâh was with Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh on the left. According to the B.S., Burhân 'Imâd Shâh had been invited to join the confederacy but refused, owing to his resentment of the murder of Jahângîr Khân by Husain Nizâm Shâh. It was, of course, Tufâl Khân, and not Burhân himself, who refused.

field, and Husain Nizâm Shâh and the other two Sultans took advantage of their unwillingness to fight to allow the armies of Islâm time for repose, and rested that night in anticipation of the morrow's battle.

On the following day, which was Friday, *Jamâdi-us-sânî* 2,[151] Husain Nizâm Shâh again drew up the allied armies, at sunrise, in battle array. The right, as before, was commanded by 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, the left by Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, and the centre by Husain Nizâm Shâh himself. Ikhlâs Khân, one of the chief *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar, was posted, with a force of mounted Khurâsânî archers, in advance of the centre. The elephants with their banners were drawn up at intervals in the main line of battle, their tusks being armed with sharp sword blades.

The allied armies, full of spirit, then began to move against the hosts of the enemy. Sadâshivarâya had placed the wings of his army under the command of his two brothers and commanded the centre in person. He now summoned his brothers and his chief officers and encouraged them to make a resolute stand against the Muslims, saying that he had attained the age of eighty years without having disgraced himself and that he did not wish to be disgraced by cowardice at the end of his life. He said that anybody who was overcome by fear was free to depart while there was yet time, and to save his life. The Râya's brothers and their 30,000 horsemen swore that they would fight to the death.[152]

The armies met at midday. Ikhlâs Khân first charged the enemy with his Khurâsânî horse and slew large numbers of the infidels.

(*To be continued.*)

A SHORT NOTE ON POLYANDRY IN THE JUBBAL STATE (SIMLA).

BY HEM CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA, M.A., F.G.S.

From a study of the Hindu epic *Mahâbhârata*, it is quite clear that the polyandrous form of marriage was allowable even in the higher strata of the ancient Indian Society. This custom, though completely absent among the cultured peoples of modern India, has not altogether disappeared from the country, and in some parts of the Himalayas and of Southern India, it is the prevailing form of marriage even now. In his work dealing with the history of human marriages, Westermarck has given an account of the system of polyandry found in different parts of India.[1]

151 Jan. 7, 1565. Firishta does not give the exact date of the battle, but according to the *T.M.Q.S.* and the *H.A.* it was fought on *Jamâdi us-sânî* 20 (Jan. 23, 1565).

152 This account of Sadâshivarâya's attitude differs widely from that given by Firishta (ii., 74), who says that he was carried into the field in a litter and replied to his advisers, who suggested that it would be more seemly to mount a horse, that he saw no occasion to mount a horse for such child's play, as the enemy would certainly flee at once. He also issued orders (F., ii, 250) that 'Alî 'Adil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh should be taken alive, that he might imprison them for life, but that he required the head of Husain Nizâm Shâh. After the battle had begun he descended from his litter and took his seat on a splendid throne which had been set up for him, and caused piles of gold and silver money and jewels to be spread before him, announcing that the successful valour of his troops should be rewarded on the spot.

1 Westermarck : *The history of human marriage*, pp. 452-457. Westermarck's statement, in some cases, requires modification. He has noted the existence of polyandry among the Khasis (*op. cit.* p. 452). According to Fischer, on whom Westermarck depended for this information, polyandry is very rarely practised among the Khasis (*Jour. As. Soc.*, *Bengal*, Vol. IX, pt. ii, p. 834), but the evidence of Fischer is not reliable, for according to Colonel Gurdon, "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis" (*The Khasis*, p. 77). According to *Man*, the authority quoted by Westermarck for polyandry among the Sonthals (*op. cit.*, p. 453) 'When the elder brother dies, the next younger inherits the widow, children, and all the property.'—(*Sonthalia and the Sonthals* : p. 100.)

while Mr. Iyer has also published short notes regarding this form of marriage in parts of Southern India.[2]

It has been stated by Westermarck that polyandry is apparently unknown in the hills of the Simla Superintendency[3], but later investigations have shown that the above statement is not correct. Thus we find it mentioned that, so far as the Punjab is concerned, the system of polyandry is in vogue in the Kulu Sub-Division, the Bashar, Nahan, Mandi and Suket states, though the custom has completely died out amongst the Jats.[4] The existence of polyandry among the Jats is to be traced to the writing of Kirkpatrick,[5] but it appears from a careful study of his paper that the custom referred to by Kirkpatrick is not a marriage but a sort of licensed cohabitation with the husband's brothers. In the Punjab hill-states, a polyandrous form of marriage does not seem to be confined to the lower castes only, but such marriages are also found among the Brahmans.[6]

A study of the census report of 1911 shows that the information that has been recorded regarding the polyandrous form of marriage as it prevails in the Simla hill-states is of a very general nature without any reference to the peculiar customs which may be found in the different areas. During the summer of 1919, in the course of a trip that I took from Simla to the Chorpeak, I had an opportunity of coming across polyandrous people, and the detailed information gathered from some of them regarding the type of polyandry in vogue in the Jubbul State, is published below. It will appear from the sequel that the polyandry practised there is of the usual fraternal type.

There is now a growing tendency in different parts of India, both in the North and in the South, against this form of marriage. My chief aim in publishing this short note is to draw the attention of the public to the prevalence of polyandry in certain parts of India, so that during the census of 1921, the census officers may do their level best to gather all information regarding the different types of polyandrous marriage, as it prevails in different parts of India.

In the Jubbul State polyandry is the prevailing form of marriage among the Kanets. The marriage is not attended with any religious ceremony. After the selection of the bride, a dowry is paid to the father or, in case the father is not living, to the guardian of the girl, who becomes the joint-wife of all the brothers who may be living at the time of the marriage, and a brother who may not be born at the time of the marriage of his elder brothers has no claim to be the husband of a wife already wedded by his elder brothers. The wife is usually escorted to her new house by the eldest or the elder brother, as the case may be, and she is usually accompanied by a few relatives including a brother, if possible. At the house of the husbands some ceremony takes place, including a feast in which the friends and relatives of the husbands are entertained. It is necessary that at this time all the brothers who are going to be the husbands of a common

2 *The Cochin tribes and castes*: Vol I, pp. 161 (Mannans), 173 (Panans), 182 (Vilkurpus), 209 (Kaniyans and Panikkans), 301 (Thandans) and 346 (Kammalans).

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 456. This is quoted on the authority of Dunlop's *Hunting in the Himalayas*, p. 181. A similar expression also occurs in Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India, Eastern and Southern Asia*, 2nd ed., Vol. IV, p. 620.

4 *Census of India*, Vol. XIV; *Punjab*, pt. 1; *Report*, 1911, pp. 287-289.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 86.

6 The Census figures of 1901 record the occurrence of 103 polyandrous marriages among the Brahmans of the Bashar State, though the largest number is to be found among the Kanets (*Punjab District Gazet.*, Vol. VIII. Simla Hill States, 1911; Bashar State, p. 15).

wife must be present at the house, otherwise the marriage cannot take place. It is also necessary that the bride should be selected by all the brothers and if there is a difference of opinion regarding the selection, it may lead to an eventual division among the brothers. The wife usually goes to her husbands in turn, *e.g.*, with the eldest brother for the first night, with the second brother for the second night and so on. The children are assigned to their fathers according to seniority. Thus, if there are four husbands and four children are born, the fathership of the first will be assigned to the eldest husband, that of the second to the second husband, and so on. If the number of children exceeds four, then the assignment will again begin in the order in which it started, namely the fifth child will be assigned to the first husband, the sixth to the second and so on, and this assignment takes place irrespective of whether the child is a boy or a girl. It may be noted that among the polyandrous people of Sirmur[7] a similar custom prevails, while among the Kulus the custom regarding the fatherhood of the child is also similar, though there is some difference regarding the period of the partnership of the bed between the husband and the wife.[8] There is sometimes jealousy among brothers or groups of brothers regarding the love of their joint-wife and this often leads to a separation among the brothers. When the brothers live in the joint possession of a common wife, they live in a joint family and all the earnings come to the eldest brother who manages the whole family. A brother cannot claim to be the joint owner of a wife with other brothers and at the same time have a second wife all to himself. He must either share the second wife with all other brothers or must live separate from his other brothers and in possession of the second wife.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., CALCUTTA

(*Continued from p.* 136.)

The Mantri should carefully conduct the political and diplomatic affairs of the kingdom. The invitation (आमंत्रण) and the intelligence departments are under him. He should look after the Districts and serve in war. He should put his sign of approval on official documents. (Seal) (item 1).

The Sumant should have charge of foreign affairs. He should receive and entertain ambassadors from other kingdoms when they come. He should serve in war and put his sign of approval on state documents and letters. (Seal) (item 1).[42]

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[7] Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India, Eastern and Southern Asia* (2nd Edition), Vol. IV, p. 628.

[8] In the course of a discussion which followed the reading of the paper of De Ujfaloy, *Un Voyage dans l'Himalaya occidental* (le Koulon, le Cachmire et le petit Thibet), the author made the following remarks regarding the polyandry among the Kulus :—

Les parents, par example, vendent leur fille à six frères. Le premier mois, elle appartient au frère aîné, le second, au frère cadet, etc. Le premier enfant est réputé avoir pour père le premier mari, le frère aîné. (*Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 3rd Ser., V., p. 227, 1882.) In some parts of India a different custom prevails. Thus, among the Vilkurpus, the children born of a polyandrous union call all the brothers fathers without any distinction (Iyer : *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 182).

[42] कानु जाबता राज्याभिषेक शके २ आनंद नाम संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठ वद्य १३ त्रयोदशी भौमवासरे

मुख्य प्रधान यांणीं सर्व राजकाय करावें. राजपत्रावर शिक्का करावा. सेना घेऊन युद्धप्रसंग व स्वारी करावी व तालुका तानीनात स्वाधीन होईल त्याचा रक्षून बंदोबस्त करून आज्ञेंत वर्तावें. सर्व सरदार [यांणीं] यांजबरोबर जावें त्यांणीं सर्व समेत चालावें येणेंप्रमाणें मोर्तब कलम २

They were in charge of provinces also.

Besides the duties enumerated above, some of the eight Pradhans were in charge of extensive provinces. When they were away from the metropolis, their agents resided at the court. Sabhasad says that this apparently clumsy arrangement was made in response to the demand for good government. "The kingdom was extended on four sides. How to carry on the governance of the kingdom? Then in Moropant Peshwa's charge was placed the country from Kalyan and Bhivnadi, including Kolawan up to Saleri, the country above the ghats and Konkan. Lohagod and Junnar with the twelve Mawals from the pass of Haralya (was placed) under the Peshwa. Konkan from Chaul to Kopal, including Dabhol, Rajapur, Kudal, Bande, and Fond, was placed under Annaji Datto. The Warghat (country above the ghats) from Wai to Kopal on the Tungabhadra (was) the province placed under Dattaji Pant Waknis. Dattaji Pant was stationed at Panhala. In this manner was the kingdom placed under three Sarkarkuns. Besides these, a few (five to seven) Bramhan Subadars were stationed in the Moghul provinces. They were kept under the order of the Peshwa. The Sarkarkuns were to enquire into the needs and welfare of the forts and strongholds. But if Killedar and Karkuns were to be appointed, the Raje himself should appoint, after personal scrutiny. If the Sarkarkuns found any serviceable soldier they should enlist him in excess of the fixed number of the quota (*tainat*). The agents of the Sarkarkuns should remain with the Raje. The Sarkarkuns should come to see the Raje (once ?) every year with the accounts and the revenue of their province."[43]

अमात्य यांणीं सर्व राज्यांतील जमाखर्च चौकशी करून दप्तरदार, फडणीस [हे] यांचे स्वाधीन असावे. लिहिणें चौकशीनें आकारावें फडणिसी, चिटणिसी पत्रांवर निशाण करावें. युद्धप्रसंग करावें तालुका यतन करून आज्ञेंत चालावें. मोर्तब कलम २

सचिव यांणीं राजपत्रें शोध करून अधिक उणें अक्षर मजकुर शुद्ध करावा, युद्धप्रसंग करून तालुका स्वाधीन होईल तो रक्षुन आज्ञेंत वर्तावें राजपत्रांवर संमत चिन्ह करावें मोर्तब कलम २.

मंत्री यांणीं सर्व मंत्र विचार राज्यकारणें यांतील सावधतेनें विचार करावें आमंत्रण वाकनिसी त्यांचा स्वाधीन तालुका जतन करून युद्धादि प्रसंग करावे मोर्तब कलम २.

सेनापती यांणीं सर्व सैन्य संरक्षण करून युद्धप्रसंग स्वारी करावी. तालुका स्वाधीन होईल तो रक्षून हिशेब रुजू करून आज्ञेनें वर्तावें. फौजेच्या लोकांचें बोलणें, बोलावें सर्व फौजेचे सरदार यांणीं त्याज-बरोबर चालावें. मोर्तब कलम २.

पंडितराव यांणीं सर्व धर्माधिकार, धर्म अधर्म पाहून शिक्षा करावी. शिष्टांचे सत्कार करावे. आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, पत्रें होतील त्यांजवर संमत चिन्ह करावें, दान, प्रसंग, शांति, अनुष्ठान, तात्काळ करावे. मोर्तब कलम २.

न्यायाधीश यांणीं सर्व राज्यांतील न्याय करावे. न्यायाची निवाड पत्रें यांजवर संमत चिन्ह करावें. मोर्तब कलम २.

सुमंत यांणीं परराज्यांतील विचार करावा. त्यांचे वकील येतील त्यांचे सत्कार करावे. युद्धादि प्रसंग करावे राजपत्रांवर संमत चिन्ह करावें. मोर्तब कलम २.

[43] Sabhasad, pp. 77-78. मुलुख चोतर्फा सुटला. मुलकांत आटोप कैसा होय? तेव्हां मोरोपंत पेशव्यांचा हवाला कल्याण भिंवडीपासून देखील कोळवण सालेरी पर्यंत वरघाट व कोंकण त्यांचे स्वाधीन देश केला. लोहगड व जुन्नर देखील बारा मावळें हारळयांचे घाटापासून पेशव्याचा हवाला केला. अंणाजी दत्तोचे स्वाधीन चऊलापासून दाभोळ, राजापुर, कुडाळ. बांदे, फोंड कोपलपर्यंत कोंकण अंणाजीपंत सुरणीस यांचे स्वाधीन केलें वरघाट वाईपासून कोपल तुंगभद्रा पावेतों देश नेमून दत्ताजीपंत वाकनीस यांचे स्वाधीन केला. दत्ताजीपंतास पन्हाळां ठेविलें. असा देश तीन सरकारकुनांच्या हवाला केला याखेरीज मोगलाई देश येथें सुभेदार ब्राह्मण पांच सात ठेविलें तेंहि पेशव्याचे आज्ञेंत ठेविले गडकोट—किल्ले येथें सरकारकुनांनीं परामर्ष करावा परंतु किल्लेदार लोक जे ठेवणें ते राजियांनीं आपले नजर गुजर करून

When Shivaji made this division of his territories and placed them under three of his principal agents, we do not know, for Sabhasad does not give any date. But that the Pradhans had still some districts under their charge and had to leave their agents or Multaliks at court during their absence in their respective provinces or on a distant expedition, even after the coronation, when the council had a better status than before, can be proved by the following entry in the memorandum already quoted—"The Darakhdars for going on an expedition (and the management of) Districts and market cities under the eight Pradhans, should all work in the name of the Huzur and carry on their correspondence in the same manner (as the Pradhans). When they would go on an expedition, the Mutaliks appointed for them should continue all their work. They should stay at the court. (Seal) (item 1).[44]

Darakdars and Mutaliks appointed by the king.

It should be noted here, before we take leave of the eight Pradhans, that they could not select their own subordinates. These were invariably appointed, as in the Peshwa period, by the supreme head of the state. Even the Mutaliks who were apparently expected to act on behalf and in the interests of an absent minister, were not appointed by him, but by the king. We do not know whether on such occasions, the approval of the officer affected was sought or not. This practice however was evidently borrowed from the Muhammadans. The Muhammadan rulers of Delhi required the provincial governors and generals on active service to leave their agents or Wakils at the imperial court during their absence on duty. These agents acted in the same manner, as the Mutaliks of Shivaji's Pradhans, but they generally considered it their first duty to safeguard the inerests of their immediate masters.

We may be permitted to state here that the number of cabinet ministers was by no means fixed. From Sabhasad's list, already quoted, it appears that there were nine of them at the time of the coronation ; as the Amatya's office was jointly held by two brothers, Naro and Ramchandra. Sambhaji dismissed, decapitated and imprisoned many of his father's old servants. The vacancies caused by death and dismissal were not in all cases filled up. The number of cabinet ministers was therefore considerably reduced. To speak more accurately Sambhaji had no council at all. He ruled as he liked, and did not care to consult any one except his notorious favourite Kavi Kalush or Kavji, a Kanojia Brahman. He has been styled Chhandogyamatya in the papers of those times. The Pandit Rav in Shivaji's time was entitled to the additional designation of Chhandogyamatya. It has been however suggested that Kavikalush was not Sambhaji's Pandit Rav.[45] Kalush enjoyed so much influence and had so much power that he was for all practical purposes the prime minister of Sambhaji. When however the Rajmandal was revived under Rajaram, a new member was added, who superseded all others, both in status and pay. Pralhad

ठेवावे. कामाचा माणूस पाहून तैनात जाजती दरमास करणें ते सरकारकुनांनीं करावी ये जातीने तह केला सरकारकुनाचे मुतालीक राजियाजवळ असावे वर्षास हिसेब मुलकाचा व रसद घेऊन सरकारकुनांनीं राजदर्शनास यावें. We find similar accounts in Chitnis and Chitragupta.

[44] Sane, *P.Y.B.*, p. 359.

अष्ट प्रधान यांजकडे पेठे व तालुके व स्वारीस जाणें त्यास दरखदार सर्व हुजूरच्या नांवें त्यांचा दाखल्यांनीं पत्रव्यवहार करावा. स्वारीस जावें त्यांस मुतालीक करून दिले त्यांनीं सर्व व्यवहार चालवावा. हुजूर राहावें.

[45] Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal—*Varshik Itivritta* (1837), p 111. Mr. G. S. Sardesai however does not accept this view.

Niraji was appointed Pratinidhi or the king's vicegerent, at Jinji, during the struggle for national existence. Henceforth the Pratinidhi always held the first seat in the cabinet, until the rise of the Peshwas revolutionised the constitution of the Maratha empire.

Chitnis.

Outside the cabinet but in no way inferior to the eight cabinet ministers, was the Chitnis or Secretary. Just below the Pradhans had stood Bal Prabhu Chitnis and Nil Prabhu Parasnis [46] at the time of Shivaji's coronation. The private secretary of an autocratic king naturally enjoys great influence and is a power behind the throne. Balaji Avji, Shivaji's Chitnis, was a man of exceptional ability. Not only did he perform the ordinary duties of his office, but he had been further entrusted with the exceedingly delicate task of taking down the behests of the great goddess Bhavani, communicated through Shivaji's mouth.[47] It is said that Shivaji had actually offered him a seat in the Rajmandal, but the modesty of the great Prabhu statesman stood in his way.[48] The duties of his office are thus enumerated by Malhar Ramrav Chitnis —" The Chitnis Patralekhak will write all royal letters and diplomatic correspondence Divining what is in the king's heart, he should at once cleverly put it into writing, discussing the various aspects of the case. He should write in such a manner that what is generally accomplished by war and great exertions should be achieved by means of letters only. He should write answer to the letters that may come."[49] In the memorandum published by Rao Bahadur Sane, we come across the following entry under Chitnis. " He should write all official letters and papers of the state. He should write answers to diplomatic letters. Sanads, grants, deeds and other orders, to be issued (to the officers in the) Districts should be written according to the separate regulations framed for the Fadnisi papers. On handnotes and papers of special importance there should be a seal or (the king's own?) signature only and no seal of the other officers. The Chitnis alone should put his sign." (Seal) (item 1).[50] Such were the duties that the Chitnis had to perform.

The work of correspondence shared by other officers.

Although in the above regulations the Chitnis is required to write all correspondence and draw up all state documents, in practice he was to a considerable extent relieved by others. Chitragupta tells us that the Fadnis alone and no other official could issue deeds of Royal grant. All letters to the Provincial and District officers were written by the Chitnis, while answers to the letters from commanders of forts had to be written by an officer called Gadnis.

46 Sabhasad, p. 84. Chitnis, p. 162.

47 Sabhasad Chitnis, Chitragupta and all old chronicles tell us that whenever Shivaji had to face any exceptional difficulty, the goddess Bhavani used to take possession of his body and tell him what he should do. As the king lay unconscious all the time, the behest of the deity was taken down by Balaji Avji. See also, *History of the Maratha people* by Kincaid and Parasnis, *Rajwadyachi Gagabhatti*, published by K T. Gupte and Thakre's Kodandcha Tanatkar. 2. Chitnis, p. 170.

48 बाळाजी आवजी यांस तुमची सेवा बहुत निष्ठेनें जाहली व राज्याचे वृद्धीस उपयोग बहुत जाले यास्तव अष्टप्रधानांतील योजना करणार: ह्मणून अभिषेकापूर्वी सांगितलें ते समयीं मी कारकुन लिहिणार दरखदार मजला प्रधानांतील पद न लगे सर्वकाळ चरणांचे सान्निध्य व अक्षयी कृपा सेवा घडणे . . . . . चिटणिसी अक्षय करून द्यावी.

49 Chitnis, p. 168. चिटणीस पत्रलेखक यांणीं सर्व राजपत्रें ल्याहावीं व राजकारणपत्रें ल्याहावीं. राजाचें हृद्गत जाणून तत्काल नानाप्रकारचे कल्प करून चतुरपणें लेखन करावें जे युद्ध करून आयासें करून कार्य होणें ते पत्राचे भाव पाहूनच कार्य होत असावें. ऐसे लेखन करावें. पत्रें येतील त्यांची उत्तरें ल्याहावीं.

50 Sane p. y. B. p. 358. चिटणीस यांणीं सर्व राज्यांतील राजपत्रें लिहावीं. राजकारणपत्रें उत्तरें लिहावीं. सनदा. दानपत्रें वगैरे महाली हुकुमी यांचा जाबता फडणिसी आलाहिदा—त्याप्रमाणें लिहावीं. हातरोखे नाजुकपत्रें याजवर मोर्तब अथवा खास दस्कतमात्र वरकडांचा दाखला चिन्ह नाहीं चिटणिसानींच करावें.

Letters to Foreign courts were sent from the Dabir's office, while the Parasnis had to write the letters to be addressed to the Emperor of Delhi, his Wajir and Muhammadan Potentates.[51]

A Karm Jabta of Chitnis' duties.

Chitragupta however was not a contemporary of Shivaji. Mr. V. K. Rajwade has described his work merely as an elaboration of Sabhasad's Bakhar. Nor do we get a complete list of the Chitnis's official duties in Chitragupta. This want however has fortunately been removed by a Jabta of the first year of the coronation era. Here the Chitnis's and the Fadnis's duties have been enumerated side by side. The document runs as follows :—

A memorandum (enumerating) the writing work of the Chitnis, of Kshatriya Kulavtans Shri Raja Shivachhatrapati, dated the first of Jaishtha, of the year I, of the coronation era, the Sambatsar being Ananda by name, of the letters and grant deeds to be issued when a new Inam is granted to any one :—

Letters to the Talukdars.

Do. to the Subhas and Mamla officers present and future.	Should be written by the Chitnis.
Do. to the Deshmukh, Deshpande and Zemidars.	

Of the letters to be issued when a village in Moksha or lands as a stipend are granted to any one.

Letters to the Mokdams.

Do. to the Talukdars.	Should be written by the Fadnis.
Do. to the Kamavisdars.	Should be written by the Chitnis.
Do. to the Zemindars.	

Excepting the above all letters of grants to any one should be written by the Chitnis. All answers, orders or diplomatic letters should be written by the Chitnis. The Chitnis should also write reminders or notes about—

1. Saramjams.
2. Sanads relating to lands.
3. Professional Rights.
4. Inams.
5. Assignments (Varats).

The rules about the Chitnis's work and a memorandum about them all. including these relating to customs duties :—

All kowls to be issued about lands to villages and provinces should be written by the Chitnis. The Fadnis should write the kowls or agreements about the

[51] Chitragupta's Bakhar (in the Kavyetihas Sangraha). pp. 104-105. फडणिशी व चिटणिशी कायदा तथा अन्वयें पत्रें लिहावीं:—येणेंप्रमाणें कोणा एकास गांव व जमीन इनाम दिल्ही नाहीं किंवा दिधलिया महाराजांचा माथे शिक्का याची सनद त्यांचे नांवें फडणिसांनीं लिहावीं. दुसरें पत्र लिहूं नये. देशाधिकारी व जिल्हादारास व गांवास पत्रें चिटणिसांनीं लिहावीं वरकड स्वराज्यांतील जाबसाल फडणिसांनीं लिहावीं. तदनंतर परकी राज्यांतील पत्रें डबीर यांणीं लिहावीं. पारसनविसांनीं पादशहास व वजिरास व बाजे मुसलमान. नबाब व संस्थानी असतील त्यांस लिहावीं. तदुत्तर ब्राह्मणांस पत्रें पंडितराव यांणीं लिहावीं. इनसाफ मनसुफी हिल्ला हरकतीमुळें जे निवडेल त्याचा माहजर मात्र न्यायाधीश यांणीं लिहावें. ताकीदपत्रें न लिहावीं हा चिटणिसांकडील कायदा गडकरी यांचे नांवची उत्तरें मात्र गडनिसांनीं लिहावीं. हवालदार व कारखानीस व सबनीस जे दिवाण निसबतीचे मामलेदार आहेत त्यांस पत्रें चिटणिसाकडील.

contribution fixed (by the proper authorities) to be levied (in a foreign country). Of the Sanads of new officers, Kamavis, etc.—

Those addressed to the officer should be written by the Fadnis.

Those addressed to the Zemindars and others should be written by the Chitnis.

All notes to be issued about Ghasdana, with notes about Fadfarmas, should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters about revenue and fruit of the richest flavour for marriage ceremonies (in the Raja's house) should be written by the Chitnis. Of these, if the Chitnis has written letters about sanads for recovery of revenue from the Mahals, the Fadnis should mention in his letters that the said sanad has been recorded. If the balance of revenue considered unrecoverable has been realised, letters referred thereto should be addressed by the Chitnis and the remittance transfer of the shortage should be granted by the Fadnis.

All notes of remission (with regard to the following) should be written by the Chitnis :—

1. Of Land (revenue).
2. When a remission of the dues (balance) is granted.
3. When revenue is (conditionally) remitted for failure of crops, the revenue will be realised after inspection.

All letters of (warning) or about the rights of possession of old Inams, Vatans, and Varshasans, that may be in force in Svarajya and foreign territories should be written by the Chitnis, enumerating the village and the name of the parties (interested). When Vatan is confirmed after due inquiries about (the proprietorship of) an old Vatan ; all letters about it, whether addressed to the Vatandar or Jilhedars and Subadars should be written by the Chitnis. (He) should (however) write after leaving space for any Harki or Sherni, that may have been promised.

These gaps should be filled up by the Fadnis with his own hand, stating the amount ;

If a new Vatan or Inam is granted to anyone, the letter addressed to the name of the grantee should be written by the Fadnis, stating the sum (of Rupees) taken. All other letters (in this connection) should be written by the Chitnis.

When a Prayshchitta is prescribed, or a man is to be (re) admitted into his caste, orders to the Joshis and letters to the Upadhyayas and Brahmans or Shudras, or to any body else, should be written by the Chitnis. Harki and Shela should be taken by the government for the Prayshchitta. The Fadnis should make an entry that so much has been realised (specifying the sum). All letters, if the transaction is to be made without any stipulation about money, should be the Chitnis's business ; the Fadnis will have nothing to do with them. If parties after quarrelling with each other, come for decision to the court, all letters according to the decision (of the court) about the Harki to be paid by the winning and Gunhegari to be paid by the losing party should be written by the Chitnis. The total of Harki and Gunhegari alone should be stated by the Fadnis. Letters about contribution, fines, Harkis and incomes (arising from) adultery cases should be written by the Chitnis.

If an assignment or Varat is made in any one's favour, and there is any delay in making it good, the Chitnis should write reminders, (requesting the officers concerned) to realise the money in accordance with the terms of the assignment. If an assignment is made of one hundred rupees and there is shortage of money in the Mahal (concerned), and a fresh assignment of fifty rupees, out of the entire sum, has to be made, it will be done by the Fadnis. And if an assignment of one hundred rupees is once made, and it is returned, and a fresh

grant has to be made, the document is to be drawn up by the Chitnis. If however any correction is to be made about the sum (literally if the sum is either more or less), the letter will be written by the Fadnis.

All passports for travelling and permission for establishing warehouses should be written by the Chitnis. Summons should be written by the Chitnis. Memoranda enumerating regulations for Watani Mahals Ports, and Forts, etc., should be written by the Chitnis. Letters about ammunition and clothes to be sent each year to the forts, strongholds or military outposts, or to be brought to the head-quarters from those places, should be written by the Chitnis. If any objection is to be raised about these works, it is to be raised by the Fadnis.

The Chitnis is to open the envelopes and read (to the king ?) the letters that may come, and to enclose and despatch letters.

The memorandum of rules for regulating the price of things should be drawn by the Chitnis.

If officers are sent from the head-quarters to villages, or stores, or Parganas, all letters to the District officer should be written by the Chitnis.

All orders of confiscation of any one's property, or restoration of property to its owner, should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters for conferring (the command of) forts and strongholds, etc., for settling a boundary, for imprisoning or releasing any one, should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters of diplomatic intelligence should be written by the Chitnis.

All letters in which the royal signature is to be inserted, handnotes and documents with seals, should be written by the Chitnis. All letters about the appointment to the command of forts and strongholds, grants of Saranjam Inam or Vatans, or communication about any assignment, accompanied by the customary clothes of honour, should be written by the Chitnis, as well as letters specifying contribution, fine, Harki or subscription, and Nazar (to be paid by the addressee) He should also frame a list of these and send it to the Daftar. The officers there will accordingly make their accounts of income and expenditure. Closed letters and handnotes should be written by the Chitnis; no one except the Chitnis should put his sign in the handnotes.

Kowls for settling (new inhabitants in any place) or authorising (any one to do a specified act) should be drawn up by the Chitnis.

Letters for attaching or conferring a house, or homestead, fuel, or rice lands, should be written by the Chitnis.[52]

Besides the duties enumerated above, the Chitnis was in charge of the Abdar Khana and Saraf Khana also.[53]

Fadnis, Potnis and Potdar.

In the document quoted above, the Fadnis is also mentioned with the Chitnis in their official relations. A subordinate Secretariat officer of no great importance in Sivaji's time, the Fadnis rose to great power and authority during the Peshwa *régime*. The Potnis was responsible for the account of income and expenditure of the metropolitan treasury, while the Potdar was only an assay officer.

52 Sanads and letters edited by Mawjee and Parasnis, pp. 127 to 130.

53 *Ibid*, p. 125.

The eight Pradhans had under them, besides their staff, the officers in charge of the eighteen Karkhanas and the twelve Mahals. What precisely their duties were we do not know. The eighteen Karkhanas and the twelve Mahals were as follows :—

The officers in charge of the eighteen Karkhanas and twelve Mahals.

The eighteen Karkhanas.

1.	Khajina.	Cash.
2.	Jawahirkhana.	Jewellery.
3.	Ambarkhana.	Elephant trappings.
4.	Sharbatkhana	Medicines.
5.	Topkhana.	Artillery-stores.
6.	Daftarkhana.	Record Department.
7.	Jamdarkhana.	Public treasury containing all sorts of coins, etc.
8.	Jiratkhana.	Agriculture.
9.	Mutbakkhana.	Kitchen.
10.	Vashtarkhana.	Camels and their trappings.
11.	Naquarkhana.	Band.
12.	Talimkhana.	Gymnasium.
13.	Pilkhana.	Elephant shed, etc.
14.	Faraskhana.	Carpets and accessories.
15.	Abdarkhana.	Drink.
16.	Shikarkhana.	Game, aviary, chase, and allied materials.
17.	Darukhana.	Magazine.
18.	Shahatkhana.	Conservancy Department.

The twelve Mahals.

1.	Pote.	The treasury.
2.	Saudagir.	Merchandise.
3.	Palkhi.	Palanquins.
4.	Kothi.	Warehouse.
5.	Imarat.	Building.
6.	Bahili.	Chariots.
7.	Paga.	Stables.
8.	Seri.	Comforts.
9.	Daruni.	The Zenana.
10.	Thatti.	Cow-sheds.
11.	Tanksal.	Mints.
12.	Sabina.	Guards.[54]

It is clear from the name of their departments that most of these officers were more concerned with the king's household than with any duties of imperial or public interest. A few of them, on the other hand, like those in charge of the artillery, the mint, and the public treasury, fall under a different category. Shivaji's division of his government and household affairs into eighteen Karkhanas and twelve Mahals was therefore by no means scientific. But we cannot expect from a man surrounded on all sides by enemies,

[54] Sabhasad, pp. 94 to 95.

and ever engaged in a war of defence as well as of conquest, a scientific division of departments on modern lines. He had evidently copied from the existing system and found little leisure in his eventful career to improve upon it.

The staff of the Pradhans.

In their departmental duties each of eight Pradhans was assisted by a staff of eight clerks. They were :—

1. The Dewan.
2. The Mazumdar or Auditor and Accountant.
3. The Fadnis or Deputy Auditor.
4. The Sabnis or the Daftardar.
5. The Karkhanis or Commissary.
6. The Chitnis or Correspondence clerk.
7. The Jamdar or Treasurer.
8. The Potnis or Cashkeeper.[55]

The king the soul of the system.

The king formed the great pivot on which rested this stupendous structure. His was the hand that worked this gigantic, but by no means easy machine. Not only the officers in charge of the eighteen Karkhanas and the twelve Mahals, not only such secretariat officers as the Fadnis, Sabnis and Potnis, but also their official superiors, the eight Pradhans and the Chitnis, formed a vast array of clerks and military commanders, to carry out the orders of the king and to execute his great designs. They were but so many machines, not inanimate it is true, not unconscious of the great part they were playing, but at the same time hardly having any independent existence. Even the Pandit Rav, the officer in charge of the ecclesiastical branch of the administration, whose Brahman birth and learning might have given him some advantage over his non-Brahman master, could hardly take any step without the cognisance and sanction of the king. Even Kalush, the all powerful minister of Sambhaji, deemed it necessary to consult the king's pleasure before he could authorise the re-admission of a repentant renegade into his former caste after the necessary penance.[56] Everything therefore depended on the personal ability and qualities of the sovereign. There was nothing to check him except his own good sense, and of course the constant fear of a formidable Muhammadan invasion. It was for this reason alone that Sambhaji found it so easy to subvert his father's system, the day after his accession to the throne. It is this very reason again that impelled Rajaram, while sorely pressed by the victorious Imperial army, to revive the old institutions his father had found so useful. The system required a strong and good ruler. After Shahu, there were none among Shivaji's descendants who possessed the requisite qualities; and that is why the Peshwas found it so easy to do away with the Central Government. The Ashta Pradhans still continued, but the hereditary incumbents found themselves in an anomalous situation. They enjoyed great fiefs but were never in practice called upon to perform their civil duties. The Peshwa, in theory their equal, became in reality their superior. The king their master was a state prisoner. The Peshwa's Fadnis, originally an officer of no importance, gradually rose to very great power; and the central government, no longer its former self, was transferred from Satara to Poona. But through all these

[55] Grant Duff, Vol. 1, p. 191.

[56] The Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. III.

changes and revolutions, both bloody and bloodless, the village communities survived unaffected, and the Peshwa also found it convenient to continue the Provincial governments as they existed in Shivaji's time.

Frequent changes of capital.

It may not be out of place to notice here, that during the short century that intervened between the rise of Shivaji and the death of Shahu, the Maratha empire had seen no less than four capitals. Shivaji, the hardy mountain rat, was enthroned in the impregnable hill fort of Raigar. His worthless son found the pleasure house near modern Mahabaleshwar more suited to his tastes. Rajaram driven from his paternal hills, had to take shelter in the southern stronghold of Jinji ; his descendants continued their feeble rule at Kolhapur, even after the fall of the Peshwas. Sahu reigned at Satara, and a small principality was subsequently carried out for his lineal successor Pratap Singh, when the British government pensioned off Baji Rao II. Satara was the last capital of the Bhonslas, but a new act in the great drama opened with the transfer of the central government to Poona, destined to be the capital of a vast Hindu Empire for no less than four generations.

(To be continued.)

TRANS-HIMALAYAN REMINISCENCES IN PALI LITERATURE.

By D. N. SEN, M. A.

WHILE studying the *sutta* literature I was much struck by two words which I came across. One of them is दीघरत्तं and the other रत्तञ्ञु.

[1] दीघरत्तं means 'long time,' दीघ = दीर्घ = long, and रत्तं = रात्रम् = night = time. The word रत्त or रात्रम् is used here as a synonym for 'time.' Why are 'night' and 'time' held as synonymous ?

Similarly, the word रत्तञ्ञु is compounded of रत्तं and ञ्ञु, the two together meaning a 'man of experience.' Literally, रत्तञ्ञु means a 'knower of time.' Here also it is significant that 'night' and 'time' have been used in the same sense. There is perhaps a long history behind the transformation of the word रत्तं into a synonym fore 'time.' Does it carry us back to a period when 'night' could stand for 'time,' the nights being more prominent than the days ? In Pali as well as in Vedic Sanskrit, the word 'night' often precedes the word 'day' in the compounds made of them, *e.g.*, रत्तिन्दिवं [2] in Pali, नक्तन्दिवम् in Sanskrit. Could it mean that the people using the Pali language came from a country of long twilights and that this memory is preserved in words like दीघरत्त रत्तञ्ञु and रत्तिन्दिवं ? The Vedic-Aryans speak of शरदां शतम् (hundred winters), using the word शरदाम् as a synonym for years. This takes us back to a period of their history when they lived in colder climes. In the same way रत्तञ्ञु and दीघरत्तं would take us back to a period of the history of the Pali-speaking people when they lived in regions where nights were more prominent than days.

It would, however, be rash to draw such a large conclusion on grounds which appear at first to be rather slight. We shall, therefore, scrutinise such geographical evidence as can be found in Pali literature to see if the conclusion is supported by it.

In looking for the geographical data, I came across some names which refer undoubtedly to a region beyond the Himalayas. I will examine these names one by one :

(*a*) उत्तरकुरु—The references to उत्तरकुरु are copious in the *suttas*. It is often mentioned in terms which would make it a legendary land, but it is also sometimes spoken of in a way which leaves no shadow of a doubt that उत्तरकुरु was a real country.

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[1] Cf. चिररत्तं वासि—Jatakas, VI, p. 92.

[2] रत्तिन्दिवं वितिना मेयन्ति—धम्मदायादसुत्तं, मज्झिमनिकाय, Vol. I., p. 13, P. T. S.

In महावग्ग of the विनय पिटक,[3] the following passage occurs :

" अथ खो उरुवेल कस्सपस्स जटिलस्स एतद् अहोसि :—एतरह खो मे महाजञ्ञो पच्चुपट्ठितो केवलकप्पा च अंगमागधा पहूतं खादनियं भोजनियं आदाय अभिक्कमिस्सन्ति; सचे महासमणो महाजनकाये इद्धि पाटिहारियं करिस्सति महासमण्णस्स लाभसक्कारो अभिवड्ढिस्सति, मम लाभसक्कारो परिहायिस्सति । अथ नून महासमणो स्वातनाय नागच्छेय्याति । अथ खो भगवा उरुवेल कस्सपस्स जटिलस्स चेतसा चेतो परिवितक्कं अञ्ञाय उत्तरकुरुं गन्त्वा ततो पिण्डपातं आहरित्वा अनोततदहे परिभुञ्जित्वा तत्थ एव दिवाविहारं अकासि ।"

[Uruvela-Kassapa, (who was celebrating a great vedic sacrifice), the man with matted hair, thought like this : ' My great sacrifice is going to be performed, and all the people from Anga and Magadha are coming with large quantities of food of various kinds. If the great समण (Buddha) shows them miracles, he will rise in their esteem and great also will be his gain, and, correspondingly, I shall lose their esteem and fail to receive offerings from them. So the great समण should not certainly come here tomorrow.' In the meanwhile, the Lord came to know the working of the mind of Uruvela-Kassapa through his own mind and repaired to Uttara-Kuru where he received alms-offerings, took his food by the side of Anotata-daha and passed the day there.]

Buddha's passage to Uttara-Kuru in the course of a night was, of course, a miracle, and so was his return to Uruvela. Such miraculous translation to Uttara-kuru is mentioned about Buddha's disciples as well : [4] भिक्खाचारवेलायां केचि उत्तरकुरुं गच्छन्ति. [Some of them would go to उत्तरकुरु during the time of alms-begging.]

In the मिलिन्दपन्ह [5] the royal city of सागल is described as comparable to उत्तरकुरु (उत्तरकुरु संकासं संपन्नसस्सं) in its fertile fields.

In the विधुर पण्डितजातक, we find the following passage : पुरतो विदेहे पस्स गोयानिये च पच्छतो कुरुयो जम्बुदीपञ्च माणिम्हि पस्स निम्मितं ।

The note which follows explains, "विदेहे ति पुब्बविदेहं : गोयानिये ति अपरगोयानिदीपं : कुरुय ति उत्तरकुरु च दक्खिणतो जम्बुदीपञ्च. "

From the way in which the relative positions of उत्तरकुरु and जम्बुदीप are mentioned, it is clear that the latter was supposed to be situated to the south of the former.

It should also be noted that the word उत्तरकुरु is used here in the plural and so is also the word कुरुयो. It was usual to call the countries after the people who lived in them. उत्तरकुरु means the land of the Uttara-Kurus, and कुरुयो, the land of the Kurus.

In a passage which I am quoting below, the inhabitants of उत्तरकुरु are mentioned as मनुस्सा or men :

[6] तीहि भिक्खवे ठानेहि उत्तरकुरुका मनुस्सा देवे च तावतिंसे अधिगण्हन्ति जम्बुदीपके च मनुस्से ।
कतमेहि तीहि ?

अममा च अपरिग्गहा नियतायुका विसेसभुनो ।

[There are three things in which the men of Uttara-Kuru and the gods of तावतिंस excel the men of Jambudīpa.

What are the three ?

They are free from attachment, take no gifts, live eternally and feed on special food.]

We can safely conclude from the passages quoted above that उत्तरकुरु, though rapidly growing legendary, was yet known as a *Janapada* or country, lying to the north of जम्बुद्दीप, and inhabited by men far superior to the people of जम्बुद्दीप, morally as well as physically.

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[3] Vin., Mahavag., I, 19. Oldenberg.

[4] जातक, (Fausboll), V, 316.

[5] मिलिन्दपन्ह, Burm., p. 2.

[6] Ang. Nik, IV, 396 (P. T. S.).

उत्तरकुरु in the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण—The following passage occurs in the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण—

[7] "अथैनमुदीच्यां दिशि विश्वेदेवाः षड्भिश्चैव पञ्चविंशैरहोभिरभ्यषिञ्चन्नेतेन च तृचेनैतेन च यजुषैताभिश्च व्याहृतिभिर्वैराज्याय, तस्मादेतस्यामुदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा उत्तरकुरव उत्तरमद्रा इति वैराज्यायैव तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते विराडित्येनानभिषिक्तानाचक्षते।"

[Then the विश्वदेवास् performed his inauguration ceremony in the north for six-and-twenty-five days with these three *rik* verses, with *Yajus* and with *Vyâhritis*, for kingless rule. For this reason, in this northern region, countries on the other side of the Himâlayas, such as Uttaru-Kurus and Uttara-Madras, are without kings and are called kingless.]

Closely following the passage quoted above the same ब्राह्मण mentions the names of ***kuru*** and *Pañchâla* in a compound, and as situated in the middle region, this being the **securest** part of the country. Messrs. Keith and Macdonald support this view :—

'The Uttarakurus, who play a mythical part in the epic and later literature, are still a historical people in the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, where they are located beyond the Himâlaya (परेण हिमवन्तम्). In another passage, however, the country of the *Uttara-kurus* is stated by Vasishṭha Satyahavya to be a land of the gods (देवक्षेत्र), but जानन्तोपि अत्यराति was anxious to conquer it so that it is still not wholly mythical.' [8]

'The territory of the कुरु-पाञ्चाल is declared in the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण to be the Middle country (मध्यदेश). A group of the Kuru people still remained further north—the Uttara Kurus beyond the Himâlaya. It appears from a passage of the शतपथ ब्राह्मण that the speech of the Northerners—that is, presumably, the Northern Kurus—and of the कुरुपाञ्चाल was similar, and regarded as specially pure. There seems little doubt that the Brahmanical culture was developed in the country of the कुरु पाञ्चाल and that it spread thence east, south and west.' [9]

UTTARA-KURU IN THE MAHABHARATA : The Mahâbhârata tells us, in connection with the invasion of the northern countries by Arjuna, that the Pâṇḍava hero conquered and exacted tributes from the Kimpurushas, the Hâṭakas, the people of the country round the Mansarwar, and entered the country of Harivarsha where the Uttara-Kurus used to live :

स श्वेतपर्वतं वीरः समतिक्रम्य वीर्यवान्।
देशं किम्पुरुषावासं द्रुमपुत्रेण रक्षितम् ॥
महता सन्निपातेन क्षत्रियान्तकरेण ह।
अजयत् पाण्डवश्रेष्ठः करे चैनं न्यवेशयत् ॥
तं जित्वा हाटकं नाम देशं गुह्यकरक्षितं।
पाकशासनिरव्यग्रः सहसैन्य समासदत् ॥
तांस्तु सान्त्वेन निर्जित्य मानसं सर उत्तमम्।
ऋषिकुल्यास्तथा सर्वा ददर्श कुरुनन्दन ॥
सरो मानसमासाद्य हाटकानभितः प्रभुः।
गन्धर्वरक्षितं देशमजयत् पाण्डवस्ततः ॥
तत्र तित्तिरिकल्माषान् मण्डूकाख्यान् हयोत्तमान्।
लेभे स करमत्यन्तं गन्धर्वनगरात्तदा ॥
उत्तरं हरिवर्षन्तु स समासाद्य पाण्डवः।
इयेष जेतुं तं देशं पाकशासननन्दनः ॥
तत एनं महावीर्या महाकाया महाबलाः।
द्वारपालाः समासाद्य हृष्टा वचनमब्रुवन् ॥
पार्थ नेदं त्वया शक्यं पुरं जेतुं कथञ्चन।
उपावर्तस्व कल्याण पर्याप्तमिदमच्युत ॥

[7] Ait. Brahm., chap. 40, vers. 14 [8] Ved. Ind., p. 84. [9] *Ibid.*, pp. 165-169.

इदं पुरं यः प्रविशेद्ध्रुवं न स भवेन्नरः ।
प्रीयामहे त्वया वीर पर्याप्तो विजयस्तव ॥
न चात्र किञ्चिज्जेतव्यमर्जुनात्र प्रदृश्यते ।
उत्तराः कुरवो ह्येते नात्र युद्धं प्रवर्तते ॥
प्रविष्टोऽपि हि कौन्तेय नेह द्रक्ष्यसि किञ्चन ।
नहि मानुषदेहेन शक्यमत्राभिवीक्षितुम् ॥
अथेह पुरुषव्याघ्र किञ्चिदन्यच्चिकीर्षसि ।
तत् प्रब्रूहि करिष्यामो वचनात्तव भारत ॥
ततस्तानब्रवीद्राजन्नर्जुनः प्रहसन्निव ।
पार्थिवत्वं चिकीर्षामि धर्म्मराजस्य धीमतः ॥
न प्रवेक्ष्यामि वो देशं विरुद्धं यदि मानुषैः ।
युधिष्ठिराय यत्किञ्चित् करपण्यं प्रदीयताम् ॥
ततो दिव्यानि वस्त्राणि दिव्यान्याभरणानि च ।
[10] क्षौमाजिनानि दिव्यानि तस्य ते प्रददुः करम् ॥

UTTARA-KURU IN THE PURANAS : In the Vâyupurâṇa we have the following verses describing the countries included in Jambudvîpa :

"इदं हैमवतं वर्षं भारतं नाम विश्रुतम् ।
हेमकूटं परं तस्मान्नाम्ना किंपुरुषं स्मृतम् ॥
नैषधं हेमकूटात्तु हरिवर्षं तदुच्यते ।
हरिवर्षात्परं चैव मेरोश्च तदिलावृतम् ॥
इलावृतात् परं नीलं रम्यकं नाम विश्रुतम् ।
रम्यकात्तु परं श्वेतं विश्रुतं तद्धिरण्मयम् ॥
हिरण्मयात् परं चापि शृङ्गवांस्तु कुरु स्मृतम् " ॥

[This Himalayan country is well-known as Bhârata.
Hemakûṭa is next to it and the land is known as Kiṁpurusha,
Naishadha follows next and the land is called Harivarsha.
After Harivarsha and Meru follows the country known as Ilâvṛita,
After Ilâvṛita is Nîla and the country is known as Ramyaka.
After Ramyaka comes Śveta, and this country is known as Hiraṇmaya,
Śriṅgavân follows Hiraṇmaya, and the country is to be remembered as Kuru.]

जम्बुद्वीप is here described as consisting of seven countries separated by six mountain ranges. These were believed to have stretched west to east, from sea to sea. The first country mentioned is Bhârata-varsha, and it is described as "Haimavata" or Himalayan, thus indicating that भारतवर्ष consisted of the Himâlaya mountains and the cis-Himalayan regions. The next *Varsha* lay between Haimavata and Hemakûta and was called the country of the Kiṁpurushas. The third *Varsha* is described as Harivarsha and it lay between Hemakûta and Nishadha mountains. The fourth was Ilâvṛita, and it lay to the north of Nishadha and south of the Nîla ranges, and surrounded the Meru or Sumeru. North of the Nîla and south of the Sveta lay the land known as Ramyaka. Between Śveta and Śriṅgavân was Hiraṇmaya, and to the north of Śriṅgavân lay the home of the Kurus. So the northernmost country included in Jambu-dvîpa was Kuru.

The following verse in the Brahmâṇḍapurâṇa places the land of the Kurus to the south of the North Sea and adjacent to its shores :

उत्तरस्य समुद्रस्य समुद्रान्ते च दक्षिणे ।
कुरवस्तत्र तद्वर्षं पुण्यं सिद्धनिषेवितम् ॥

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[10] *Mahâbhârat*, Sabhâparva

[On the shores of the North Sea and to the south of it,
There live the Kurus in their holy land, the home of the perfect ones.]

It is clear, therefore, that the accounts preserved in the Vâyu and the Brahmâṇḍa-Purâṇas take us back to a period when Jambudvîpa included almost the whole of the inhabited portion of Central Asia from the south of the Himâlaya to the shores of the North Sea.

There is, however, evidence in the Purâṇas that the Kurus had moved from their old home. The following verses occur in the Padma-purâṇa :

"उत्तरेणात्र शृङ्गस्य समुद्रान्ते द्विजोत्तमाः ।
वर्षमैरावतं नाम तस्माच्छृङ्गवत· परम् ॥
न तु तत्र सूर्य्यगतिर्न जीर्य्यन्ति च मानवाः ।
चन्द्रमाश्च सनक्षत्रो ज्योतिर्भूत इवाऽवृतः" ॥

[To the north of the Śṛingavân mountain and where the sea ends, oh best of the twice born,
Is the country named Airâvata (country of the Mammoths) next to Śṛiṅgavân.
The sun does not go there and men never become old,
And also the moon, with the stars which are luminous, is, as it were, covered.]

The northernmost country is no longer the country of the Kurus, but is known as the Mammoth country, a land where the sun and the moon cannot reach. Both the account, in the Brahmâṇḍa-purâṇa and the Padma-purâṇa place the northernmost country close to the shores of the North Sea, and possibly within the arctic circle, far away from the limits of the sun's and moon's movements.

The Padma-purâṇa locates the Uttara-Kurus south of the Nila range and north of the Meru and in the close vicinity of the latter :

दक्षिणेन तु नीलस्य मेरोः
पार्श्वे तथोत्तरे ।
उत्तरा · कुरवो विप्रा पुण्या
सिद्धनिषेविता ॥

[South of the Nila and by the side of the Meru and to the north of it,
Are the Uttara-Kurus, inhabited by the wise and the saintly.]

The land of the Kurus, it will be noted, is designated in the Padma-purâṇa as Uttara-Kuru, which undoubtedly points to the fact that a branch of this race had already separated from the main stock and migrated southwards. In the Mahâbhârata the city of the Uttara-Kurus is placed in Harivarsha which, according to Pauranic geography, lay to the south of Nishadha and far to the south of the Meru.[11]

In the Aitareya Brâhmana,[12] the Uttara-Kurus are a trans-Himalayan people in the north, and Kuru-Pañchâlas, on this side of the Himâlayas and forming the middle country. I take this to mean that the former lay on the other side of the Himâlayas and directly north of the Kuru-Pañchâla country. And as we have eslewhere a mention of Uttara-Pañchâla[13] also, we may take it as certain that the allied Kurus were a branch of the Uttara-Kurus and had emigrated to India along the valleys of some of the Himalayan rivers.

(*b*) अनोतत्त महासर—The Pali *suttas* are full of references to अनोतत्त महासर. They speak of the seven great inland seas from which the *Mahânadis* rise, *viz.*,[14] अनोतत्त, सिहपपात, रथकार, कण्णमुण्ड, कुणाल, छद्दन्त, मन्दाकिनी. The *Mahânadis* all issue out of the Himâlayas

[11] See *supra*. [12] See *supra*. [13] अङ्गुत्तरनिकाय, Vol. IV, p. 101 (P. T. S.).

[14] जातक, (Fausboll), Vol. III, p. 461.

and debouch into the plains below taking a south or south-eastern course. These *Mahânadîs* are the following :—गंगा, यमुना, अचिरवती, सरभू, and मही. सरभू is perhaps the same as सरयु, and मही is now an unimportant stream in North Bihar which mee the Gandak near its confluence with the Ganges. अचिरवती is the same as the modern Rapti. It is the great peculiarity with most of the Himalayan rivers that they have their sources on the other side of the range and cut their way through the mountain wall until they reach the plains. अनोतत्त was presumably one of the lakes to the north of the हिमवन्तपब्बत, and, possibly, it is the same as is now known as मानससरोवर. There is no other lake in the Trans-Himalaya which is more sacred to the Indians than the मानससरोवर, and even now, notwithstanding the severe climatic conditions, and the risks and hardships of the journey, pilgrimage to this[15] famous lake is kept up. Any one visiting the lake during the rains will see groups of devout pilgrims going round it and bathing in its limpid waters. The मानससरोवर[16] is claimed as sacred even by the Buddhists, and pilgrims from China and Tibet come to it annually for acquiring religious merit. In the Jâtakas, the following lines occur : Vol. V, 392 (21), Fausboll.

तदा सक्कस्स आसा, सद्धा, सिरि, हिरीति चतस्सो धितरो होन्ति, ता बहुदिब्बगन्धमालमादाय उदक-किलनत्थाय अनोतत्तदहम् गन्त्वा तत्थ किलित्वा मनोसिलातले निसिदिंसु ।

[At that time, आसा (Hope), सद्धा (Reverence), सिरि (Beauty) and हिरि (Modesty) were the four daughters of Sakka (Indra). They adorned themselves profusely with fragrant celestial flowers and went to the अनोतत्तदह for sporting in its waters and, after finishing their pastime, sat on the मनोसिला[17] (red-arsenic rock).]

अनोतत्त literally means अनवतप्त = not-heated or pleasantly cool. This lake, in accordance with the tradition in the *suttas*, was in Uttara-Kuru, as we find it frequently mentioned that Buddha and Bodhisattvas used to beg alms in Uttara-Kuru, bring them to the shores of the अनोतत्तदह, take their meals there and pass the day on the rocky uplands of red-arsenic. In the Aitareya Brâhmana, the Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras are mentioned as living on the other side of the Himâlaya (अपर-हिमवन्तम्), to the north of the Kuru-Pañchâlas, the Madhyadesa of those days. I think it would be safe to hold that at the time of the Aitareya Brâhmana, the Uttara-kurus had migrated further down from Hari-Varsha[18] and were occupying Kimpurushavarsha, or the country immediately to the north of the Himâlayas. Mansarowar is situated immediately to the north of the Himâlaya mountains. This region appears to be the same as the Kimpurusha Varsha of the Purâṇas, and the Uttara-Kuru of Buddhist tradition. The famous Anotatta-daha must, therefore, be identified with the Mansarowar lake

15 जातक (Fausboll), Vol. III, p. 461.

16 Sven Hedin thus reflects on the subject.—'How can Manasarowar and Kailas be the objects of divine honours from two religions so different as Hinduism and Lamaism, unless it is that their over-powering beauty has appealed to and deeply impressed the human mind, and that they seemed to belong rather to heaven than to earth? Even the first view from the hills on the shore caused us to burst into tears of joy at the wonderful magnificent land and its surpassing beauty. The oval lake somewhat narrower in the south than the north, and with a diameter of about 15½ miles, lies like an enormous turquoise embedded between two of the finest and the most famous mountain giants of the world, the Kailas in the north and Gurla Mandatta in the south, and between huge ranges, above which the two mountains uplift their crowns of bright white eternal snow' – *Trans-Himalaya*. Vol. II., p. 111

17 Sven Hedin speaks of 'a cinnabar-red' hill lying, on the north side of a slightly indented bay of the western shore.—*Trans-Himalaya*, Vol. II, p. 123.

18 *Mahâbhârata*, Sabhaparva.

(c) केलासकूट—In the छद्दन्तजातक, there are some references to केलासकूट—

(i) अथद्वे तरुणनागा सोण्डेहि उसिरकलापे गहेत्वा केलासकूटं मज्जन्ता विय नहापेसुं ।

(ii) तदा नेसदो महासत्तस्स रजतदामसदिसम् सोण्डम् मद्दन्तो अभिरुहित्वा केलासकूटे विय कुण्डे ठत्वा मुखकोटिमांसम् जानुना पहरित्वा अन्तो पक्खिपित्वा कुम्भतो तरूम्ह ककचम् अन्तोमुखे पवेसेसि ।

(i) [At that time two young elephants got hold, with their trunks, of roots of Uśîra plant and, as if they were rubbing the Kailâsa peak, went on bathing.]

(ii) [At that time the hunter trampling upon his silver-white trunk, mounted his head as one would climb the peak of Kailâsa, struck with his thighs the flesh of the fore-part of the mouth and thrust it inside, then getting down from the head inserted a saw into his mouth.]

There is also a reference to Kailâsa in Jâtaka, Vol. VI, p. 267 :—

"सेतम् केलाससादिसम्".

[White like Kelâsa.]

'KAILASA' IN THE PURANAS :

[19] सव्ये हिमवतः पार्श्वे कैलासो नाम पर्व्वतः ।
तस्मिन्वसति श्रीमान्कुबेरः सह राक्षसैः ॥

[To the left-hand side of the Himavân is the mountain named Kailâsa.
In it lives the wealthy Kubera with the Râkshasas.]

For finding precisely the position of the mountain, the following verses from the same Purâṇa a few lines below will be of great help :

[20] कैलासाद्दक्षिणप्राच्यां शिवसत्त्वौषधिं गिरिम् ।
मनःसिलामयं दिव्यं पिशङ्गं पर्व्वतं प्रति ॥
लोहितो हेमशृङ्गस्तु गिरिः सूर्यप्रभो महान् ।
तस्य पादे महद्दिव्यं लोहितं नाम तत्सरः ॥
तस्मात् पुण्यं प्रभवति लौहित्यः स नदो महान् ॥

[To the south-east of Kailâsa towards the mountain with beneficent and heavenly animals and herbs,
Which is full of red-arsenic and is known as Piśaṅga mountain,
Stands the great Lohita mountain with a golden peak and bright as the sun.
At its foot there is a great heavenly lake named Lohita ;
From this rises the great and holy river of the name of Lohitya.]

The Lohitya is the name of the Brahmaputrâ during its course along the northern slopes of the Himâlaya, and Lohita is the lake which is the reputed source of the great river. Kailâsa, according to this account, is to the north-west of the source of the Brahmaputrâ.

कैलासाद्दक्षिणे पार्श्वे क्रूरसत्त्वौषधिं गिरिम् ।
वृत्रकायात्किलोत्पन्नमञ्जनं त्रिककं प्रति ॥
सर्व्वधातुमयस्तत्र सुमहान्वैद्युतो गिरिः ।
तस्य पादे सरः पुण्यं मानसं सिद्धसेवितम् ॥

[On the right side (south) of Kailâsa, towards a mountain full of malignant herbs and animals sprung from the body of Vṛitra, named Añjana, and with three peaks,
There is a very large mountain full of all kinds of metals and with electric properties ;
At the foot of this mountain is situated the Mânasa lake which is resorted to by saints.]

19 *Vayu Purâṇa*, Chap 47.

20 *Ibid.*

Mount Kailâsa, as shown in modern maps, lies to the N. W. of the sources of the Brahmaputrâ or Lohitya, as it is called in this part of its course, and directly north of the Mânasa lake which lies at the foot of the Gurla Mandhata, the highest peak of which is about 25,000 feet above sea level.

Here is a beautiful description of this region from the pen of Sven Hedin : " Only an inspired pencil and magic colours could depict the scene that met my eyes when the whole country lay in shadow, and only the highest peaks of Gurla Mandhata caught the first gleam of the rising sun. In the growing light of dawn, the mountain, with its snow-fields and glaciers, had shone silvery white and cold ; but now ! In a moment the extreme points of the summit began to glow with purple like liquid gold. And the brilliant illumination crept slowly like a mantle down the flanks of the mountain, and the thin white morning clouds, which hovered over the lower slopes and formed a girdle round a well-defined zone, floating freely like Saturn's ring, and like it throwing a shadow on the fields of eternal snow, these two assumed a tinge of gold and purple, such as no mortal can describe. The colours, at first as light and fleeting as those of a young maiden in her ball dress, became more pronounced; light concentrated itself on the eastern mountains, and over their sharp outlines a sheaf of bright rays fell from the upper limb of the sun upon the lake. And now day has won the victory, and I try dreamily to decide which spectacle has made the greater impression on me, the quiet moon light, or the sun-rise with its warm, rosy gleam on the eternal snow." [21]

" Phenomena like these are fleeting guests on the earth ; they come and go in the early morning hours; they are only seen once in a life time; they are like a greeting from a better world, a flush from the island of the phœnix. Thousands and thousands of pilgrims have wandered round the lake in the course of centuries, and have seen the dawn and sunset, but have never witnessed the display which we gazed upon from the middle of the holy lake on this memorable night. But soon the magical effects of light and colour, which have quickly followed one another and held me entranced, fade away. The country assumes its usual aspect, and is over-shadowed by dense clouds. Kailâsa and Gurla Mandhata vanish entirely, and only a snowy crest, far away to the north-west, is still dyed a deep carmine, only yonder a sheaf of sunbeams penetrates through an opening in the clouds. In that direction the mirror of the lake is tinged blue, but to the south, green. The wild-géese have waked up and they are heard cackling on their joyous flights, and, now and then, a gull or tern screams. Bundles of sea-weed float about. The sky is threatening but the air is calm, and only gentle swells, smooth as polished metals, disturb the water, which looks like the clearest curaçao."

SUMERU—सिनेरु is often mentioned as पब्बतराजा[22], or king of mountains, and the dwelling place of the तावतिंस gods (तत्थ मापितं तावतिंस भवनं). We hear in the जातक[23] also about sands of precious stone at the foot of सिनेरु (सिनेरुपादतोरतनवालिकं आहारित्वा), of seven hills[24] surrounding the mountain (सिनेरुं परिवारित्वा ठिते सत्त परिभण्ड पब्बते): of the city[25] of the gods, 1000 leagues long, crowning the summit of Sineru (सिनेरुमत्थके पतिट्ठितस्सदससहस्सयोजनिकस्स देवनगरस्स द्वारं); of [26]serpents living at the foot of सिनेरु; of the sun and the moon[27] in their rounds about the Sineru (यस्स चन्दञ्च सुरियञ्च ओभासन्तेचतुद्दिसा सिनेरु अनुपरियन्तो मणिम्हि यस्स निम्मितं); of [28] picking up sands of gold from the foot of the mountain (Sinerupâdato suvaṇṇavâlukam

[21] *Trans. Himalayn*, Vol. II, p p. 116-118.

[22] जातक, Fausboll, Vol. V, p. 168.

[23] जातक *Ibid.*, V, p. 314.

[24] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 125.

[25] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 126.

[26] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 165.

[27] Jâtaka, VI, p. 278.

[28] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 362.

uddharanto viya). In the accounts preserved in Buddhist literature, and specially the Jâtakas, सिनेरु or Sumeru is a mountain round which there is a thick and luxuriant growth of myth and legend. But still it is a mountain to the north of the हिमवन्त, the abode of the gods of the तावतिंस heaven and an object of devout aspirations.

सुमेरु is mentioned as महामेरु mountain in the तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक—

"कश्यपोऽष्टमः। स महामेरुं न जहाति"

"नहि शक्नुमो महामेरुं गन्तुं।"

"गच्छत महामेरुं।"

[" Kasyapa is the eighth (sun). He does not not leave the Mahâmeru ".

"We cannot go to the Mahameru."

" Go to the Mahameru."]

'महामेरुं' is explained as 'मेरुपर्वत' by सायण—'स कश्यपो मेरुपर्वतं न कदाचिदपि परित्यजति, मेरुस्थानमेव सर्वदा प्रकाशं करोति।

महानेरु is the Pali equivalent of महामेरु, as in the word ' Mahâneru-nidassanam ' in Palâsajâtaka.

SUMERU IN THE PURÂṆAS : The Brahmâṇḍa-purâṇa tells us :

[29] पञ्चशैलोऽथ कैलासो हिमवांश्चाचलोत्तमः।

इहैते देवचरिता ह्युत्कृष्टाः पर्वतोत्तमाः॥

दिग्भागे दक्षिणे प्रोक्ता मेरोरमरवर्चसः।

[पञ्चशैल (five hills), कैलास, and हिमवान्, the best of the mountains,

These are heavenly in nature, undoubtedly the foremost and the best of the mountains ;

They are said to lie in the south of the Meru which shines with an eternal light.]

मेरु is then to the north of कैलास and हिमवान्.

Let us see if we can glean any further information about मेरु or सुमेरु from the *Purâṇas.* We have quoted above, from वायुपुराण, the verses giving the relative positions of the seven countries included in जम्बुद्वीप. They are as follows :

North

कुरु

हिरण्मय

रम्यक

इलावृत

हरि

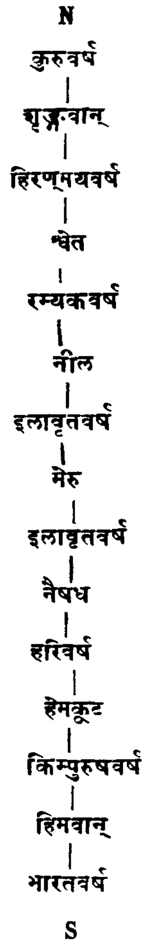
किम्पुरुष

भारतवर्ष

South

[29] *Brahmâṇḍa-purâṇa,* chap. 39.

With the mountain-ranges the arrangement will be like this,—



Meru is the third range to the north of हिमवान्, and the country round मेरु is called इलावृत.

We have seen above that Meru is situated to the north of Kailâsa and the Himâlayas. The first of the *Varshas* to the north of हिमवान् was किम्पुरुष. Next to Kimpurushavarsha was Harivarsha. To the north of this valley we should look for इलावृतवर्ष, which was situated between the Naishadha and the Meru on the south and the Nîla and the Meru on the north.

(To be continued.)

JAIMINI AND BADARAYANA.

BY K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M. A.; CHIDAMBARAM.

ONE of the earliest things that struck me when I began my study of the Mîmâṁsâ system, after having acquired some knowledge of the Vedânta, was that the Jaiminîyadarśana must be an earlier production than the Sûtras of Bâdarâyaṇa, seeing that it represents an undoubtedly earlier phase of the religious and philosophical development of India. The chief difficulties in the way of accepting such a conclusion have so far been: (1) the presence of a traditional belief in India that makes Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa contemporaries and one that has been recorded in some late productions; and (2) the occurrence of the names of both Bâdarâyaṇa and Jaimini in both the Mîmâṁsâ and Vedânta Darśanas, a fact that *prima facie* can be explained only by following the traditional belief of India. Having bestowed some time and thought on this question, I think it is just possible that the tradition itself had its origin in a superficial attempt to explain the relation between the two systems of philosophy, in the light of the fact that the authors are *apparently* quoting each other. At any rate, whatever the origin of the tradition may be, it is the object of this paper to show that the assumption that the two authors lived in the same period is not the only or perhaps even the correct explanation of the facts of the case, and that the date arrived at for Jaimini on this assumed basis, namely 200 to 450 A.D., by H. Jacobi, will accordingly have to be revised. For the present I shall have to leave the task of fixing the absolute date of Jaimini to more competent hands than mine, while I confine myself to proving that Jaimini was not the contemporary of Bâdarâyaṇa, so far as the matter is susceptible of proof just now.

A few words may be said on the traditional belief of Indian writers before entering on the more vital part of the discussion. In the Bhâgavata, in the course of an account of Vyâsa's labours on the Vedas and the steps he took to ensure their subsequent study, we read [1] :—

पराशरात्सत्यवत्यां अंशांशकलया विभुः ।
अवतीर्णो महाभाग वेदं चक्रे चतुर्विधम् ।
* * *
तासां स चतुरः शिष्यानुपाहूय महामतिः ।
एकैकां संहितां ब्रह्मन्नेकैकस्मै ददौ विभुः ॥
* * *
साम्नां जैमिनये प्राह तथा छन्दोगसंहिताम् ।

This account is undoubtedly based on much older Puranic accounts as given in the Vâyu, Vishṇu and other Purâṇas.[2] But before Sri-Vedânta Deśika's time, the tradition has been carried much further than in the Purâṇas, and we find that he uses it as a canon of criticism in determining the relations between the Mîmâṁsâ and Vedânta, and says in his Mîmâṁsâ pâduka[3] :—

शिष्याचार्यौ विरुद्धं न तु मतमधुना साधयन्तौ प्रसिद्धौ ।

And from this statement he arrives at the conclusion that the two systems could never be held to conflict with each other. He says this with special reference to the atheistic tendency in the Mîmâṁsâ, and his Seśvara-Mîmâṁsâ is an attempt to make good his statement quoted above. Further, Vallabhâchârya in his *Aṇubhâshya* often mentions that Bâdarâyaṇa was the teacher of Jaimini[4]. It appears, however, from the foregoing that the

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1 See *Bhâg.*, XII, Chap. 6, verses 49-55.

2 See Jaimini in Wilson's *Vishnu Purâṇa Index*, Hall's Edn.

3 Verse 9.

4 *E. g.*, in III, 4, 18—बादरायण आचार्यो जैमिनेरपि गुरुः । etc.

particular phase of the tradition in question—namely that which makes the author of the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras the pupil of the author of the Vedânta Sûtras—with which we are most concerned is comparatively late in origin, and also that it presumes the author of the Vedânta Sûtras to have been the same as the famous "Arranger" of the Vedas whose pupil Jaimini is said to be in the Purâṇas. It is also to be noticed that there is a further presumption in it that the Jaimini that received the Sâma Veda from Vyâsa is the same as the author of the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras. Here we may observe that although there is a Jaiminîya recension of the Sâma Veda, there is no evidence in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras of any *special connection* between their author and the Sâma Veda *in particular*. If all this is borne in mind, it will be readily granted that there is no difficulty in setting aside this tradition as untrustworthy if it can be proved from well-established facts that it does not fit in with the probabilities of the case.

Personal references to thinkers and authors are more numerous in the Vedânta Sûtras than in the Mimâṁsâ Sûtras. The former are less than a fifth of the latter in bulk, judged by the number of Sûtras in each; but they contain 32 such references as against 26 in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras. Again, the bulk of the references in the former are to Jaimini, who is referred to no less than 11 times, and to Bâdarâyaṇa, who is referred to 9 times; while the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras refer only 5 times each to Jaimini and to Bâdarâyaṇa. There are thus 30 references in all to be discussed before arriving at any thing like a final conclusion. These may now be noted in order, and the Sûtras concerned written out and numbered serially, for facility of quotation in the course of the discussion.

(*Group A*): References to Bâdarâyaṇa in the Vedânta Sûtras:

I, 3, 26 तदुपर्यपि बादरायणः सम्भवात् । (1)
3, 33 भावं तु बादरायणोऽस्ति हि । (2)
III, 2, 41 पूर्वं तु बादरायणो हेतुव्यपदेशात् । (3)
4, 1 पुरुषार्थोऽतः शब्दादिति बादरायणः । (4)
4, 8 अधिकोपदेशात्तु बादरायणस्यैवं तद्दर्शनात् । (5)
4, 19 अनुष्ठेयं बादरायणः साम्यश्रुतेः । (6)
IV, 3, 15 अप्रतीकालम्बनान्नयतीति बादरायण उभयथाऽदोषात्तत्क्रतुश्च । (7)
4, 7 एवमप्युपन्यासात्पूर्वभावादविरोधं बादरायणः । (8)
4, 12 द्वादशाहवदुभयविधं बादरायणोऽतः । (9)

(*Group B*): References to Jaimini in the Vedânta Sûtras:

I, 2, 28 साक्षादप्यविरोधं जैमिनिः । (10)
2, 31 संपत्तेरिति जैमिनिस्तथा हि दर्शयति । (11)
3, 31 मध्वादिष्वसंभवादनधिकारं जैमिनिः । (12)
4, 18 अन्यार्थं तु जैमिनिः प्रश्नव्याख्यानाभ्यामपि चैवमेके । (13)
III, 2, 40 धर्मं जैमिनिरत एव । (14)
4, 2 शेषत्वात्पुरुषार्थवादो यथान्येष्विति जैमिनिः । (15)
4, 18 परामर्शं जैमिनिरचोदना चापवदति हि । (16)
4, 40 तद्भूतस्य तु नातद्भावः जैमिनेरपि नियमा(त्त)द्रूपाभावेभ्यः । (17)
IV, 3, 12 परं जैमिनिर्मुख्यत्वात् । (18)
4, 5 ब्राह्मेण जैमिनिरुपन्यासादिभ्यः । (19)
4, 11 भावं जैमिनिर्विकल्पामननात् । (20)

(*Group C*): References to Bâdarâyaṇa in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras :

I, 1, 5	औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धस्तस्य ज्ञानमुपदेशोऽव्यतिरेकश्चार्थेऽनुपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात् ।	(21)
V, 2, 19	अन्ते तु बादरायणस्तेषां प्रधानशब्दत्वात् ।	(22)
VI, 1, 8	जातिं तु बादरायणोऽविशेषात् तस्मात्स्त्र्यपि प्रतीयेत जात्यर्थस्याविशिष्टत्वात् ।	(23)
X, 8, 44	विधिं तु बादरायणः ।	(24)
XI, 1, 63	विधिवत्प्रकरणाविभागे प्रयोगं बादरायणः ।	(25)

(*Group D*): References to Jaimini in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras :

III, 1, 4	कर्माण्यपि जैमिनिः फलार्थत्वात् ।	(26)
VI, 3, 4	कर्मभेदं तु जैमिनिः प्रयोगवचनैकत्वात् सर्वेषामुपदेशस्यादिति ।	(27)
VIII, 3, 7	तदावृत्तिं तु जैमिनिरह्नामप्रत्यक्षसङ्ख्यत्वात् ।	(28)
IX, 2, 39	अधिकं च विवर्णं च जैमिनिः स्तोभशब्दत्वात् ।	(29)
XII, 1, 8	जैमिनेः परतन्त्रत्वापत्तेः स्वतन्त्रः प्रतिषेधस्स्यात् ।	(30)

Of these four groups, the first, concerning references to Bâdarâyaṇa in the Vedânta Sûtras calls, for the least comment. They are all cases in which the author is undoubtedly referring to himself in the third person and have been set out principally for the sake of completeness of the argument. But all the other groups require careful discussion, for, as will be seen presently, they cause a number of difficulties, without a correct appreciation of which it is not possible to settle the question of the relation between the authors of the two sets of Sûtras under discussion. Each case will be treated separately, the results of the discussion summed up when each group has been traversed, and the general conclusion on the question stated at the end of this pretty tedious but necessary examination of all the individual cases to be discussed.

(10) and (11) Both these Sûtras, in which Jaimini is referred to, form part of a rather lengthy discussion of a text from the Chhândogya Upanishad. The discussion is whether the word *Vaisvânara* in the context denotes the Vedantic Absolute or not. And Jaimini is quoted as agreeing with Bâdarâyaṇa There is, and in fact can be, no such discussion in the Mîmâṁsâ Darśana.

(12) Here Jaimini is said to rule out the prerogative of the gods in *Madhu Vidyâ* and other Upâsanâs. It is however doubtful if the discussion here is purely on Upanishad texts or not. Śaṅkara makes it a discussion of a general Mîmâṁsâ position, especially in his comment on the next Sûtra ज्योतिषि भावाच्च which is interpreted differently from him by both Śrîkaṇṭa and Râmânuja. It would appear that the latter is the more natural interpretation of the Sûtra of Bâdarâyaṇa, especially as an earlier Sûtra विरोधः कर्मणीति—etc. in the same section may be taken to have disposed of the general Mîmâṁsâ position on the whole matter. However that may be, we have only to notice that if Śrîkaṇṭa and Râmânuja are correct, the discussion is purely Upanishadic and has nothing corresponding to it in the Mîmâṁsâ Darśana. If, on the other hand, we follow Śaṅkara's lead, even then, the Mimamsist position that is stated by him is only inferred from the system as a whole and does not correspond to any particular section or Sûtra of the Mîmâṁsa Darśana. And in either case Jaimini is holding a position against Bâdarâyaṇa.

(13) Jaimini is in this place in agreement with Bâdarâyaṇa on a discussion of a Vedantic character having no place in the Mîmâṁsâ system.

(14) and (15) go respectively with (3) and (4), and in either case Jaimini is the opponent against whom Bâdarâyaṇa argues. It must be noticed that these are the vital points of difference between Vedânta and Mîmâṁsâ, the former accepting the existence of a Deity who grades rewards and punishments according to merit and the attainments of bliss by knowledge (*moksha*) as the highest end of human endeavour, the latter denying both. No. (14) finds a parallel in *Jaimini* X, 1, 6 ff. while No. (15) is a natural inference from the general position of Jaimini as I have shown in my paper on "THE MIMAMSA DOCTRINE OF WORKS" (about to be published in the *I. A.*).

(16) This again seems to be a natural inference from the general position of the Mimamsist, in whose eyes Vidhis are more important than Arthavâdas. The text regarding the fourth Âśrama must be considered an Arthavâda by the Mimamsist, as it directly contradicts the Vidhi regarding Agnihotra which is यावज्जीवश्रुतिचोदित *i.e.*, enjoined by the Veda for all life-time. See *Jaimini*, II, 4, 1 ff.

(17) This is an instance to which rather great interest attaches on account of the *api* in the Sûtra. In No (16) Jaimini is shown to be of a different view regarding the fourth Âśrama, *i.e.*, Jaimini holds that it is not enjoined as part of duty while Bâdarâyaṇa holds that it is. Now the question is whether one who has chosen the fourth Âśrama may revert to an earlier one for any reason. Bâdarâyaṇa holds that this could not be done and takes care to add that, even according to Jaimini, this is so. That is to say, Jaimini does not, as it is, recognise the fourth Âśrama, but if he did, he would not permit a reversion to an earlier one. And Śaṅkara's comment makes it clear that what we have here is an inference from the general Mîmâṁsa position regarding Dharma.

(18) and (19) are instances of Jaimini being of an opposite view to that of Bâdarâyaṇa on points of Vedantic interest and consequently have no parallels direct or remote in the Mimâṁsâ Darśana.

(20) is another such Vedantic point on which Bâdarâyaṇa allows that Jaimini as well as another writer may both be accepted as correct.

To sum up, (10), (11), (13), (18), (19) and (20) are cases in which Jaimini and Bâdarâya a agree or differ on points of undoubtedly Vedantic character. No. (12) is doubtful, as the commentators on the Sûtra differ. (14), (15), (16) and (17) are undoubtedly points of opposition between the Mimamsist and Vedantist positions—(14) and (15) on questions of Theism and Moksha, (16) on Vedic exegesis, and great interest attaches to (17), as Jaimini is referred to there in a manner that shows clearly that Bâdarâyaṇa had great respect for Jaimini and cared a good deal for any support his views might derive from the Mimamsist. It is thus clear that the author of the Mimâṁsâ Darśana—and no other—is referred to in our instances (14), (15), (16) and (17). It may also be pointed out that Vedânta Sûtra विरोधः कर्मणीति etc. (1, 3, 27) furnishes another instance where Bâdarâyaṇa takes special care to show that his positions do not militate against the general position of the Mîmâṁsâ system. This and No. (17) above go, at least so it seems to me, to show that the founder of the Mîmâṁsâ system commands such respect in the eyes of the author of the Vedânta Sûtras as only an old teacher whose system had become an accepted creed for a long time could do, and that the former could not have been the contemporary, much less the pupil, of the latter. It will be shown in the sequel that the Bâdarâyaṇa referred to in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras could not possibly be the author of the Vedânta Sûtras. It may be stated here that nowhere in the Sûtras of the Mîmâṁsâ system do we see any anxiety on the part of its author to make a compromise with the Vedânta; it has been shown that, on the other hand, the Vedânta Sûtrakâra is anxious not to contradict the general Mimamsist position, except so far as is

absolutely necessary in order to maintain the Vedantic positions regarding Îśvara and Moksha. As regards (10), (11), (13), (18), (19) and (20), it is clear that the Jaimini referred to here was a Vedantist. At any rate, there is nothing in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras that even remotely bears on the views here ascribed to Jaimini. There are two alternatives. The simpler is to assume that the Jaimini referred to here is another writer, different from the great Mimamsist. In fact, there would be no other alternative except for the reason that there are other writers referred to alike in the Mîmâṁsâ and Vedânta Sûtras, Bâdari being the most famous of them, judging from the number of times he is mentioned, and Kârshṇâjini and Âttreya furnishing other instances[5]. If in all these instances the same name is to be taken to represent the same individual, we have to conclude that each of these writers was both a Mimamsist and a Vedantist. We *have* instances of such authors in later times. But it is more than doubtful if the same may be postulated of the periods when these systems were in the making. It will be shown later on that there was a lesser celebrity also of the name of Jaimini, referred to by the author of the Mîmâṁsâ Darśana. It seems to me that these names Jaimini, Bâdari, Bâdarâyaṇa, etc., are to be understood as Gotra names and that the same name must be taken to refer, if necessary, to different individuals. If this is correct, Jaimini the Vedantist is different from Jaimini the great Mimamsist, and the Jaimini referred to in No. (12) above is either the Vedantist or the Mimamsist, according as we follow Śrîkaṇṭa and Râmânuja on the one hand, or Śaṅkara on the other in interpreting the Sûtra ज्योतिषि भावाच ।

We may now take up GROUP C for discussion. There are five references to a Bâdarâyaṇa in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras. These are Nos. (21) to (25) given above. Of these, No. (22) is part of a discussion of the order of Homas in Nakshatra Ishṭi; No. 23 is part of a discussion as to whether men alone or women also may sacrifice; No. (24) is a discussion as to whether a particular statement in the Darśapûrṇamâsa-prakaraṇa is a Vidhi or not; and No. (25) is a discussion regarding a single performance of a religious act for securing two different ends. In all, except No. (24), Bâdarâyaṇa agrees with Jaimini. It is clear that there is nothing corresponding to these discussions or even remotely bearing on them in the Vedânta Sûtras. No. (21) is a case that requires a little more consideration; for here Jaimini claims that Bâdarâyaṇa and himself are at one on the question of the Eternity and Infallibility of the WORD. It might therefore appear at first sight that at least the Bâdarâyaṇa referred to here must be the same as the author of the Vedânta Sûtras, who also maintains the Eternity and Infallibility of the Veda. But closer scrutiny shows that here again we are dealing with one of the most vital points of difference between Mîmâṁsâ and Vedânta. In the view of the former, the Veda's Eternity is innate and absolute, and not dependent on any god or deity, personal or otherwise; the Vedantist view is that the Eternity of Veda is only a relative quality and dependent upon Îśvara. Hence we find that the reason assigned by the Mimamsist for his position is अनपेक्षत्वात् while the reasons assigned by Bâdarâyaṇa in Vedânta Sûtra I, 3, 28, are अतः प्रभवात्प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम्, and it is to be particularly noticed that Śaṅkara repeats parts of the Sûtra of Jaimini, No. (21) above, औत्पत्तिकस्तु etc., in the Pûrvapaksha. In his comment on the Vedânta Sûtra just referred to, Śaṅkara must surely have noticed that a Bâdarâyaṇa is referred to as taking Jaimini's view in the औत्पत्तिक Sûtra, and if he believed for a moment that it was his own Sûtrakâra that was so mentioned, it is not in the least likely that he would have treated the very Sûtra of Jaimini as the Pûrvapaksha view to be refuted by him. On

[5] See Tabular Appendix at the end.

the contrary, we should find Śaṅkara attempting somehow a reconciliation between the contrary of Bâdarâyaṇa, the one mentioned by Jaimini and the other stated in the Vedânta Sûtra. To my mind, this fact, taken along with the other, that in the remaining four instances where Bâdarâyaṇa is referred to by Jaimini there is nothing to suggest an identity with the author of the Vedânta Sûtras, is conclusive proof that the Bâdarâyaṇa referred to by Jaimini is anterior to him, and is a Mimamsist different from the author of the Vedânta Sûtras.

Passing on to GROUP D [(26) to (30)] consisting of references to Jaimini in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras, we have only to notice that all of them, except No. (27), undoubtedly refer to the author of the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras, while No. (27) must be taken to be a less known predecessor of the same name as the Sûtrakâra, because he happens to hold the Pûrvapaksha view against which the Siddhânta is propounded. It is clear that Śabarasvâmi understood the matter like this. This lesser Jaimini is named only once in the Sûtra, while Śabara names him twice in his commentary, on VI, 3, 1 and on VI, 3, 4, and on both occasions he refers to him simply as Jaimini, omitting the honorific Âchârya which he generally uses when he mentions by name either the Sûtrakâra or his predecessors like Bâdari. The discreet omission of the title Âchârya could only mean that Śabara distinguished the two Jaiminis, reserving the 'Âchârya' title only for his Sûtrakâra.

The conclusions emerging from the foregoing discussion may now be stated to be the following :

(1) Bâdarâyaṇa refers to Jaimini, the author of the Mîmâṁsâ Darśana, in a manner that leads us to infer that the latter was an old Âchârya of established repute and that he was not a pupil of Bâdarâyaṇa, as Indian tradition of a late origin would have us believe ;

(2) Bâdarâyaṇa also refers to a Jaimini who seems to be have been a Vedantist different from the Mimamsist Jaimini ;

(3) Jaimini refers to a Bâdarâyaṇa, but he is not the author of the Vedânta Sûtras ;

(4) Jaimini refers to another Jaimini, besides himself, who appears to have been a Mimamsist ; and lastly,

(5) There were probably at least two Bâdarâyaṇas and three Jaiminis.

It must be observed that the last conclusion does not contain such a hopeless case as might at first sight appear. We know that there were at least more than one Vasishṭha[6] and more than one Vyâsa—if Vyâsa himself is not altogether fabulous. It has been suggested above that in all these cases we are perhaps dealing with Gotra-names that were borne by men of different generations in the same *gens*. The explanation of the late Indian tradition now becomes an easy affair. It is simply the result of a chaos due to this recurrence of the same names in different connections. It may be noted here that the Kûrmapurâṇa, probably a later production than the Bhâgavatam, mentions (Ch. 52) no less than 25 incarnations of Vyâsa in the current Manvantara and repeats the story of Jaimini receiving the Sâma Veda from the last of these Vyâsas[7]. Again, there has always been some confusion between Bâdarâyaṇa the author of the Vedânta Sûtras, and Vyâsa, arranger of the Vedas and

[6] See Pargiter on *Viśvâmitra, Vasishṭha, etc.* in the *JRAS.*, January, 1917.

[7] *Vide* Note 2. A Jaimini was also a Ritvik at Janamejaya's Snake Sacrifice. Again, a Jaimini is a Yogin, *Raghuvamsa*, XVIII-33, cf. *Vish. P.*, 4. 4. and Wilson thereon, also *Bhâg.* IX, 12, 3. Surely we are dealing with more Jaiminis than one in the Jaimini cycle of legends.

author of the Mahâbhârata and the Purâṇas, according to tradition ; and Srîkaṇṭha actually refers to the Vedânta Sûtrakâra as Vyâsa, while Ânandatîrtha in the opening of his commentary identifies Veda Vyâsa with his author and quotes the Skandapurâṇa in support. Śaṅkara however observes a distinction between Bâdarâyaṇa and Veda Vyâsa, as he calls the author of the Mahâbhârata[8]. *Undoubtedly the oldest* evidence that I have been able to lay my hands on reverses the order of the Vidyâvaṁśa, and while it agrees with and perhaps furnishes the basis of the Bhâgavata text quoted in the beginning of this paper, and similar, though earlier, Puranic accounts making Jaimini the pupil of Vyâsa, the son o Parâśara and Satyavatî, it makes a Bâdarâyana the pupil of Jaimini in the third generation. This evidence is in the text of the Sâma Vidhâna Brâhmaṇa at its close. It runs thus :

"सोऽयं प्राजापत्यो विधिस्तमिमं प्रजापतिर्बृहस्पतये प्रोवाच
बृहस्पतिर्नारदाय नारदो विष्वक्सेनाय विष्वक्सेनो
व्यासाय पाराशर्याय व्यासः पाराशर्यो जैमिनये
जैमिनिः पौष्पिण्ड्याय पाराशर्यायणाय
पाराशर्यायणो बादरायणाय " etc.

Burnell was inclined to fix the date of this Brâhmaṇa with the greatest latitude some where between the 5th century B. C. and the 7th century A. D. But for various reasons it is probable that the real date of the work is nearer the first than the second of these dates, At any rate, this is the oldest text on the question, and it is clear that while it makes Jaimini the pupil of Vyâsa, the son of Parâśara, it makes him (Vyâsa) different from Bâdarâyaṇa and places Bâdarâyaṇa in the third generation from Jaimini. And the matter must rest there for the present.

In conclusion, I must point out that I have argued the whole question on the assumption that the Mîmâṁsâ and Vedânta Sûtras are the productions of single authors and not reductions of the teachings of the schools concerned, and I have attemped to show that on this assumption there is nothing to prove that Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa were contemporaries but that the evidence goes to show that Jaimini must have preceded Bâdarâyaṇa, though it is not possible for me to say by what length of time. If the evidence of the Sâma Vidhâna Brâhmaṇa means anything, it must be about a century, not more. In any case, the absolute date of Jaimini requires much further investigation. It may however be noticed that there is a Jaimini of well-known fame in the late Vedic period, in whose name we have a Jaiminîya recension of the Sâma Veda and a Jaiminîya Brâhmaṇa, while the earliest reference to Bâdarâyaṇa seems to be that in the Sâma Vidhâna Brâhmaṇa text quoted above[9]. It is just a possibility—for it cannot be stated as anything more at present—that this famous Jaimini was the Sûtrakâra of the Mîmâṁsâ system and the pupil of Vyâsa, and the tradition of his being the disciple of the Vedanta Sûtrakâra which gained currency in the middle ages was surely due to a confusion between the latter and the great Vedavyâsa[10].

8 See for example his commentary on I, 3, 29—वेदव्यासश्च एवमेव स्मरति ।

9 See Macdonnel's *Vedic Index* under "Jaimini "and "Bâdarâyaṇa."

10 Wilson in one place (see his *Vishṇu Purâṇa Index,* "Bâdarâyaṇa") identifies Bâdarâyaṇa and Vyâsa, the son of Parâśara, but mentions no authority

TABULAR APPENDIX OF PROPER NAMES MENTIONED IN THE VEDANTA AND MIMAMSA SUTRAS :

Serial No.	Name.	Vedanta Sutra.	Mimamsa Sutra.
1.	Jaimini	I, 2, 28	III, 1, 4
		2, 31	VI, 3, 4
		3, 31	VIII, 3, 7
		4, 18	IX, 2, 39
		III, 2, 40	XII, 1, 8
		4, 2	....
		4, 18	....
		4, 40	....
		IV, 3, 12	....
		4, 5	....
		4, 11	....
2.	Bâdarâyaṇa	I, 3, 26	I, 1, 5
		3, 33	V, 2, 19
		III, 2, 41	VI, 1, 8
		4, 1	X, 8, 44
		4, 8	XI, 1, 63
		4, 19	....
		IV, 3, 15	....
		4, 7	....
		4, 12	....
3.	Bâdari	I, 2, 30	III, 1, 3
		III, 1, 11	VI, 1, 27
		IV, 3, 7	VIII, 3, 6
		4, 10	IX, 2, 33
4.	Âśmarathya	I, 2, 29	VI, 5, 16
		4, 20	....
5.	Âttreya	III, 4, 44	IV, 3, 18
		....	V, 2, 18
		....	VI, 1, 26
6.	Kârshnâjini	III, 1, 9	IV, 3, 17
			VI, 7, 35
7.	Audulômi	I, 4, 21	....
		III, 4, 45	....
		IV, 4, 6	....
8.	Kâśakritsna	I, 4, 22	....
9.	Aitiśâyana	....	III, 2, 43
		....	4, 24
		....	VI, 1, 6
10.	Lâvukâyana	....	VI, 7, 37
11.	Kâmukâyana	....	XI, 1, 56
		....	1, 61

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE NIRUKTA.

In the original text, the sentence इन्द्रियनित्यं ....दुम्बरायणः N. I. 1. forms a part of the first section, and is immediately followed by the second. It introduces a controversy, *i.e.* whether words are permanent or impermanent,—a controversy, which in its character, differs altogether from the subject-matter of the first section. To begin the second section with this sentence would have been therefore a more logical division of the sections, and more in harmony with the modern conception of what constitutes a paragraph. That a section of the *Nirukta* more or less corresponds to a paragraph is indicated by the evidence of older MSS. which place the full stop, *i.e. daṇḍa*, at the end of, and never within the section itself, excepting the commencement and the conclusion of a quotation. This is further supported by the fact, that in most cases, one section is devoted to the explanation of one Vedic stanza only. Hence it is argued that the division of the text of the *Nirukta* into sections, as constituted at present, is illogical and arbitrary. It is therefore proposed[1] to discard, in this respect, the authority of the MSS., which has been hitherto strictly followed, and 'to make sections according to the most natural division.'[2] 'Faithfulness' says Gune, 'is indeed a merit, but it should not be overdone, at least not where reason says otherwise.'[3] The suggestion is rather a bold one and, I think, contrary to the canons of the modern editorship. The suggested improvements can very well be shown in footnotes; but the wisdom of re-arranging the text itself in opposition to the evidence of the MSS. is doubtful. Besides, there are practical difficulties in accepting this suggestion. Re-division of sections would involve the transference of a considerable number of passages to new sections, and would thereby reduce the utility of various books of reference, as far as those passages are concerned. Further, if the sections of the *Nirukta* do not harmonise with the modern conception of what constitutes a paragraph, does it necessarily follow that they are illogical? Is this, by itself, a conclusive proof of their arbitrary character? To my mind, the answer is in the negative, for the Ancients may have had a different conception of the constitution of a paragraph. As far as our author is concerned, a careful examination of all the sections of the *Nirukta* indicates that Yāska proceeds methodically in his division of the text into sections, which division is based on a general principle. This may be called the stanza-principle. By the time of Yāska very great weight was attached to the Vedas, especially by that scholar himself as is evident from Chapter I, particularly from his rejoinder to the adverse criticism of Kautsa. To him, a Vedic stanza was of the utmost importance, and accordingly formed a very suitable beginning for a new section. There are 400 sections altogether in the first 12 chapters of the *Nirukta*, distributed among those chapters as follows:

Chap.	Sec.	Chap.	Sec.	Chap.	Sec.
I.	20.	V.	28.	IX.	43.
II.	28.	VI.	36.	X.	47.
III.	22.	VII.	31.	XI	50.
IV.	27.	VIII.	22.	XII.	46.

329 sections out of the total 400 begin with a Vedic stanza. The sections which do not so begin, and which in many cases could not so begin, as for instance those in the introductory remarks and discussions of the 1st, and the 7th chapters, are shown in the following list:

Chapter I. 1, 2*, 3*, 4, 5*, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.
,, II. 1, 2*, 3*, 4, 5, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 23.
,, III. 1, 7, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21.
,, IV. 1, 17, 22.
,, V. 4, 6, 13, 20.
,, VI. 5, 17, 23.
,, VII. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7*, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13*, 14, 19, 21.
,, VIII. 1, 4, 16.
,, IX. 1, 11*, 22, 35.
,, X. 1, 14, 25, 38.
,, XI. 1, 13, 22, 35.
,, XII. 1, 12, 20, 35.

The total number of these sections is 71, of which eight only, marked with an asterisk, can be regarded as arbitrarily divided, when judged by the modern conception. One explanation of this arbitrary division is the following. In beginning a section with a Vedic stanza or verse, it became necessary to place its short introductory note at the end of the previous section, *e.g. Athāpi Prathamā bahuvacane*.[4] It appears that this method of putting a short sentence

1 *Cf.* Gune, *ante*, Vol. XLV, p. 157. 2 *loc. cit.* 3 *loc. cit.*

4 N. I. 15. The reference in I.A. *loc. cit.* of this passage to p. 43 in Roth's edition is wrong; 43 being a misprint in Roth for 34.

of a section at the end of a previous section—which was a necessity in the case of sections beginning with Vedic stanzas—has been mechanically extended to the eight sections mentioned above. From what has gone before, it will be clear that the sections in the *Nirukta*, except the eight marked with an asterisk, are not illogically nor arbitrarily divided, but are based on a general principle adopted by Yāska. Gune's suggestion to re-arrange the sections and to discard the authority of the MSS. is therefore unacceptable.

The sentence तद्यत्र स्वर . . . . . पुरुषो हस्तीति N. I. 12, which is somewhat difficult, is differently interpreted by various writers. The crux lies in the word *saṃ-vijñātāni*. Durga paraphrases this word as follows: *samaṃ vijñātāni aika-mat yena vijñātāni* 'discriminated unanimously, *i. e.* discriminated with absolute agreement.' Max Müller[5] translates it by 'intelligible,' Roth by 'arbitrarily named.'[6] Roth's translation seems to be based on Durga's second explanation of the same term, which is as follows: *saṃ-vijñāna-padam-ittha śâstre rûḍhi-śabdasyeyaṃ sañjñā.*

"In this (branch of) knowledge, the term *saṃ-vijñâna* is a technical expression used for a conventional word." Durga resorts to the Comparative Method and quotes: *tânyapyeke samâmananti . . . . saṃ-vijñâna-bhûtaṃ syât,*[7] in support of his explanation. He is further corroborated by a comparison of all the passages of the *Nirukta*, in which the word *saṃ-vijñâna*, or (with the omission of the prep. *vi*) *saṃ-jñâna* occurs.[8] We may therefore take the word to signify 'a conventional term.'

The next problem in the sentence is the punctuation. Max Müller[9] takes *saṁ-vijñâtâni tâni* etc. as the principal clause to complete the relative clause *tadyatra . . . syâtâm* and translates as follows: "For first, if the accent and formation were regular in all nouns and agreed entirely with the appellative power (of the root), nouns such as *go* (cow), *aśva* (horse), *puruṣa* (man) would be in themselves intelligible." He succeeds in thus construing the sentence by translating *yatra* by 'if', leaving out *tâni*, and by attributing to *saṃ-vijñâtâni* a meaning not borne out by the comparison of passages. Roth divides the sentence by placing a semicolon after *syâtâm* and takes *saṃ-vijñâtâni* etc. as a co-ordinate clause; but in order to connect the two clauses, he supplies the word *dagegen*. Durga offers two interpretations. Firstly, he places a full-stop after *tâni* and takes the words *yathâ gauraśva* etc. as a co-ordinate clause, supplying however the words ***na punaḥ***; the translation of the sentence according to this interpretation would be the following: "The words whose accent and grammatical formation are regular and which are accompanied with an explanatory radical element are unanimously recognised to have been derived from the roots; but not words like 'cow', 'horse', 'man', 'elephant' etc."

Secondly, he places a full stop after *syâtâm* and takes *saṃ-vijñâtâni tâni* etc. as an independent sentence. According to this division, the first sentence would consist of one single relative clause, without any principal clause. To meet this difficulty he remarks: *tadâkhyâta-jaṃ guṇakṛtamiti pratîma iti vâkya-śeṣa.* "We think that the words, 'that is derived from a verb' must be supplied as a supplementary clause." The translation according to this interpretation is the following: "*Those words*, whose accent and grammatical formation are regular and which are accompanied with an explanatory radical element, *are derived from roots.* Words like 'cow', 'horse', 'man', 'elephant' are conventional terms."

Gune does not seem to be aware of this second interpretation of Durga and independently arrives at a conclusion,[10] identical with that of Durga, and suggests the adoption of the supplementary words: *sarvaṃ tat-prâdeśikam*[11]. These words occur in Yâska's rejoinder in Section 14. His argument is that, in his rejoinder, Yâska always first repeats the words of his opponent and then answers the objection. According to Gune, the sentence placed within the words *yatho etat* and *iti* exactly represents the original statement of the critic. The sentence placed within these words in Yâska's rejoinder in Section 14 contains the supplementary clause *sarvaṃ tat-prâdeśikam*, which, being thus assigned to the critic by Yâska himself, must have formed a part of the sentence under discussion. He remarks, "And we are also sure, comparing the initial passage [*i.e.* in the ***Pûrva-pakṣa***] with its counterpart in Yâska's reply at R. 36. 10, that सर्वं तत् प्रादेशिकम् must have been there. Its omission is strange and unaccountable. Perhaps it is the Scribe's mistake . . . "[12] In other words, Gune thinks that the passage in Yâska's rejoinder could be used as MS. (archetype), furnishing evidence which cannot be challenged,

[5] *History of Ancient Skt. Lit.*, p. 165.

[6] *Erläuterungen*, p. 9 'willkürlich benannt.'

[7] N. 7. 13.

[8] *Cf.* Gune's note, *ante*, Vol. XLV, p. 173.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

[10] I.A. *loc. cit.*

[11] N. 1. 14.

[12] I.A., Vol. XLV, pp. 173-174.

for the critical edition of the original passage of the critic in Sec. 12. A closer examination however does not support this theory, for a comparison of the statements of the critic with those, assigned to him by Yàska, in his rejoinder, shows that Yâska repeats, and puts within *yatho etat* and *iti*, only so many words of his opponent as are necessary for the controversy. He does not repeat them in toto. It is evident, if one compares[8] Sec. 13 and Sec. 14.

Pûrvapakṣa.	*Yâska's rejoinder.*
1-13. अथापि य एषां न्यायवान्कार्मनामिकः संस्कारो यथा चापि प्रतीतार्थानि स्युस्तथैनान्याचक्षीरन्.	1-14. यथो एतद्यथा चापि प्रतीतार्थानि स्युस्तथैनान्याचक्षीरन्निति ...
अथानन्वितेऽर्थेऽप्रादेशिके विकारे पदेभ्यः पदेतरार्धान्त्संचस्कार शाकटायनः ।	यथो एतत्पदेभ्यः पदेतरार्धान्संचस्कारेति. ...

In both these cases, Yàska repeats only a part of his opponent's statements. Gune's assertion is therefore unfounded, hence his suggestion as regards the adoption of a supplementary clause cannot be accepted.

The sentence can however be explained without having recourse to an assumed interpolation. The difficulty will disappear, if a full stop be placed after *syâtâm* and the passage : *na sarvâṇîti* . . . . *syâtâm* be construed as one sentence. I would then translate : 'Not all the words', say Gārgya and some other grammarians, "but only those, the accent and grammatical form of which is regular and which are accompanied by an explanatory radical element. Those such as 'cow,' 'horse,' 'man', 'elephant' etc. are conventional terms."

Durga has the following theory about nouns : "There is a threefold order of nouns ; *i.e.* (1) those whose roots are apparent ; (2) those whose roots can be inferred ; (3) and those whose roots are non-existent. With reference to this, the nouns whose roots are apparent are such as 'doer', 'bringer' etc. Nouns whose roots can be inferred are such as 'cow', 'horse', etc. Nouns whose roots are non-existent are such as *ḍittha*, *ḍavittha* *aravinda* and *vârviṇḍa* etc."

It is quite evident that Yàska, a follower of the school of etymologists,—whose fundamental doctrine is that all nouns are derived from roots—could not have recognised the third category of his commentator, who thus appears to be a follower of the School of *Gârgya*.

LAKSHMANA SARUP.

BOOK-NOTICES.

DUPLEIX AND CLIVE, THE BEGINNING OF EMPIRE, BY HENRY DODWELL. pp. xix and 277, with bibliography and index. London, 1920.

The period of these two great pioneers of modern Imperial Government in India must always have a fascination for the student of history, and there must be always be also a thirst for any details that will show the tremendous issues of the time in their true bearings and tell us what manner of men they really were that faced them. The time is not even yet perhaps when a true judgment can be formed and in the process of procuring and sifting the evidence available, many *obiter dicta* are bound to occur that may prove to be ill founded and many a reasoned judgment even may in the end have to be reversed. Any book therefore, such as this, that unearths original sources of information is welcome, and any writer like Mr. Dodwell, who uses his opportunities of getting at the true facts—in his case, as Curator of the Madras Record Office, able to secure the co-operation of those in charge of the Records at Calcutta and at the India Office—is to be encouraged, however imperfect his judgments may eventually prove to be.

The book is a well of detailed information, and contains many arresting comments on men and events, based on the evidence collected, and puts straight many erroneous ideas hitherto accepted as true. Perhaps one of the most remarkable is the judgment on Dupleix's career (p. 83) :—"The facts thus indicate that Dupleix was not the victim of neglect, that Godeheu was not the betrayer of French interests in India, but rather that both Companies were exhausted by the struggle in which they had been engaged, and both urgently felt the need of a breathing-space in which to recover themselves. It is noteworthy that when the war in the Carnatic was renewed, it was renewed with all the advantage of the English of the superior sea-power which in the period we have been considering had been inoperative, and then was conducted mainly by Royal troops and Royal officers—in part because the Companies were unable to continue such a struggle unaided, in part because its objects had become evidently of national importance." Notable words these, if one takes into consideration what is, one may call, the accepted view.

Not less remarkable is the statement (p. 84) as to Bussy's career—a man whom I have always looked on (erroneously perhaps—who knows?) as a greater forerunner of modern administration than Dupleix:—"It has been a commonplace of historians that in conquering India the English but adopted the methods of the French, applying them in more fortunate circumstances. There is much truth in this—so much that Bussy's career in the Deccan offers numerous parallels with Clive's career in Bengal. Alike in the advantage which these two men enjoyed, in the difficulties which they had to encounter, and in the policy which they adopted, we find a marked similarity, which arose naturally enough out of situations at bottom identical, and characters with much in common in spite of superficial differences."

On p. 113 is another judgment on Dupleix worth extracting:—"It appears then that a considerable proportion of the French Company's funds were absorbed by Dupleix; and that he succeeded no better than did the English then or later in making war in the Carnatic pay for itself. Like the Deccan, it was too poor. Dupleix's schemes and policy demanded a wealthier province than either the Carnatic or the Deccan for their realisation."

Clive's political policy calls forth the following very pertinent remark:—"In few great revolutions have circumstances more completely overruled and directed the wills of the actors. Neither Clive nor a single man who sailed with him from Madras in 1756 dreamed of the destiny to which fortune was impelling them." Of such are often the greatest names in history: "time and chance happeneth to them all."

Mr. Dodwell's political criticism does not however blind him to Clive's overwhelming merits as an administrator (p. 272):—"His second government may indeed be claimed as a miracle of insight, vigour, prudence and honesty. Who else of his generation could have done as much in something over eighteen months? How many of those who at Westminster daily prostituted public interests would have thought his salutary reforms possible or desirable at the certain cost of opprobrious clamour? If in his earlier career Clive often enough acted like the majority of his contemporaries, in his second government he rose far above the political and moral standards of his age. Of those who have encountered similar extremes of praise and blame, few have better merited the first and less deserved the second, few have rendered more enduring and meritorious service to their country."

One could go on quoting from this remarkable book with increasing light on the greatest period of the earlier history of the British in India, but I have I think given enough of it to show that none who would know the story of British endeavours in the latter half of the eighteenth century can afford to leave it out of their purview.

R. C. TEMPLE.

IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON MOSLEM LITERATURE, Part I. Translated from the Russian of M. Inostranzev with supplementary Appendices from Arabic sources. By G. K. Nariman Bombay: 1918.

This remarkable book is noteworthy from two points of view. Firstly, it is a translation from the Russian and it contains the results of original research by a Parsi scholar. Secondly, the value of the whole to Parsis can be gauged by the opening statement of the translator's preface:—

"The facile notion is still prevalent, even among Musalmans of learning, that the past of Iran is beyond recall, that the period of its history preceding the extinction of the House of Sasan cannot be adequately investigated, and that the still anterior dynasties which ruled vaster areas have left no traces in stone or parchment in sufficient quantity for a tolerable record reflecting the story of Iran from the Iranian's standpoint. This fallacy is particularly hugged by the Parsis, to whom it was originally lent by fanaticism to indolent ignorance. It has been credited with uncritical alacrity, congenial to self-complacency, that the Arabs so utterly and ruthlessly annihilated the civilization of Iran in its mental and material aspects that no source whatever is left from which to wring reliable information about Zoroastrian Iran. The following limited pages are devoted to a disproof of this age-long error."

One has only to consider how complete is the information about the ancient Persians and their religion and how much the Parsis of India are the living representatives of both race and creed, to wonder at the existence of such an attitude as that described by one of themselves. The legendary and dated history of Persia goes back as far as that of India, and indeed further, and we have there a picture set before us of the Assyrian suzerainty of the Medes of North-West Persia from the 9th to the 7th Century B.C. and then of the short-lived Median Empire, eventually overthrown by the all-important imperial rule of pure Persians themselves under the Achæmenian Cyrus and his great successors in the 6th Century. This in turn gave way to the Greek domination of Alexander

and his Macedonians in the 4th century, continued by the Greek Seleucids till the 1st century B.C., when it gave way to the Arsacid Empire of the Parthians—Persiores ipsos Persos. The Parthians fell in the 1st century A.D. before the second great Imperial sway of the Persians themselves under the Sasanians, to fall at last under Muhammadan rule in the 7th century. The mere enumeration of these all-powerful Dynasties of the ancient world, practically all of whom followed the teachings of Zoroaster in some form or other and spread them far over civilised Europe and Asia, is enough to show how great is the historical inheritance of the Parsis and how proud they should be of it. Mr. Nariman has done well to bring it so forcibly before his own people and co-religionists.

The record of this mighty ruling race of ancients is no myth. It has come down to us through Greek and Roman writers with a detail and an accuracy that have no counterpart in India. And as to literature, neither the reforms which sprang up within Zoroastrianism itself, nor Islam, were able to suppress the immense amount of sacred and profane story that was even then in existence. Indeed, the skilful blend of ancient Persian and Islamic story in Firdusi's *Shahnama* (10th century A.D.) preserved rather than destroyed. In the realm of religious thought Persian influence was enormous. The ancient pantheism of the Persians was positive, "affirming the world and life, taking joy in them, and seeking its ideal in common with a creative God," in contradistinction to the ancient Indian pantheism, which was negative, "denying world and life and descrying its ideal in the cessation of existence." This fundamental difference runs through all Persian history, producing in the end, under the influence of the Muhammadan supremacy, the wonderful theosophy of the Persian Sufis (from 847 A.D.), a blend of the joyous ancient pantheism with the fatalist monotheism of the mystics of Islam.

The ancient Persians, too, were far from neglecting their literature and their records. Witness the great tri-lingual inscription of Darius at Behistun, who once described himself in words that every Parsi should remember—surely the proudest ever used by any monarch as "a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan stock." Witness also the dictum of that believer in the destiny of his race, to which the great God Ahuramazda, had given dominion "over this earth afar, over many peoples and tongues." Take the very origin of the Pahlavi writing of the Parthians out of the unsuitability of the cuneiform script adopted from the Medes, in which the Achæmenid decrees were issued, for any material but stone or clay. Take the significant fact of the collection in the Pahlavi *Avesta* of the old orthodox doctrines and text, commenced by the Arsacid (Parthian) Vologeses III (147-191 A.D.), continued by the first Sasanid Ardashir (212-241) and completed by Shāpur II (310-379), in order to combat the serious danger as they held it, caused by the inroads of Syrian Christianity.

Such a Literature, so carefully preserved, and spread so far and wide by conquests, political and religious—the tenets of Zoroaster, in the form or Mazdaism, were within an ace of becoming the creed of the Roman Empire in the early centuries A.D., and who knows, thus of Europe itself?—must have powerfully affected the Muslim Conquerors of the 7th century and those that wrote for them or under their rule. Indeed, the earlier examples of what is now known as "Persian Literature" is full of it in all categories—Firūsi, Nizāmi, Omar Khayyām, Shekh Abū Sa'id, Nāsir Khusrū, Shekh 'Abdu'llah Ansārī, Jalālu'ddīn Rūmi, Farīdu'ddīn Attār, Shekh Sa'dī and many lesser names. It is quite time that Mr. Nariman should bring to the notice of his compatriots the Russian Professor's work, which explains with so much wealth of illustration the debt that the early Arab authors themselves owed to the Pahlavi literature that preceded them.

Among Mr. Nariman's translations is the Appendix on Noldeke's remarks on Barzūi's Introduction to the *Book of Kalila wa Dimna*. The Autobiography which is contained in it, while thoroughly Oriental, is so entirely human that it reads in places as quite modern and it is therefore intensely interesting. Indeed, the 'modernity' of much of ancient and mediæval Oriental story is often at first sight surprising.

With this remark I close these notes on Mr. Nariman's valuable compilation.

R. C. TEMPLE.

RĀSHṬRĀNDHAVAMSA MHĀKĀVYA OF RUDRAKAVI, edited by EMBAR KRISHNAMACHARYA. With an Introduction by C. D. Dalal, M.A. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. V).

Râshṭrândhavaṁśa Mahākâvya is an historical epic by Rudrakavi, a Southern poet under the patronage of Nārāyan Shah, a ruler of the small principality of Mayurgiri—or as it was known to later historians, Baglan. The poem was composed in the Saka year 1518 or 1596 A.D.

The author of the poem, Rudrakavi, son of Ananta, was one of those men of genius and literary merit, that were occasionally patronised by Hindu princes, who, following the noble examples of the great kings of the past, thought it their duty to extend their liberality to the votaries of the muse. In an age of national subjection, when every ruler had to wage a bitter struggle for the very existence of his patrimony and the safety of his family honour, few Hindu princes could think of directing their energies towards

the patronage of learning. Still there were exceptions to this rule, and Narâyan Shah, the poet's patron, was one of them.

The poem, which can be classed as a Mahâkâvya, has been divided into twenty cantos. In the first, the poet describes the origin of Râshtrândha, the founder of the family. He arose, we are told, as a beautiful boy of eleven, out of a dice which struck the crescent of the moon in the crest of Siva while he was playing with his consort. This boy was afterwards adopted by the childless king of Kanauj as his son, and after the latter's death became the ruler of that city. After him came six princes whose names are not worth mentioning. Then came two brothers, Kâlaena and Gopachandra, the elder of whom, by propitiating the goddess, became invincible and conquered Ujjain, where he became king. The other brother, Gopachandra, who had sacrificed himself to the goddess, regained life through her mercy and was known as Bagula.

Seventeenth in descent from him was Yasasvan, whose son along with his brother migrated to the South. Yaśasvana married the daughter of Râmadeva of Devagiri and remained there. His son, Gajamalladeva, conquered the Gurjaras and Mâlavas and succeeded in taking the kingdom of Allauddin, the lord of the Yadavas. Who this Allauddin was we have no means of ascertaining. His son Malugi defeated twelve kings including Râmadeva, the powerful Yâdava adversary of Allauddin Khilji of Delhi. This appears to be highly improbable, when we consider some of the facts mentioned by the poet before and after this event, and the whole story seems to be a mere invention of the poet—to enhance the glory of his past ancestors. Malugi's grandson Nândeva also performed acts of valour, but was defeated by Allauddin Khilji, who after conquering Lâtâ, Kalinga, Vanga, etc., was killed in battle Râmrâja of Devagiri—the adversary of his grandfather, according to the poet. In addition to a historical inaccuracy, for we know it for certain that Râmadeva was not killed by Allauddin—a hopeless anachronism is also noticeable in this statement. After many vicissitudes of fortune the dignity of the family was restored by Nânadeva. His great-grandson Mahâdeva resorted to Mayaragiri where he established temples. Mahâdeva's son, Bhairab Shah is credited with having conquered the Mussalman rulers of Mandu and Devagiri, and having inflicted a defeat on Humâyun Shah the second Mogul Emperor—events which have hardly any historical foundation at all.

On the contrary, we know from the Mussalman historians that the Baglan chiefs of that time were petty feudatories under the Mussalman sultans of that quarter. Thus, according to them, Bhairab Shah, father of Nârâyan Shah, was a feudatory of Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat, to whom he gave his sister in marriage.

Nârâyan Shah was the poet's patron, and from the ninth canto of the book onwards, the events of his reign are described. His successes over petty chiefs are described in pompous language—and the poet, following the example of the ancients, devotes three whole cantos in describing the sports and luxuries of the king.

We come next to examine the composition and style of the work. Though it contains some anachronisms and historical inaccuracies, the poem is a work of considerable merit. It contains beautiful descriptions, *e.g.*, of the day and the night and of the seasons (Canto XV). The descriptions of the battle and the chase arouse the reader's interest, while the numerous similes enhance the beauty of the whole composition.

The style is elegant and the language is chaste and easy throughout, though in some places it abounds in samâsas after the Gaudî style (*e.g.*, in Canto IX). Constant alliterations make it more and more melodious.[1] In some places the poet seems to imitate Kâlidâsa, author of the Raghuvamsa.[2] Some of the verses deserve special praise, on account of their noble sentiment or exquisite poetic beauty.[3]

The poet, however, excels in religious sentiment. The verses in honour of Râma,[4] Siva[5] and Ganges are beautiful compositions. To sum up, the poet succeeded well in the task he undertook. Unfortunate though he is on account of the obscurity of his hero, his poem does credit to him and has preserved the name of his patron from oblivion.

Much credit is due to the editor for the learned introduction appended to this work. The valuable and critical notes inserted in it show his labour and learning. And though there may be some small inaccuracies in it, it should be a great help to scholars. We think however that something ought to have been said on the composition and style of the work.

In conclusion, our thanks are due to His Highness the Mahâraja Gaekwad of Baroda, who is financing this Oriental Series and has thus perserved the noble tradition of the ancient kings of India in respect of patronage to learning.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEE.

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1 See *e.g.*, Ses. II, p. 49, and IX, 20.

2 Compare X. 24 of the poem with *Raghu*, VI. 22; XII, 52 of the poem with *Raghu*, X. 32; and VI. 2 with *Raghu.*, XVII, 52.

3 See V, 24; XII, 22; V, 15.

4 See XII, 39 to 50.

5 II. 49 to 52; also V. 15-24.

TRANS-HIMALAYAN REMINISCENCES IN PALI LITERATURE.

BY D. N. SEN, M. A.

(*Continued from p.* 166.)

Other references to the Trans-Himalâya in Pali Literature: The following passage occurs in संगामावचर जातक—

अथ नं गहेत्वा सट्ठियोजनिकं मनोसिलातलं अनोतत्तदहादयो सत्तमहासरे पञ्चमहानदियो सुवण्णपब्बत रजत-पब्बत मणिपब्बतपतिमण्डितं अनेकसत रामनेय्यकं हिमवन्तपब्बतञ्च दस्सेत्वा तावतिंसभवनं ते नन्द दिट्ठपुब्बं ति पुच्छित्वा न दिट्ठपुब्बं भन्ते ति वुत्ते एहि नन्द तावतिंसभवनं ते दस्सेस्सामि तत्थ नेत्वा पण्डुकम्बलसिलासने निसिदि। सक्को देवराजा द्वीसु देवलोकेसु देवसंघेन सद्धिं आगन्त्वा वन्दित्वा एकमन्तंनिसिदि। अड्ढतियकोटि-संख्या तस्स परिचारिका पञ्चसता च ककुतपादा देवच्छरापि आगन्त्वा वन्दित्वा एकमन्तं निसिदिंसु।

[Then he took him up and showed him red-tinted (lit. red-arsenic) rocky soil extending over sixty *yojanas*,[30] Anotattadaha and the other six great lakes, the five great rivers, and the Himavantapabbata adorned with the gold, the silver and the precious stone mountains. He asked Nanda, 'Have you seen the abode of the Tâvatimsa gods?' Nanda replied. 'No, I have not seen it, Sir.' He said, 'Come Nanda, I will show you the abode of the Tâvatimsa gods.' He then took him there and sat on a rock of the colour of a white blanket. Sakka, the king of the gods, came with a company of devas from two *devalokas*, saluted him and sat down on one side. Two and a half *koṭis* of female attendants, also five hundred nymphs with feet like those of doves came and saluted him and sat down on one side.]

Though mixed up with much that is legendary, this account preserves a tradition of some importance about the Himâlaya and the Trans-Himâlaya.

The following passage occurs in नेरुजातक—

अतीते बाराणसियं ब्रह्मदत्ते रज्जं कारेन्ते बोधिसत्तो सुवण्णहंसयोनियं निब्बत्ति. कनिट्ठभातापि स्स अत्थि, ते चित्तकूटपब्बते वसन्त्वा हिमवन्तपदेसे सयं जातसालिं खादन्ति. ते एकदिवसं तत्थ चरित्वा चित्तकूटं आगच्छन्ता अन्तरा मग्गे एकं नेरुं नाम काञ्चनपब्बतं दिस्व तस्स मत्थके निसिदिंसु। तं पन पब्बतं निस्साय वसन्ता सकुना चतुप्पादा च गोचरभूमियं नानावण्णा होन्ति. पब्बतं पविट्ठकालतो पट्ठाय तस्सोभासेन सुवण्णवण्णा वा होन्ति।

[In the past, when Brahmadatta was reigning at Bârâṇasi, Bodhisatta was born a golden goose. He also had a younger brother. They used to live in the Cittakûta Mountain, situated in the Himavanta region, and lived on wild rice. One day, while they were returning to Cittakûṭa, after having fed themselves in that region, on the way they saw a golden mountain of the name of Neru, and alighted on its peak. The birds and four-footed animals living on this mountain seemed to be of different colours in their feeding grounds, but as soon as they entered the mountain, they would take on the gold colour on account of the light emitted by it.]

हिमवन्तप्पदेस or the cold region was evidently not identical with Himavantapabbata but included the latter. The quotation given above agrees with the *Pauranic* tradition that Neru, Sanskrit 'Meru,' was a golden mountain 'like a smokeless column of fire.'

The निमिजातक speaks of the seven mountains surrounding सिनेरु (Sans. सुमेरु)—

सुदस्सनो करविको इसधरो युगन्धरो नेमिन्धरो विनतको अस्सकण्णो गिरिब्रहा एते सीदन्तरे नागा अनुपुब्ब समुग्गता महाराजानं आवासा यानि त्वं राज पस्ससीति।

[Sudassano, Karaviko, Isadharo, Yugandharo,
Nemindharo, Vinatako, Assakaṇṇo, great mountains.
These mountains separated by the Sita and rising one above another,
Are the abodes of the Mahârâjas about which, Oh! Râjan, you ask.]

The same जातक mentions the चित्तकूटद्वारकोट्ठकं (the Citrakûṭa gate) of तावतिंसभवनं 'or the heaven of the thirty-three.'

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[30] Yojana=8 or 9 miles.

In the same जातक, we are told that the heavenly charioteer had to drive his chariot until he reached मिथिला which lay towards the east.

In various places चित्तकूटो पब्बत is described as lying in the हिमवन्तो region. In many of the *Haṁsajâtakas* the चित्तकूट mountain figures as the home of the golden geese which hunt for their food in the *Himavanta* lakes and, now and then, come to जम्बुद्दीप as far as the माहिंसक country in search of food. It has been mentioned above that King *Nimi* entered the assembly hall of the *Tâvatiṁsa devas* through the चित्तकूट gate, which would locate this mountain to the south or south-east of the Meru, as मातलि had to drive the celestial chariot towards the eastern regions when he was coming to मिथिला.

The चन्दकुमारजातक mentions the गन्धमादनपब्बत in the following lines.—

यक्खगणसेविते गन्धमादने ओसधेहि सञ्छन्ने तत्थ तं अपस्सन्ती किंपुरिस कथं अहं कासं, किंपुरिससेविते गन्धमादने ओषधेहि सञ्छन्ने तत्थ तं अपस्सन्ती किंपुरिस कथं अहं कासंति ।

[In the *Gandhamâdana* mountain where the *Yakshas* live and which is overgrown with plants,

There, in thy absence, Oh! *Kimpurisa*, what shall I do?

In the *Gandhamâdana* where the *Kimpurisas* live and which is overgrown with plants,

There, in thy absence, Oh! *Kimpurisa*, what shall I do?]

GEOGRAPHY OF THE NORTHERN REGIONS AS GIVEN IN THE RÂMÂYAṆA[31]: Sugrîva sent a strong contingent of the monkey force to the north to search for Sîtâ. The countries to which they were asked to go were thus enumerated:

The country of the *Mlechchhas*, the *Pulindas*, the *Śûrasenas*, the *Prasthalâns*, the *Bhâratas*, the *Kurus*, the *Bhadrakas*, the *Kâmbojas*, the *Yavanas*, the *Śakas*, the *Araṭṭaka*, the *Bâhlîkas*, the *Rishîkas*, the *Pauravas*, the *Taṅkaṇas*, the *Chînas*, the *Paramachînas*, the *Nihâras*, the *Dâradas* and the *Himavanta* country.

Other places mentioned in this connection are the following:—

The great *Black Mountain*, the *Hemagarbha Mountain*, the *Sudassana Mountain*, the *Devasakha Mountain*, a hundred *yojana* of dreadful wilderness where there are no mountains rivers, trees, or living things, the white mountain known by the name of *Kailâsa*, the *Krauñcha Mountain*, the *Maināka Hill*, *Vaikhânasa* lake where elephants with their calves roam freely, the country on the other side of the lake, where the sun and the moon are lost and the sky is starless and cloudless, and things are seen under a light like the rays of the sun and to the north of which lies the ocean.

Sugrîva also directed them not to go further north than the country of the Kurus (Uttarakuru), a region which was without the sun and beyond his knowledge.

This account tells us of countries which are in the north and north-west of India and beyond the confines of it to the north-west, and also of others which take us over the lakes and mountains of Central Asia across a vast desert to the shores of a great lake which is the country of the Northern Kurus. Beyond this, lies, in the north, a great ocean. The narrative practically tallies with the *Pauranic* description of this part of Asia and strongly supports the suggestion made above that the Indo-Aryans came from the far north, possibly the arctic regions on the shores of the North Sea.

The account given in the *Râmâyaṇa* is vitiated by a very serious mistake, *viz.*, the *Śvetaparvata* has been confused with *Kailâsa*! which bears a perpetual ice cap and is reputed to be white.

[31] *Râmâyaṇa*, Kish. kâṇḍa, Chap. XXXIV.

Other Collateral Evidence—

(1) THE ṚIGVEDA.

There is unmistakable evidence in the Ṛigveda to the effect that the land of the five rivers was not the original home of the Indo-Aryans :

(*a*) [32]इंद्रस्य नु वीर्य्याणि प्रवोचं यानि चकार प्रथमानि वज्री ।
अहन्नहिमन्वपस्ततर्द प्रावक्षणा अभिनत् पर्व्वतानाम् ॥

[I shall presently speak about the first and foremost deeds done by Indra, the wielder of thunder (वज्र). He killed Ahi (cloud) ; brought down the rain ; and clove the mountains for making paths for the flowing waters.]

This preserves the memory of what the Ṛishis actually saw on the mountains where they once lived.

(*b*) [33]नदं न भिन्नममुया शयानं मनो रुहाणा अति यंत्यापः ।
याश्चिद्वृत्रो महिना पर्य्यतिष्ठत् त्रासामहिः पत्सुतः शीर्बभूव॥

[Just as a river overflows its fallen banks, the delightful waters are flowing over the prostrate *vṛitra* (cloud) ; *Vṛitra* (cloud), who kept the waters in confinement by his prowess when he was alive, is now lying under their feet.]

This is a faithful picture of what takes place after a thunder-storm in the mountains. The display of lightning and heavy roll of thunder as dark masses of cloud are driven upon the hill tops, the copious shower following upon it and then the scattered flakes clinging to the mountain side and the rushing torrents running down to the valleys below.

It is only in a mountain country that this beautiful cloud-myth could have originated.

(*c*) दासपत्नीरहिगोपा अतिष्ठन्निरुद्धा आपः पणिनेव गावः ।
अपां विलमपिहितं यदासीद्वृत्रं जघन्वा अप तद्ववार ॥

[Like the kine which were concealed by *Paṇi*, the waters were confined by *Vṛitra* (cloud) who is their husband and master. Indra killed *Vṛitra* (cloud), and cleared the path along which the waters flowed, and which was obstructed by *Vṛitra* (cloud).]

The hill streams, which are ordinarily dry, become flooded and rush down in torrents after a heavy shower. This is a common sight in the mountains after a thunder-storm. It is impossible to explain this verse and the one preceding it unless on the supposition that these scenes were witnessed in mountain regions and not on the plains watered by the five rivers.

(*d*) [34]यत्सानोः सानुमारुहद्भूर्य्यस्पष्ट्कर्त्वं ।
तदिंद्रो अर्थं चेतति यूथेन वृष्णिरेजति ॥

[When the sacrificer climbed from hill to hill (for collecting the *soma* plant etc.), a large quantity was collected (of *soma* etc.). Indra knows why this was being done and is shaking with excitement (in his eagerness to come to the sacrificial ground) with his whole host.]

The first part of the verse brings to us the memory of a time when the sacrificer used to go from hill to hill collecting *soma* and other things required for a sacrifice.

(*e*) प्रवेपयन्ति पर्व्वतान्विविंचन्ति वनस्पतीन् ।
प्रो भारत मरुतो दुर्मदा इव देवासः सर्व्वया विशा ॥

[Shaking the mountains, driving apart great trees (lit. lords of the forest). Oh Marut-Devas, you go freely with all your followers like those who are drunk.]

This again is a vivid picture of a storm in the mountains.

(*f*) अमी य ऋक्षा निहितास उच्चा नक्तं ददृशे कुह चिद्दिवेयुः ।
अदब्धानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि विचाकशच्चन्द्रमा नक्तमेति ॥

[Those Ṛikshas (the seven Ṛishis or the Great Bear) placed high up in the sky, are seen at night ; where do they go during the day ? The deeds of King Varuṇa no one can gainsay. It is by his command that the moon moved in splendour at night.]

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32 *Ṛigveda*, I. 32. 1. 33 *Ibid.*, I. 32. 8. 34 *Ibid.*, I. 10. 2.

This is a significant passage to which attention was first drawn by Tilak. It is in the far northern latitudes that the seven Ṛishis appear high up in the heavens and form the most prominent constellation visible to the dwellers of the far north.

(g) सं पूषन्नध्वनस्तिर व्यंहो विमुचो नपात् ।
सक्षा देव प्र णस्पुरः ।
यो नः पूषन्नघो वृको दुःशेव आदिदेशति ।
अप स्म तं पथो जहि ॥
अप त्यं परिपंथिनं मुषीवाणं हुरश्चितं ।
दूरमधि स्रुतेरज ॥
त्वं तस्य द्वयाविनोऽघशंसस्य कस्यचित् ।
पदाभि तिष्ठ तपुषिं ॥
आ तत्ते दस्र मंतुमः पूषन्नवो वृणीमहे ।
येन पितॄनचोदयः ॥
अधा नो विश्वसौभग हिरण्यवाशीमत्तम ।
धनानि सुषणा कृधि ॥
अति नः सश्चतो नय सुगा नः सुपथः कृणु ।
पूषन्निह क्रतुं विदः ॥
अभि सूयवसं नय न नवज्वारो अध्वने ।
पूषन्निह क्रतुं विदः ॥

[Oh! Pûshan, take us safely (lit. completely) to our destination, destroy the enemies on the way, thou who art the offspring of the clouds. Lead us on our way.

Oh! Pûshan, remove from our path our enemies who hurt us, steal our wealth and delight in evil deeds and order us to go along a particular way.

Oh! Pûshan, send these crooked thieves who endanger our journey far away from our path.

Oh! Pûshan, place thy foot on the body of the thief who steals our things openly as well as secretly and who desires to do us ill.

Oh! Pûshan, who art wise and handsome, we pray for such protection from thee as thou hast vouchsafed to our fathers.

Oh! Pûshan, who art extremely wealthy and possesses golden arms, after this our prayer give us plenty of riches.

Oh! Pûshan, take away from our path the enemies that stand in our way. Take us along paths which are easy and delightful. Thou knowest how to protect us on this road.

Oh! Pûshan, lead us to lands full of delightful grass and let there be no new trouble on the way.]

These prayers are full of reminiscences of a time when the Indo-Aryans had to move from place to place in search of fresh pastures through countries beset with dangers, long before they commenced a life of settled cultivation in a fertile valley.

The following passage brings back to us the memory of a time when the Vedic Aryans were living in the upper valley of the Indus where it has a northerly course :

(h) [35]"सोदंचं सिंधुमरिणान्महित्वा वज्रेणान उषसः संपिपेष ।
अजवसो जविनीभिर्विवृश्चन्त्सोमस्य ता मद इंद्रश्चकार" ।

[35] *Ṛigveda*, Maṇḍala, II, Sûkta 15, Ṛik. 6.

[Indra has, by his own greatness, made the Indus flow northwards, and has pulverised the chariot of Ushâ, after having penetrated weak forces with the help of his swift moving army. Indra performs these deeds when he is exhilarated with *soma*.]

This passage demands more than a passing notice, as it clearly points to the fact that a considerable body of Indo-Aryans entered the country along the Indus valley, and possibly across the Karakorum range, and perhaps even from Western Tibet. This would suggest a number of roads, *viz.*, for example, the northern and the north-western ways leading to Kashmir across the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs, as well as the N. E. route along the Indus and the Sutlej valleys from Western Tibet. These paths, however, are so difficult that it is not likely that they came in large numbers, but the movement must have gone on for centuries until the Indian branches of the Aryan people gradually came down to the sunny, well-watered basin of the Sapta-Sindhu or ' seven rivers '.

(2) THE ZEND-AVESTA.

(*i*) *The Gods of the Zend-Avesta.*—The Zend-Avesta introduces us to that stage of the history of the Aryan people when the Indian and the Iranian branches had separated from one another but still retained much of their common tradition. The Vedic literature is composed of *Mantras, Brâhmaṇas* and *Sûtras.* The first two are universally acknowledged to be revealed. Now, of these two parts, the *Brâhmaṇas* are never mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, though *Mantram* appears in it in the form of *Manthran*. Zoroaster is called a *manthran, i. e.*, one who utters a *mantra*, and the holy scriptures of the Parsis are called *Manthra spenta*, which means ' holy prayer '. In fact, some of these prayers are actually addressed to deities who are among the oldest and are recognised by both the branches of the Aryan race, *e. g., Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman.*

The most noticeable thing in the Zend-Avesta is the movement which was inaugurated by Zoroaster against the Devas and Deva-worshippers. In the earliest *Ṛiks*, there is no distinction between Devas and Asuras, thus bearing testimony to a period when there was no disruption of the friendly relations between the Deva party and the Asura party. But, later on, a considerable number of the Vedic hymns are invocations of the favourite deities against the Asura party. In the Zend-Avesta, however, the Deva party seems to be in discredit from the very beginning, the Zoroastrian movement itself being hostile to the Devas and Deva-worshippers, and, by and by, the name ' Deva ' becomes a synonym for evil spirit, just as ' Asura ' in the Vedas becomes a synonym for the tribes at war with the Aryas. If, therefore, the ancient Iranian geography gives us indications of the country where the parting took place, it will furnish us with important materials for tracing out some steps of the great racial movements of the Aryan stock.

(*ii*) *The Geography of the Zend-Avesta.*—In Fargard, I, of the Vendidad, there is an enumeration of sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda. Of these the following nine have been definitely identified—

Zend Name.	*Modern Name.*
Sughda	Sagdh (Samarkand).
Mouru	Marv.
Bakhdhi	Balkh.
Haroyu	Hare (rud).
Vehrkana	Gurgan.
Harahvaiti	Ar-rokhaj or Arghand-(ab).
Haetumant	Helmend.
Ragha	Rai.
Hapta hindu	Hind (Panjab).

The first land created by Ahura Mazda[36] was Airyana Vaejo, situated on the Vanguhi. Datiya. It was cursed by the Devas with a severe winter which lasted for ten months, there being only two summer months. 'Airyanem Vaejo,' if rendered into Sanskrit, will closely approximate 'आर्य्याणाम् व्रज :' (in Pali अरियानम् व्वज), which means the 'pasture lands of the Aryans'.

According to some authorities, this land was situated north of the Oxus, since Vanguhi Datiya (as Veh) was the name of this river in Sassanian times. The names of the countries which immediately follow all belong to N. E. Iran, and this lends additional force to the view mentioned above, *viz.*, that the first Zoroastrian land was situated to the north of the Oxus.

The second country created by Ahura Mazda was the plain of the Sughdhas or Sogdiana.

The third of the good lands was Mouru or Marv.

The fourth was Bakhdhi or Balkh.

The fifth was Nisaya and lay between Mouru and Bakhdhi.

The sixth was Haroyu or Herat.

And so on.

This enumeration strongly suggests that the Iranian race-movement commenced from a country to the north of the Oxus, not far from the Celestial Mountains, where the gods of the Indo-Aryans were said to be have had their *Valhalla*. Indra, the most popular of the Vedic deities, is a powerful demon with the Zoroastrians, and he had his stronghold in these mountains. It was Indra who, in Vedic story, demolished the fortresses of the Asuras and protected the Vedic people in battles against them. If we follow the enumeration of the good lands from Sogdiana to Marv, Herat and Kabul, we can faithfully trace the frontiers of the lands under the influence of the two races. The Zend-Avesta bears clear testimony to the dominant influence of the Indo-Aryans in close proximity to the eastern frontiers of the people of Iran. In speaking of the strong and holy Mouru or Marv, the Vendidad says[37] that it was cursed with plunder and sin, which undoubtedly suggests the reminiscences of frontier warfare. Similarly, Nisaya, which lay between Marv and Balkh, was the land in which sin and unbelief prospered; Haroyu or Herat was afflicted with tears and wailing, and in Vækereta or Kabul, idolatry flourished and Keresaspa allowed himself to be seduced to 'Daeva-worship.'

If we take the country beyond the Oxus as the place where the two most closely allied branches of the Aryan race, *viz.*, Indians and Iranians, parted company, it will follow that the earlier race-movements took place at a point far north of it, and therefore, also north of the Thienshan mountains.

The only thing in the Avesta which has caused a difference among scholars as to the original home of the Irano-Aryan people is that 'Aryanem Baejo' is by some placed south of the Caspian Sea. It is quite possible that those of the Iranian tribes, which migrated westwards and settled in the well-watered fertile country which forms the southern littoral of the Caspian Sea, thrived and flourished; and the land they lived in became the stronghold of Zoroastrian orthodoxy, as the land of the five rivers became the *Brahmarshi Dêsa* of the Indians. This region may have been one of the early settlements, as the way from Trans-Oxyiana to the Caspian was straight and without any obstacle in the form of a mountain barrier.

[36] *Vendidad*, Fargard I.

[37] *Ibid.*, Fargard I.

In Fargard II. of the Vendidad, there is an account of a period before the time of Zarathustra, which is highly suggestive. It is said that Ahura Mazda proposed to Yima, son of Vivanghat, that he should be the preacher of his religion, but Yima expressed his unfitness for it. Ahura Mazda then asked Yima to take care of his people so that they might thrive and flourish. So Yima was made king of the people by Ahura Mazda. They throve under his care and multiplied, so that there was overcrowding. 'Then Yima stepped forward in light, southwards, on the way of the sun' and 'made the earth grow larger.' This process had to be repeated over and over again, the people still proceeding southwards and flourishing more and more. At last came a terrible winter and special preparations had to be made for saving the race and their cattle. Now this carries us back to a period when the Iranians had not separated from the Indians, as Yima or Yama is common to both the Iranian and Indian traditions. The description strongly suggests the migration of these races who were driven southwards by the increasing severity of the winters and the descent of the snow-line carrying devastation before it.

(3) CENTRAL ASIA IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

(*a*) *Fahian's route to India*—After crossing a desert[38] to the west of the Chinese frontier, Fahian came to the country of Shen Shen[39] and thence passed on through Wu-i[40] and other countries to Khotan. From Khotan he went to Tze-hop[41] and Yuhway[42], and after visiting Kie-Sha made for India across the Ts'ungling mountains. Now in all these places he found strongholds of the Buddhist faith. At Shen Shen, he found 4000 priests of the Hînayâna School, the prevailing religion of India, and all the Buddhists, laymen as well as priests, using Indian books and the Indian language, presumably Sanskrit or Pali; at Wu-i there were about 400 priests of the Little Vehicle and the people professed the Buddhist religion: at Khotan, the Buddhist priests belonged chiefly to the Great Vehicle; Buddhism was the state religion; there were many *Sanghârâmas* and temples, and among the public ceremonials, the well-known car-festival was witnessed by the Chinese traveller.

(*b*) *Hiuen Tsiang's route to India*—The first country described by Hiuen Tsiang after he had crossed the Chinese frontier and the desert (Gobi) is O-Ki-Ni or Agni, which is the Sanskrit for 'fire.' The modern name of the place is Karshar.[43] The written character which the inhabitants of this valley used was Indian with very little difference. The Chinese traveller found, in this far eastern out-post of Buddhism, *Sanghârâmas*, with two thousand priests belonging to the Little Vehicle. The second country mentioned by him is K'iuchi or Kucha, where the Indian style of writing prevailed: there were one hundred *Sanghârâmas* belonging to the Little Vehicle; the scriptures were in the Indian language, and the place had Buddha statues and Deva temples. From Kucha, Hiuen Tsiang passed on to Pohluh-Kia (Balukâ)[44] which he found to be in soil, climate, customs and language very much the same as Kucha. There were ten *Sanghârâmas* with about one thousand priests following the tenets of the Little Vehicle.

From Aksu he passed over a stony desert lying in the N. W., and crossed the Lingshan mountain and reached the shores of the Tsing or Issyk-kul lake and passed on to its N. W., and thence along the road leading to the valleys of the Jaxartes and the Oxus, till he reached

38 The desert of Gobi. 39 South of Lake Lob Nor.

40 Between Kharaschar and Kutscha. *Trav. of Fahian*, by Legge, p. 14, n. 5.

41 Tashkurgan in Sirikul, according to Watters; *see* Legge, p. 21, n. 3.

42 It may be Aktasch; *see* Legge, p. 21, n. 5.

43 Beal's *R. W. W.*, Vol. I., page 17, n. 52. 44 Aksu, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 24.

Balkh. This country was called the little Râjagriha[15] on account of the numerous Buddhist sites in its neighbourhood. He found here about 100 convents and 3000 monks, all belonging to the Little Vehicle, and a temple of Vaisravana or Kuvera. Then he directed his steps towards India and, in the course of his journey over the Snowy Mountains, came to Bamiyan and found there Buddhism of the Little Vehicle in a flourishing condition. The next point in his travels was Kapisa, where he found a king of the Kshatriya race and Buddhism of the Great Vehicle the prevailing religion, though there were also Deva temples and heretics. A journey of 600 *li* eastward brought him to the frontiers of India.

The most noticeable feature in the accounts of the countries through which the Chinese pilgrims had to pass on their way to India is the fact that, even in the early years of the Christian era, Buddhism had penetrated almost to the frontiers of China, and Indian civilisation had made a deep impression upon the language and customs of these people. It is also remarkable that it was the school of Little Vehicle which seemed to be the dominant religion in the towns farthest from India, thus indicating that, long before the reign of Kanishka who professed the religion of the Great Vehicle and under whose influence this school gained great popularity, Buddhism of the older school had been carried far into the heart of Central Asia. It is no wonder, therefore, that Sir Aurel Stein has found, buried under the sands of old Khotan, documents in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit. It strikes me also as very curious and exceedingly suggestive that the names of many of the cities in this region are either Sanskrit or Prakrit. All this bears indubitable evidence of a very early intercourse of India with Eastern Turkestan.

(4) Physiographical and Ethnological Evidence.

The culture stratum at which we find the earliest settlements of the Indo-Aryan people in the Punjab was preceded by many other strata of which we practically know nothing. In the fertile basin of the five rivers, we find they had advanced remarkably in civilisation. They were no longer wandering bands of nomads: they had learnt the arts of settled life, such as agriculture, house building, the manufacture of armour and weapons of war, the construction of river-going and sea-going vessels, the use of gold and iron, the art of the weaver, the building of forts, and the laying out of towns and villages; they had tamed most of the domestic animals, such as we possess now; they lived under kings, and their society had undergone a considerable development with the institution of marriage and division of labour among various classes which, however, had not yet fossilised into castes; they had made notable progress in finishing their language and in the use of rhyme and metre; and the beautiful hymns addressed to various manifestations of nature show a fine susceptibility to everything true and charming in form and sentiment. We catch them up indeed now and then in the midst of their migrations from pasture to pasture, but it only shows that they had a wandering life before they took to agriculture. But the centuries, during which this race was gradually emerging from the earliest stages of the existence of man, are entirely hidden from our knowledge.

I think it will be a task entirely disproportionate to the objects of this paper to look for the habitation of the Aryans when they were in a savage or barbarous condition, *i.e.*, before they had entered into the pastoral stage of life.

We have sufficient evidence in the Ṛig-veda as well as the Avesta to enable us to conclude that they led the life of nomadic shepherds before they became cultivators. Where could they have tended their cattle in the prehistoric ages? As for the ancestors of the Indo-Iranic people, it is pretty certain that the nomadic stage of their history was passed largely in the

[15] Beal's *B. R. W. W.*, Vol. I, p. 44.

pasture lands of Central Asia, perhaps with occasional settlements in some well-watered and sheltered valleys. A look at the map of Asia showing the vegetation zones makes it clear that even after making allowance for the great changes which have taken place in the climatic conditions of Central and Northern Asia since the times of which we are talking, it is safe to assert that these pasture lands must have been situated in the central mountain area and the depressions around them, with sufficient water to form rich grass lands. North Siberia is a frozen waste. South of it, there are temperate forests bordered by small patches of cultivation, and further down, vast expanses of very poor soil, perhaps fit only for growing grass, and barren wastes in the form of deserts, though not unrelieved now and then by oases formed by rivers with an inland flow. In Southern and Eastern Asia, bordering the sea, there are rich cultivable lands which have formed the cradles of Asiatic civilisation. In geological times a good deal of the waste land of Central Asia was covered by seas, which made the climate mild enough for sustaining vegetable and animal life of a higher order. West of the central mountain mass, a great sea connected the isolated inland waters with the Mediterranean on the one hand and the Arctic Sea on the other, and has left indelible traces of its existence in the configuration of the land as well as in the fossil remains which it has left embedded in the soil. In the same way, to the east of the central meridional mountains, in the Tarim basin and the depression represented by the desert of Gobi, it is believed that a great sea covered the land, though there are geologists who hold that the desert has been formed entirely by ærial denudation, *i.e.*, by the wind-blown rock-debris from the marginal mountain chains. It has been asserted by competent authorities that during the glacial and the post-glacial periods the vegetation of Turkestan and of Central Asia was quite different from what it is now and was similar to the conditions which at present prevail in Siberia or North Europe. The extremely rapid desiccation of Central Asia has brought about great changes in the fauna and flora of the Thienshan and other central Asiatic regions. All these considerations point to the fact that in the nomadic stage, the Aryans, at least the Indo-Iranic branch of the Aryans, moved about the pasture lands of Central Asia with occasional settlements in the sparsely-scattered sheltered valleys or in the oases formed by the rivers, which carried the drainage of the central mountain mass into inland seas or lost themselves in the sands of the deserts into which they flowed.

The theory of a more northern habitation for the earlier Aryans does not in any way do violence to geological evidence. In the interglacial period, the northern parts of the hemisphere we live in are supposed to have been more equable and milder than at present, the mean temperature being higher and there being a greater precipitation of moisture. As a consequence of this, vegetation flourished far north where it can now hardly exist. Sir Archibald Geikie says[46] that " the frozen tundras of Siberia appear then (in the interglacial period) to have supported forests which have long since been extirpated, the present northern limit of trees lying far to the southward." Among the fauna of this period are to be found the huge pachyderms, such as the Mammoth and the Rhinoceros, which roamed in the forests and over the grassy plains of the old world. When the glacial deluge came again, they seem to have survived the extreme cold and to have gone back to their old haunts after the climate had become less severe, if it is a significant fact of Palæontology that signs of the existence of man in the shape of the rude stone implements which he used at a remote age are found along with the skeletonal remains of these animals.

[46] *Text-Book of Geology.* Vol. II, p. 1316.

The ethnological evidence, which is now at our disposal, points to the fact that from a very early period in the history of the world, Eastern Turkestan was peopled by an Aryan race and that they attained to a stage of civilisation not inferior to that of Bactria.[47] Recent investigations[48] of other explorers have further strengthened this view. The Aryan Tâjika who were the ancient inhabitants of the fertile parts of Turkestan, were partly compelled by hostile invasions to take shelter in the mountains. They are now known as Galchas. It is believed that the races who inhabit Eastern Turkestan are chiefly derived from this stock, though not unmixed with Mongolian and Tartan elements. The fact that even in the centuries before the Christian era Indian culture spread rapidly into these parts of Asia lends additional force to the theory that the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin were a people closely allied to the Indo-Aryans, and were therefore especially susceptible to influences from India.

CONCLUSION.

In Pali literature there are definite references to the region immediately to the north of the Himâlaya mountains and a more or less legendary account of countries further to the north. It preserves the reminiscences of the red-tinted up-lands which lay beyond the Himâlaya mountains ; the lakes from which the rivers of the Gangetic plain took their rise ; the famous Kailâsa peak and, far to the north of it, the "Lord of Mountains," the Meru ; the land of the Uttarakurus with its rich fields, god-like men and bounteous crops ; the mighty Vessavana, the city of Alakmandā (Sans. Alaknandā), and the mineral wealth of these northern lands ; the four great *Dvîpas* or countries known as Kuru, Aparagoyaniya, Pûrvavideha and Jambudvîpa.

These memories have a significance which can only be realised when compared with such reminiscences as are preserved in the Purâṇas, the Epic literature, the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta of the Persians. Viewed in the light of modern researches, they reveal facts of great value which throw a considerable light upon the early race-movements of the Aryan stock.

The oldest Iranian records speak of Yima, son of Vivanghat (Sanskrit, Yama, son of Vivasvat) having been placed at the head of this branch of the Aryans and of their proceeding gradually southwards as they and their flocks multiplied in number and as necessity arose for further expansion, until a time came when the winters became very severe and the descending snow-line devastated everything lying in its way. The enumeration of good lands given in the Vendidâd begins with Airyânâ Vaego, which, according to some authorities, lay to the north of the Oxus. Yima seems to have been the first leader of the Irano-Aryans and Zarathustra, or Zoroaster, their first and greatest Prophet. The differences between this branch of the Aryan race and the Indian branch became acute somewhere north of the Oxus, as it is in this region that we find a clear and definite anti-Daevic propaganda ; and there is ample evidence to show that the hostilities between the two races continued as far south as Afghanistan in the course of their southward emigration.

Turning now to the Vedic evidence, it is abundantly clear that the Indo-Aryans had migrated from a mountainous country with valleys affording good pastures for the large flocks which they possessed and which constituted their wealth. It is also clear that they came from the Pamir region along the valleys of the rivers which bring the drainage of the western Himâlayas into the plains of N. W. India.

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[47] *Encyclopædia Britannica,* Eleventh Edition, 'Turkestan.'

[48] Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan.*

It is a curious fact that both the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa*[49] and the *Vendidad*[50] speak of an old home-land where neither the sun nor the moon shone, which was illuminated by a spontáneous light, and where days and nights were of six months' duration. The Purâṇas[51] also describe an early habitation of the Aryans which was to the south of the North Sea, where neither the sun nor the moon went on their daily rounds and the sky was illuminated by spontaneons light-streamers.

The *Pauranic* evidence is copious and circumstantial, but seems to be composed of more than one tradition marking, perhaps, the different stages of the history of Aryan emigration. According to one and the most widely accepted tradition, Jambudvîpa extended from India or Haimavatavarsha to the shores of the North Sea, embracing in its sweep six great mountain ranges and nine countries bounded by them. Another tradition records the existence of four Mahâdvîpas or great lands, *viz.*, Bhadrâśva, Bhârata (also called Jambudvîpa), Ketumâla and Uttarakuru. Bhadrâśva can be safely identified with the basin of the Târim (Sita) river ; Ketumâla. with the valley of the Oxus (Chakshu); Bhârata, with India, through which the river Alaknandâ or Ganges flows; and Uttarakuru, with a northern land watered by a river which flowed into the North Sea.

There are various traditions also about the locations of the different *varsha* or countries. Thus the land of the Kurus is, according to one tradition, the northernmost *varsha*; according to another, it is to the north of the central valley, Ilâvṛita; according to another, it is identified with a valley lying to the south of Ilâvṛita; and according to another it is to be placed north of the Himavanta. As these countries were named after the people who lived in them, they would change their names as the inhabitants migrated southwards to other lands, seeking greener pastures and more congenial climes. The Mahâbhârata, as I have said above, distinctly mentions the occupation of Harivarsha by the Uttarakurus.

The valley of Ilâvṛita, as described in the Purâṇas, was situated round the base of Meru and was the most central of all the *varshas* or lands, which, according to an older tradition, extended from the south of the Himâlayâ to the shores of the North Sea ; while another tradition, which is undoubtedly a more recent one, allocates it north of the Kailâsa and the Himâlaya and states that it forms the centre of the four *dvîpas* enumerated above, *viz.*, Uttarakuru, Ketumâla, Bhârata and Bhadrâśva. The Ṛigveda mentions a region known as Ilâspada, but the far-famed Meru is unknown to the Ṛishis whose utterances are preserved in that ancient record. This makes it very doubtful if the Ilâvṛita of the later Puranic tradition can be the same as the Ilâspada of the Ṛigveda. I am inclined to think that the name Ilâvṛita or Ilâspada migrated southwards in the same way as the name Kuru did, and that the Vedic or earlier Puranic Ilâ-land had a more northern situation, having been the centre of the Jambudvîpa of the older tradition, while the Ilâvṛita of the later account, which was the centre of the four *dvîpas* or great countries, can be definitely identified with the Pamir region, from which the Indo-Aryans descended to the plains of Haimavata-*varsha* or India, among the valleys of the various rivers which connect the plains of northern India with the Trans-Himâlayan countries, *viz.*, the valleys of the Indus, the Swat, the Kabul, the Sutlej, the Saraju and the Ganges (Alakanandâ).

We have also to take into account the most ancient of the Puranic traditions which seems to locate Ilâvṛita somewhere near the Arctic circle or within it, and which perhaps is an echo of what we find in the Vendidad and the Ṛigveda.

The line of studies followed in this paper suggests the following conclusions :—

(1) Pali literature is full of definite references to the Himâlaya and the Trans-Himâlaya and preserves a more or less dim and legendary memory of Uttarakuru and of the Sumeru, Meru or Mahâmeru mountain, the home of the Tâvatiṁsa Deities.

49 *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇas*, III, 9, 22,1. 50 *Vendidad*, Fargard II, para. 40.

51 *Padmapurâṇa*, Âdikâṇḍa.

(2) The Purâṇas preserve in them the reminiscences of—

(*a*) a very ancient tradition of the old Aryan homeland which was situated either within the Arctic circle or very near to it;

(*b*) a later tradition according to which Jambudvîpa extended from India in the south to Kuru or Uttarakuru which lay to the south of the North Sea;

(*c*) the most recent of these traditions which practically identifies Jambudvîpa with India, and according to which India is considered as one of the four great dvîpas or lands, *viz.* Bhadrâśva (Tarim valley), Ketumâla (basin of the Oxus), Bharata or Jambudvîpa (India), through which the Ganges flows, and Uttarakuru a land to the north of Meru. The Meru region is compared to the central part of a lotus ; Bhadrâśva, Bhârata, Ketumâla and Uttarakuru to its petals.

This description would place the Meru mount in the centre of the Pamir region from which the great Asiatic ranges start.[52] 'The axis, or backbone of Pamir formation is,' we are told, 'the great meridional mountain chain of Sarikol—the ancient Taurus of tradition and history—on which stands the highest peak north of the Himalaya, the Muztagh Ata (25,000 ft). This chain divides off the high-level sources of the Oxus on the west from the streams which sweep downwards into the Turkestan depression of Kashgar on the east.' Can this peak be Meru ? This view is supported by the following considerations :—

(*i*) Bhadrâśva with its river Sita can be definitely identified with the Tarim Valley and he river which drains it.

(*ii*) Ketumâla with its river Chakshu or Aksu is the same as the country through which the Oxus flows.

(*iii*) Bhâratavarsha or Jambudvîpa is India which receives the flow of the Alakmandâ or Alakanandâ, which, after its junction with the Bhâgîrathî, forms the Ganges. The reason why, of all the rivers, the Ganges is mentioned as the river of India, is that during the later Vedic and the Buddhistic ages, the centre of Aryan civilisation in India had shifted far to the east of the Punjab in the valley of the Ganges.

(*iv*) The Gulchas, who are supposed to have descended from a pure Aryan stock, live not very far from this region and they have marked race-affinities with the people of Khotan, and probably, the Kashmiris.

(*v*) The Pamir valleys have been scooped out by glacial movements which took place during the Ice-ages, and the Ice-fields not very far from this region are the most stupendous in the world. In the *Vendidad* there are passages preserving the memory of severe winters when the ice sheet descended down to the lowest valleys and which must have ultimately determined the race-dispersal from this central region.

(3) The deflection of the Aryan stream of emigration to the east and south-east from the central homeland in the Pamirs must have been determined by the hostilities of the Indian and Iranian branches of the race, the former being worsted in the struggle. There is clear evidence of this in the Brâhmaṇa and *Puranic* literature.

(4) The lines of emigration were various and not merely from the N. W. of India, as is generally believed. Even in the Vedas, as we have seen above, there is a reference to a northerly course of the Indus, and the fact that the Kashmiris are Indo Aryans and have race affinity with the Galchas and Khotanese is additional evidence of movements direct into Kashmir from the N. and N. E. of the country. The intimate knowledge which people seem to have possessed of Alakanandâ, Bhâgîrathî and Anotatta Daha or Mansarwar, and of which the memory has been kept fresh and keen by the piety of Hindu pilgrims, is a proof of emigrations along the routes which follow the courses of the head-waters of the Ganges. The story of Bhâgîratha leading this river into India is but a reminiscence of his having been himself led into India by the Bhâgîrathî.

[52] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, xx, 656.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 146.)

LXVIII.—VICTORY OF THE MUSLIMS OVER THE IDOLATERS.

When the accursed Sadâshivarâya observed the determination of the Muslims, his spirit was roused, and he sent forth 30,000 horse from the centre of his army against the Muslims, while his younger brother, Venkatâdri, who commanded the right of the infidels, attacked the left of the allies under Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, which was beaten back, while 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, in consequence of his former alliance with Sadâshivarâya, left the position allotted to him. The centre, however, under the command of Husain Nizâm Shâh, stood fast and manfully withstood the idolaters. Ikhlâs Khân again charged the enemy with his 'Irâqî and Khurâsânî horse and did great execution among them. In fact, Ikhlâs Khân and Rûmî Khân were the heroes of the day. Rûmî Khân, who commanded the artillery of Ahmadnagar, brought up all the heavy and light guns on their carriages, and the rockets, and drew them up by order of Husain Nizâm Shâh, before the army, and kept up a heavy fire on the enemy.[153]

At this phase of the fight Husain Nizâm Shâh ordered the camp followers to set up his pavilion in front of the enemy. This pavilion was the king's great tent of state, and it was the custom of the Sultans of the Dakan, whenever they ordered this pavilion to be set up on the field of battle, to stand their ground without quitting the saddle until victory declared for them. The erection of this pavilion at this stage was not without danger to the king's honour, but when Sadâshivarâya saw that the pavilion was being set up, he lost heart and gave all up for lost. Nevertheless the Hindus charged repeatedly, and the defeat of the Muslims appeared inevitable when, in the heat of the conflict, one of the elephants charged Sadâshivarâya and slew his horse with its tusks.[154] The Râya was thus dismounted and at that time Rûmî Khân and some of his men rode up and were about to kill him. Just then, Dalpat Râî, one of Sadâshivarâya's *vazîrs* cried out, 'Do not kill him, but carry him alive before Dîvân Barîd, for he is Sadâshivarâya.' They therefore straitly bound the

[153] Other authorities agree that the wings, under 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh were beaten back, and that it was Husain's steadfastness that saved the day. Some of the troops from the wings, seeing his standard still aloft, returned and rallied round him. His artillery was well served by Chalabî Rûmî Khân and the most determined attack made by the Hindu centre was broken by a terrible discharge from Husain's guns, which had all been loaded to the muzzle with copper coin. Husain followed up his advantage by a furious charge (F. ii. 75, 251).

[154] This account differs from that given by Firishta (ii. 76, 252), according to which Sadâshivarâya did not mount a horse but, when he saw the day going against him, left his throne and re-entered his litter One of Husain's war elephants, named Ghulâm 'Alî, overthrew the litter, and its bearers fled, leaving Sadâshivarâya lying alone on the ground. The driver again directed the elephant towards the jewelled litter, with a view to securing it as a prize, when one of the Hindu King's Brâhmans came forward and said. "This is Sadâshivarâya. Find a horse for him and he will make you one of the greatest lords in his kingdom." The driver, on learning who the captive was, caused his elephant to pick him up and carried him to Chalabî Rûmî Khân, who sent him on to Husain Nizâm Shâh, by whose orders he was instantly beheaded. His head was raised aloft on a spear on the elephant which had brought him in, and the Hindu army, horrified at the sight, broke and fled. Husain Nizâm Shâh afterwards had the head stuffed with straw and sent to Tufâl Khân of Berar as a warning. The statement that 'Alî Âdil Shâh wished to preserve the common enemy appears to be a slander. There is no other authority for it and there is no reason to believe that 'Alî, whose dominions marched with those of Vijayanagar, was not as anxious for the destruction of the Hindu kingdom as Husain could be.

chief of hell and carried him before Husain Nizâm Shâh. As soon as 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the capture of Sadâshivarâya, he hastened to the spot with the design of releasing the accursed infidel, but Husain Nizâm Shâh, being aware that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh would press for the Râya's release, which it would be folly to grant, and that a refusal to grant it would only lead to strife between the allies, and to the rupture of the alliance, issued orders for the execution of Sadâshivarâya before 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh could arrive. His mischievous head was then severed from his foul body and was cast beneath the hoofs of the king's horse. It was then by the king's order placed on a spear and exhibited to the Hindu army. and the Muslims then charged the enemy who scattered and fled in all directions. Husain Nizâm Shâh pursued the fugitives and so many were put to the sword that the plain was strewn with their accursed bodies. According to the most moderate accounts, the number of the slain was nine thousand,[155] but according to some accounts it much exceeded this number, and the remainder escaped with much difficulty, and fled in all directions, hiding like foxes in holes of the earth. The victors captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantities that the whole army was enriched.

Husain Nizâm Shâh prostrated himself in gratitude to God, and allowed the army to retain all the spoil except the elephants. The *amîrs* and *vazîrs* tendered their humble congratulations on this glorious victory and all were rewarded with advancement. The secretaries then composed letters announcing the victory, which were sent to all parts of the world.

This glorious victory was gained on Friday, *Jamâdī-ul-âkhir* 2, A.H. 972 (Jan. 4, 1565). and one of the learned men of the court composed the chronogram یکی از اول جمادی الآخر[156] that is to say the date would be found by subtracting one from the total of the numerical value of the letters composing the sentence.

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh became aware of the death of Sadâshivarâya, who was, in truth, their support and stay, they bitterly repented of having entered into the alliance with Husain Nizâm Shâh, but since an arrow once let loose cannot be recalled, their repentance availed them nothing.

After this glorious victory, Husain Nizâm Shâh and the two noble Sultans who accompanied him, halted for ten days on the battlefield,[157] collecting their booty and disposing of and slaying such of the infidels as fell into their hands (during this period), and then marched on to Vijayanagar and spent four months in that country, destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters and utterly laying waste all the buildings of the country. The three kings then set out on their return journey to their own kingdoms.

A.D. 1565. In the course of the return journey, Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, who was vexed with Mustafâ Khân for the share which he had had in the execution of Sadâshivarâya, his dissatisfaction with which has already been mentioned, said to Mustafâ Khân in the course of conversation. 'You have ever expressed a desire to make a pilgrimage to Makkah and the other

155 This is a strangely modest computation. Firishta says that popular rumour placed the number of the slain at 300,000, but that it was in truth about 100,000. This, considering the dense masses of the Hindus, the deadly artillery fire, and the execution done by the Muhammadan cavalry among the half clad Hindu infantry, as well in the battle as during the long pursuit, may well be believed.

156 The words of the chronogram seem to indicate that Sayyid 'Alî's date, *Jamâdî-us-sânî* 2, not 20, is correct, but the chronogram itself is wrong by two years. The numerical values of the letters give the total 975, substracting one from which we get 974, whereas the date of the battle was 972.

157 The T.M.Q.S. agrees in this statement, but according to Firishta the pursuit was at once continued as far as Anagondî, fifteen miles from Vijayanagar.

holy places, now that you have attained your object here, you have an opportunity of departing.' Mustafâ Khân, who had long been apprehensive of evil from Ibrâhîm's hasty and violent disposition, gladly seized this opportunity to assemble his horses, elephants and everything in this category, and joined the camp of Husain Nizâm Shâh, in whose service he remained until the day of his death.[158]

Husain Nizâm Shâh then pursued his leisurely way to his capital, eating, drinking, and making merry by the way. On his approaching the capital, the Sayyids, saints, great men, and the general public, came forth to greet him and to pray for his long life and prosperity, each man offering what he could. They were welcomed by the king and he then entered the fort of Ahmadnagar.

LXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF HUSAIN NIZÂM SHÂH.

When Abu-'l-Muzaffar Husain Nizâm Shâh, after overthrowing the infidels, returned to his capital, he engaged himself in administering the affairs of his kingdom and also in gladdening his heart with the wine-cup and the society of lovely cup-bearers and fair damsels. His glory and bodily powers being now at their zenith, began to decline, and the wine which he took to gladden his heart injured his health, and he died.

After the king's death, the learned men at court buried him with great mourning, in the *Bâgh-i-Nizâm*, the burial place of his forefathers, and his remains were afterwards removed to Karbalâ by his son, Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I, and there buried near the tomb of Imâm 'Abdullâh al-Husain.

This calamity occurred on Wednesday, *Zil-Qa'dah* 7, A.H. 972 (June 6, 1565), the chronogram آفتاب دکن بشد بنہان giving the date.[159]

Husain Nizâm Shâh was a man of praiseworthy disposition and made a laudable end. Islâm rested under the shadow of his justice; learned men were happy and content under his protection, and all his subjects were at ease and in peace. He left two sons like the two great lights of heaven, each of whom came to the throne in his turn, as will be related hereafter. May God prolong the reign of his present majesty, the *Sâhib Qirân*, the shadow of God, until the Resurrection. He left four daughters like the four elements, all of whom were married, *viz.*, Chând Bîbî, Bîbî Jamâl, and Bîbî Khadîjah (the name of the fourth, Âqâ Bibî is not given).[160]

LXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF ABU'L GHÂZI MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHAH I.

When the *amîrs* and the chief officers of state had leisure from the mourning for, and the funeral ceremonies of, Husain Nizâm Shâh, they raised Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, as his eldest son, to the throne, and swore allegiance to him as their king. His formal enthronement was postponed, by the advice of the astrologers, to an auspicious time, but the *amîrs* and *vazîrs*, in order to set the minds of the army at rest, raised the umbrella and *âftâbgîr* over his head and admitted the people to his presence in order that they might make their obeisance to him.

158 Mustafâ Khân entered the service of 'Ali 'Adil Shâh, not that of Husain Nizâm Shâh. He was murdered at Bankâpûr, early in the reign of Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh II. at the instigation of Kishvar Khân.

159 Firishta gives this chronogram (ii. 253) which gives the date 972, but does not give the day of Husain Nizâm Shâh's death. The T.M.Q.S. gives the date given here.

160 Husain Nizâm Shâh I left four sons and four daughters. By Bîbî Khûnza (Khânzâda) Humâyûn he had Murtazâ, who succeeded him, and Burhân, afterwards Burhân Nizâm Shâh II, Chând Bîbî, married to 'Alî 'Adil Shâh I, and Bîbî Khadîjah, married to Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû. By Surya he had two sons, Shâh Qâsim and Shâh Mansûr, and two daughters, Âqâ Bîbî, married to Mîr 'Abdul Wahhâb, son of Sayyid 'Abdul 'Azîm, and Bîbî Jamâl, married to Ibrâhim Qutb Shâh.

Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh in his youth avoided all business of state and gave himself up wholly to sensual pleasures, so that the business of the state fell upon the shoulders of his mother Khânzâdah Humâyûn, who was the mother both of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh and of his present majesty, Burhân Nizâm Shâh *Sâhib Qirân*, and the nobles and officers of state obeyed her in all things as though she had been king. She managed all affairs, whether of war or of peace, with wisdom and prudence.

At first she confirmed and continued Qâsim Beg Hakîm in the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, which he had held in the reign of the late king, who had left Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah in the territories of Vijayanagar with an army in order that he might capture the fortresses of Râichûr and Mudgal, but afterwards when Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah returned from Vijayanagar, Qâsim Beg, who was growing feeble with age, resigned his office and went into retirement in his house, while 'Inâyatullah was appointed *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* in his place.

Then Farhâd Khân the African, who had formerly been one of Qâsim Beg's slaves, and, having been patronized by the king, had become a *vazîr* and an officer in the army, and had then, owing to a quarrel between himself and Chatâ Khân the eunuch, become apprehensive, and had fled with some other *vazîrs* to Gujarât, took Qâsim Beg, who had been sent to allay the fears of Farhâd and his companions, to Gujarât. Qâsim Beg died at the port of Sûrat. After a while Farhâd Khân, having received a safe conduct, returned to Ahmadnagar and re-entered the royal service, and Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah, after holding the great offices of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* for some time, resigned them, and returned to the fortress of Lohogarh. Then Sayyid Shâh Rafî'-ud-dîn Husain, eldest son of the late Shâh Tâhir, was appointed *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, but was soon dismissed, and was succeeded by Tâj Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, brothers of Khûnzah Humâyûn, who jointly held the offices of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* and usurped their sister's power and position in the state.

Seven months after the death of Husain Nizâm Shâh, on Sunday, *Rajab* 5, 973 (Jan. 26, 1566), which was the date selected by the astrologers, Murtazâ was formally and ceremoniously enthroned and crowned, and the *amîrs* and great officers of state saluted him and scattered largesse.

LXXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF 'ALÎ 'ÂDIL SHÂH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST AHMADNAGAR AND OF ITS RESULTS.

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the death of Husain Nizâm Shâh and of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh's neglect of public business and devotion to sensual delights, he seized the opportunity of violating his treaty and of disregarding his connection by marriage with Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh and, at the instigation of Kishvar Khân, who was then *pîshvâ* of the kingdom of Bîjâpûr, invaded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with an army of horse and foot.[161]

When news of the irruption was brought by spies to Khûnzah Humâyûn, she considered that it would be wise to enter into treaties with the neighbouring rulers, and thus form a confederacy too strong for 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh. She therefore sent an envoy to Tufâl Khân, who was then *de facto* ruler of Berar and had imprisoned the 'Imâd Shâhî family, the offspring

161 The treaty referred to was that made after the battle of Tâlikota, but Sayyid 'Alî gives an entirely false idea of the conduct of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, who was not the aggressor. After the battle of Tâlikota he took under his protection Timmala, son of Sadâshivarâya, established him as ruler of Anagondî, and supported him against his uncle Venkatâdri, who retired to Nalgonda. When 'Alî led an army to Anagondî to support Timmala, Venkatâdri appealed for help to Ahmadnagar and Khûnzah Humâyûn and her son invaded 'Alî's dominions and prepared to besiege Bîjâpûr. 'Alî hastened back from Anagondî and after a few indecisive combats the army of Ahmadnagar retired. These events happened in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66)—F. ii. 77, 78, 254. Firishta says nothing of Tûfâl Khân or Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh having joined Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, and it is most improbable that they did so.

of his benefactors, and was considering the advisability of entering the service of Aḥmadnagar, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance and to appoint a place where he might meet the forces of Aḥmadnagar for the purpose of acting in concert with them. At the same time the army of Aḥmadnagar marched towards the frontier of Berar for the purpose of concluding a treaty of friendship. Tufâl Khân at first turned a deaf ear to the proposals of the envoy, but when he heard of the approach of Khûnzah Humâyûn with the army of Aḥmadnagar he set forth with a large army to join Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and marched with him towards Telingâna, while an envoy was sent in advance to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh to invite him to join the confederacy. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh responded at once, joined the army of Aḥmadnagar with his army, and renewed his treaty with Aḥmadnagar. The three allied armies then marched against 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh.

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard that Tufâl Khân and Ibrâhîm Qûṭb Shâh had joined Murtaẓa Niẓâm Shâh, he abandoned all idea of sustaining a conflict and of acquiring military fame, and began a retreat. The allied armies then invaded Bîjâpûr and plundered the country, destroying or carrying off the crops and devastating habitations.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh retreated from place to place in order to escape the invaders, and was perpetually on the march. When the allies reached Bîjâpûr, several of the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar, such as 'Inâyatullah, who was then *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, Farhâd Khân, Ghâlib Khân, Kâmil Khân, Miyân Manjhu, and Ranghâr Khân, carried fire and sword even to the glacis of the fort, slaying many of the Bîjâpûrî army. The garrison which 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had left to defend the town and fortress defended the place to the best of their ability, and there was great slaughter on both sides.

When the king (or Khûnzah Humâyûn) realized that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh would not meet the allies in the field, and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had, in fact, by means of agents in the allied armies, sued for peace, and had expressed his repentance for what he had done, Khûnzah Humâyûn consented to the conclusion of peace; and after the terms had been arranged, the army returned to Aḥmadnagar, Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and Tufâl Khân departing for their own territories in the course of the homeward march.

LXXII.—An account of the alliance of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh against Tufâl Khân, and the termination of the alliance in strife and enmity.

After the return of the army to Aḥmadnagar, it occurred to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh that it would be well to make an insincere peace with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and to utilize him for wreaking his vengeance on Tufâl Khân.[162] He therefore sent an envoy to Aḥmadnagar to express his desire for mutual friendship and for meeting Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh in order that the old treaties between Aḥmadnagar and Bîjâpûr might be renewed and that the two kingdoms might make common cause against their common enemies. The *amîrs* and officers of Aḥmadnagar, who regarded peace with Bîjâpûr as the best policy at that time, ensured a favourable reception for the envoy and sent him away with all his requests granted. The two kings then set out to meet one another and met at the fortress of Ausa. Here the two kings renewed and revived the treaties of peace and friendship which had aforetime existed between the kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Bîjâpûr, and agreed to make war upon Tufâl Khân of Berar, who had rebelled against his master and had possessed himself of the kingdom of Berar, and to set the 'Imâd Shâhî family free from his domination. Farhâd Khân, with a corps from the army

[162] Here again Sayyid 'Alî's account is most misleading. He makes it appear that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh wished to take vengeance on Tufâl Khân for having joined Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh against him, whereas it was Khûnzah Humâyûn who proposed the expedition, the object of which was to punish Tufâl Khân for having failed, from enmity to Aḥmadnagar, to join the Muḥammadan alliance that had crushed Vijayanagar. The expedition was undertaken in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67)—F. ii. 78.

of Aḥmadnagar and Dilâvar Khân with a corps from the army of Bîjâpûr were sent forward into Berar as an advanced guard, and took possession of some of the districts and villages of that country after many conflicts with Tufâl Khân's troops, while the armies of Aḥmadnagar and Bîjâpûr under Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and 'Alî Âdil Shâh, followed them.

When Tufâl Khân became aware that the army of Aḥmadnagar (and the army of Bîjâpûr) had invaded his territories, he realized that he could not meet them in the field and, with the remnant of his own wretched followers, took refuge in the fort of Gâwîl, which was one of the strongest fortresses in Berar. The armies of Aḥmadnagar surrounded the fortress and laid siege to it, but 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, ignoring his treaty with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and breaking his pact with him, thereby disgracing himself, entered into secret negotiations with Tufâl Khân, from whom he received 100,000 *hûns* and 50 elephants as the price of a breach with Murtaẓa Niẓâm Shâh.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, having been thus bribed, proposed that the suppression of Tufâl Khân should be postponed, and that the allies should first attack Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and should afterwards devote their attention to Tufâl Khân. The *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar were not aware of 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh's duplicity and, as his proposal appeared to them to be sound policy, they abandoned the siege of Gâwîl and, with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, retreated one day's march; and of the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar, Ikhlâṣ Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk were appointed to command the troops to be dispatched against the kingdom of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh. It so happened, however, that some of the Bargîs and other officers of the army of Bîjâpûr attacked the baggage of the army of Aḥmadnagar, and fighting ensued between them and the troops of Manṣûr Khân, one of the chief *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar who was on baggage guard that day. Mansûr Khân was slain in the fight and there was much slaughter on both sides. When Khûnzah Humâyûn learnt of the aggression of the Bîjâpûris and of Mansûr Khân's death, her wrath knew no bounds and she determined to attack the enemy who had appeared in the garb of a friend. Miyân Manjhû and other officers of Aḥmadnagar set themselves to allay the strife, which could not but result in the wasting of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, and it was at last settled that 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh should first retreat and march for his own country and that the royal army should then return to Aḥmadnagar. Thus strife between the armies was allayed, the further outpouring of the blood of Muslims was prevented, and the two armies returned, each to its own country.[163]

After these occurrences, the treaties of peace and alliance between Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and Tufâl Khân were renewed and confirmed, and the two rulers marched against 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh; but he, not venturing to encounter the two armies, retreated before them, and the army of Aḥmadnagar again marched to Bîjâpûr. One day, as Maulânâ 'Inâyatullah, who was now *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, Farhâd Khân, Kâmil Khân, Ghâlib Khân and other officers of the army were going about the fortress of Bîjâpûr to view it, the garrison left by 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh to defend the fortress suddenly attacked them, and a desperate battle ensued, in which very many of the army of Ahmadnagar were slain, many elephants were captured and the army of Aḥmadnagar was defeated and dispersed. When the remnant of the defeated army reached its camp, Khûnzah Humâyûn retreated to Aḥmadnagar.[164]

(*To be continued.*)

[163] Firishta says nothing about any active hostilities between the armies of Bîjâpûr and Aḥmadnagar, though relations must have been strained. Tufâl Khân was the enemy of Aḥmadnagar rather than of Bîjâpûr, and Firishta admits that he bribed 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh with large presents to make peace, but adds that the two armies retired from Berar together and apparently without any open rupture. The approach of the rainy season, when campaigning on the heavy black soil of the Dakan was almost impossible, was usually regarded as a sufficient excuse for the cessation of hostilities.—F. ii. 78, 254.

[164] Firishta does not mention this expedition to Bîjâpûr, but says that in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68) Muḥammad Kishvar Khân of Bîjâpûr captured some of the frontier districts and fortresses of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom.—F. ii. 78, 254. It is extremely improbable that Tufâl Khân should have allied himself with Aḥmadnagar against Bîjâpûr.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A.;

(*Continued from page* 157.)

CHAPTER III.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

Shivaji's liberal Revenue System.

Ranade was not the only scholar to point out that " Like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his time was a great organiser, and a builder of civil institutions"[57] Scott Waring writing in the first decade of the 19th century observes " While Sevajee carried on his predatory warfare he was not inattentive to the growing interest of the state. The lands in the Konkan were secured and defended."[58] That was not all. The lands were secured and defended and suitable measures were taken for the extension of cultivation and improvement of agriculture. Jervis tells us that according to the popular traditions, Shivaji's subjects enjoyed plenty though not peace. "In the midst of all this confusion, warfare, and general disloyalty, the state of the revenue and population is said to have prospered."[59] The reason is not hard to find out, Shivaji's introduced aflexible system, that long survived his dynasty's overthrow, and as Mr. Pringlo Kennedy says—" The peasant knew what he had to pay and he seems to have been able to pay this without any great oppression."[60]

Shivaji adopted Malik Ambar's system.

It is certainly very creditable of the great Maratha soldier that his subjects should enjoy plenty while the country was harried and plundered by the ruthless Moghul soldiery, and should multiply though a remorseless war was scattering death on all sides. But all that Shivaji had to do was to follow in the footsteps of another great man. It is true that Shivaji cannot claim originality.[61] But originality is not an indispensable factor in statesmanship. All that is expected from a statesman is that he should discern the needs of his time and adopt suitable measures to meet them. Whether these measures are his own (or not) does not matter. Sir Robert Peel simply accepted the ideas of his political opponents when he abolished the Corn Laws, but that does not in the least affect his reputation as a statesman. Akbar, one of the greatest of Indian rulers, frequently revived the long forgotten measures of some of his less known predecessors, and with what effect is known to us all. Shivaji also had the keen discernment of a statesman and he could appreciate the good points, as he was fully aware of the defects, of the existing government. He found that Malik Ambar's revenue system, with a few slight modifications, would suit his country best, and he revived the system without any hesitation.[62]

Malik Ambar's system.

What Todar Mul did for the north, Malik Ambar did for the south. The great foreigner who had served his adopted country so well had to work almost under the same circumstances as Shivaji. While defending his master's tottering kingdom against the Moghul onslaughts, the great Abyssynian had to reorganise its exhausted resources. He worked with an open mind and adopted the revenue system of his enemies. On the eve of its fall the

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57 Ranade's *R.M.P.*, p. 115.

58 Scott Waring's *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, pp. 96-97.

59 Jervis, p. 93.

60 Kennedy's *History of the Great Moghuls*, p. 125.

61 Shivaji made no secret of it. See Rajwade *M.I.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 33.

62 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Poona Volume.

Niẓamshahi kingdom saw a set of excellent regulations, but there was no one after Malik Ambar to work them out. Like Todar Mal he divided the arable lands into four separate classes, according to fertility, ascertained their produce, roughly, it is true, and fixed the assessment, once for all. He, however, did not want the peasants to pay in kind. While a fixed permanent assessment was made, a commutation or money price was also fixed for ever. Malik Ambar can therefore be justly called the Cornwallis of Southern India. After fixing a money rent, Malik turned his attention to the collecting agency. With one stroke of his pen he did away with the intermediate revenue agency which had been gradually assuming the character of a farming system. He then made the Pâṭils and other revenue officers hereditary, but at the same time made them responsible for the full realisation of the Government dues.[63] Such, in short, was Malik Ambar's revenue system, and as some of Shahaji's Jagirs had previously formed part of the Niẓamshahi dominions, the people there were not unfamiliar with it. Nor was there any lack of officials who had seen it in its actual working. Dâdâjî Konḍdev, when he reclaimed the waste lands of his master's *jāgir*, did nothing but revive the wise regulations of the great Abyssinian.[64]

Shivaji did not blindly imitate.

But Shivaji was no blind imitator. He was, if any thing, a lover of strict method. And Malik Ambar's system, in certain respects, lacked it. While therefore accepting its principles, Shivaji did not commit himself to all its details. Malik Ambar had not carefully surveyed the lands, and the survey work was fraught with many difficulties more or less serious. There were different standards and units of measurement, and Shivaji had first to find out a standard unit before he could order a systematic survey.[65] Then again, accurate measurement was impossible with a rope. The length of a rope was liable to slight variations in different seasons. So the measuring rope had to be rejected. Some Muhammadan rulers had substituted the "tenab" or measuring chain for the rope. But Shivaji replaced it by a *kāṭhi* or measuring rod.[66] The *kāṭhi* was to be five cubits and five fists (*muṭhis*) in length. The length of the regulation rod was fixed in *tansus* also. Twenty rods square made a *bighā* and one-hundred and twenty *bighās* a *chāvar*. The unit of measurement being thus fixed, Shivaji ordered a survey settlement, and the work of surveying Konkan was entrusted to no less an officer than the celebrated *Annāji* Datto, afterwards Shivaji's Sachiv.

Annāji Datto's survey.

It can be safely asserted that the survey work was done with the utmost care. Annājī Datto, for example, refused to rely on irresponsible government officials, whose lack of local knowledge and necessary energy disqualified them for the work. He therefore issued circular letters to village officers urging them to undertake this important work with the co-operation of some of their co-villagers, whose interests were directly involved. A copy of this old circular

63 See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Poona volume and Jervis, pp. 66-68.

64 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Poona volume.

65 Jervis enumerates the following—The gochurma or oxhide of land, the turub or plough land, secondly the khundee of land, the mouza, the mun, the kharika and so forth, that is lands requiring a khundee, mouza, mun, kharika and so forth of seed to sow them, by which rule the produce was estimated and the Government share fixed—Jervis, pp. 36-37.

66 See *Sabhasad*, p. 32.

letter has come down to us, and has been deciphered and published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. As this is the only documentary evidence of the manner in which the Bighāoni survey of Konkan was conducted by Annāji, I think it will not be out of place to quote the document here in full.

A kaulnāmā from Rājshrī Annājī Datto to the Deshmukh, and Deshkulkarni and Mokdam, Patil and Rayas of Tarf Rohidkhore in the Subha of Maval, dated Surusan Tisa Sabain Alaf (1678). You came to the presence at camp Lakhevadi and (represented) that in the Vatani districts of His Majesty, the Rayats should be encouraged by the confirmation of their Kaul and fixing the rent of the lands. Having confidence * * * and taking into consideration the remissions made we grant to the following terms for the land. From the year San Saman (it is the practice to realise) half the produce, from the last year the lands were remeasured according to the Bighāoni system and the rent was revised and it was settled that of the lands * * * * the inspection (Pahani) of what places had one year been made, and the revision completed, and a plot originally a first class land had (now) deteriorated, then * * * such a settlement was not made after an understanding with the Rayats. Therefore you petitioned that a settlement should be made (about the rent). Thereupon the following agreement is made that in the present year * * * * was almost over, and the last one month only remained * * * The agreement about the rent of San Sabaina * * * * the (produce) should be estimated, such was the agreement made. If some Brahman or Praabhu Karkuns are appointed this work, then what will those lethargatic people do ? Into how many blocks are village lands divided, what are the crops grown in the village, what rent should be realised, what (do those) poor men (know about that) * * * Therefore, as you are the responsible officers of your district (this work has been) * * * thrown upon you. Therefore you should from to-day * * * perform the survey work of your district. For this work, the Deshmukh and the Deshkulkarni and the Mokdam and officers * * * * accompanied by a few Rayats, should with one accord go from village to village and ascertain that the produce of such a village is so much, the land (in it) * * * is so much of the (arable) land the first, second and third class (plots) * * * are so many. After carefully ascertaining (these things) and making an estimate of the crop grown, you should after a proper enquiry find out what may be the probable produce if (more) labour is applied, and put that amount (under) that class of lands. * * * you should make your estimate after examining (proper) evidence, in the following manner that at a certain place Malik Ambar's (estimated) produce was so much, and that the autumn or the first harvest of the first, second, third and the fourth class lands is so much, and the second or the vernal crop is so much. After determining the (produce of) the two harvests, you should state that in so many Bighas is such and such crop (cultivated). After making these entries (under the heading) of each particular village, if there are a few peasants * * * then according to the above order, you should make an estimate of produce of the whole *Tape*, whether inland revenue or village dues and to do this work, time of a year from to-day, has been given to you. You must in the meantime, inspect the whole *Tape*, village by village, field to field and carefully ascertain their yield and write to me. I shall (thereafter come and inspect three villages of three different) sorts in your *Tape* one * * hilly, one marshy and one with black soil * * * and the villages near their boundary having been inspected according to the practice of the Karkuns. * * * having corrected (and) (comparing that ?) * * * your total and what may be the produce of one village * * * and making it ready according to that * * * if the total under each item becomes 1¼, 1½ or double as much then in that way * * * 1½, 1¼ and double * * * having been proved correct and you are to (realise accordingly) * * * * should do if * * * * do so then * * * it will be all right if it tallies * * * settlement

* * * * settlement to be made * * * agree * * (agreement) to this effect has been made * * we are agreeable * * the cultivation of the District * * Give such an assurance * * * * from the Huzur.[67]

Annāji's personal supervision.

It is a pity that time has not left this document intact, and the rotten and torn borders of the paper, with the indistinct letters, have made it impossible for Mr. Rajwade to decipher all the words. Many gaps have yet to be filled up mainly by conjecture. But it appears from what has been read, that the estimate of these village officers was not accepted without a proper examination. Annājī Datto himself revised their work. In every district, he visited at least one village of each description, estimated its yield and then compared his own figure with the figure submitted by the village worthies. It was the interest of these villagers not to overestimate the possible revenue, consequently the king alone was the only losing party if any error in these estimates, remained undetected.

This settlement made late in Shivaji's reign.

It is to be noted that this circular letter was issued in 1678, only two years before Shivaji's death. It is therefore clear that this survey settlement could not have been finished in his life time and had in all probability commenced late in his reign. Before discussing the principles of the assessment made on this occasion, we should try to find out what taxes, cesses and extra duties (or *abwabs*) an ordinary peasant was expected to pay in the earlier days of Shivaji and before his time.

Taxes enumerated.

We have, however, no ready-made list of these taxes and cesses like the one enumerating the cesses and duties of the Peshwa period that Elphinstone gives us. We can, however. frame a fairly complete list, for the Pre-peshwa period also, from the Sanad or grant deeds published in Mr. V. K. Rajwade's *Marathyancha Itihasanchi Sadhanen,* Mawji and Parasnis's Sanads and Letters and the transactions of the *Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Maṇḍal.* No less than fifty taxes and *abwab,* and cesses have been mentioned in these papers. They were—

1. Beṭh Begāri—(Forced labour).
2. Farmāysi—A tax first levied by the Moghul officers. It was generally levied for purchasing local products ordered by the Emperor.
3. Belekaṭi—perhaps an *abwab* levied on the stone workers.
4. Payposi—cannot be positively identified—probably a tax paid in kind by the shoe makers. The shoe makers claimed the special right of paying their dues in kind.[68]
5. Mejbāni—literally dinner tax.
6. Mohimpaṭi—Expedition cess—a similar tax is mentioned by Kauṭilya.
7. Kharchpaṭi.
8. Telpaṭi—Oil cess—perhaps levied for illumination on festive occasions.
9. Tup—A tax in kind levied perhaps from manufacturers of ghee.
10. Faski—A toll levied on green vegetable sellers.
11. Sādilvār.
12. Tuṭpaṭi.
13. Id Subrāti—Jervis thinks this was a tax in kind paid by oilmen for illumination on the occasion of Id.
14. Ranbheri.
15. Uṭ—A cess levied on transport camels.
16. Āmbe—A tax levied on the produce of mango trees.
17. Kārujāti.

[67] V. K. Rajwade: *M.I.S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 368-370.

[68] *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 12.

18. Hejib—literally means an envoy. It is however not clear whether this extra cess was levied for entertaining foreign envoys or for meeting the expense of sending an embassy to a foreign court.
19. Pāthevāri—Is it Patwari—tax levied for village officers ?
20. Ashvajakāti—Tax on transport horses ? or Duty on sale of horse ?
21. Setsārā—Tax on arable land.
22. Barhād Ṭakā—?
23. Sel Bail—A duty on transport cattle.
24. Jangampaṭi—A *jangam* is a Lingāyet. It is a tax levied on the *jangams*.
25. Peskasi—same as the *peshkash* of the Moghul period.
26. Paṭi Sike Humayun—*Sike* is a seal. This tax must be analogous to Bat chhapai of the Peshwa period.
27. Kar-i-Humayuni—Tax levied for celebrating the royal birth day.
28. Thānebheṭ.
29. Dasrāpaṭi.
30. Huzur Bheṭ.
31. Helpaṭi.
32. Ahisthān.
33. Virahisthān.
34. Mohtarfā—A tax on shop-keepers. Many cesses, however, fall under this general heading.
35. Thaljakāti—Customs Duties levied on things while intransit across country.
36. Palbhārā—may be a tax on green vegetables.
37. Ulphāpaṭi—a religious cess.
38. Bakrid.
39. Sardeshmukhpaṭi—same as Sardeshmukhi.
40. Mushāhirā—same as Rasad of the Moghul rulers.
41. Gānvkhanḍi.
42. Dini—A tax on grain.
43. Pāsoḍi—A piece of blanket exacted from every Dhangar who manufactured it.
44. Teji Bheṭi.
45. Jhāḍjhāḍoḍā—A cess in kind levied on the fruits of village trees. Generally collected at the rate of one per hundred mangoes or tamarinds.
46. Bārgujār.
47. Ināmpaṭi—an occasional tax imposed in times of exigency on Inamdars.
48. Akhduldivāni.
49. Kār Imārati—A tax to meet building expenses.
50. Vihir huḍā—an extra tax on lands watered from weels.

Mention is made of another *abwab Sinhāsanpaṭi* or coronation tax levied at the time of Shivaji's coronation.[69] Most of these taxes do not appear on Elphinstone's list and had been abolished by Shivaji.

Rent.

Annāji Datto at first fixed the rent at 33 p.c. of the gross produce.[70] But Shivaji afterwards demanded a consolidated rent of 40 p.c. when all the taxes and extra cesses had been abolished. Neither Tagāi nor the Istābā principle were unknown in his time. The latter system can be traced even to the days of Kulluka Bhaṭṭa[71] and the former was very common under the Moghul government. "Cattle should be given to the new Rayats that may come. Grain and money for (buying) seeds should be given. Grain and money should be given for their

69 Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 12. 70 Jervis, p. 94. 71 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

maintenance, and the sum should be realised in two or four years according to the means of (the debtor)"[72]. In this way, says Sabhasad, new settlers were encouraged to come and settle in Shivaji's dominions. We have seen how easy terms were offered by the Peshwas inviting imigrants, specially for encouraging new industries and for founding a new market town. Rent free land was granted for the latter purpose by Shivaji's minister Moro Pingle.[73] It is also certain that though extra cesses had been abolished the customs duties were retained. No one could travel without a passport from a competent authority, and Fryer mentions a customs officer stationed at Kalyan.[74]

The actual rent.

We know, from many published documents, how much the peasant had to pay for each *bigha* he cultivated, during the Peshwa period. No such document of Shivaji's time has, however, come down to us. Major Jervis has quoted exact figures, in his book on Konkan, but from what sources we do not know. It will not, however, be improper to quote these figures here, and the reader may accept them for what they are worth. Says Jervis,—"It is commonly believed indeed that he (Shivaji) measured and classified all the lands, and then ascertained the amount of their produce from one or two villages from each Muhal of the Puchitgurh, Rajpooree, Rygurh, Soowarndroog, Unjunvel, Ratnagiri, and Veejydroog Districts, for three successive years, from which data he established the rates, half in kind, half at a fixed commutation rate differing in each Talooka, to be paid by the Beegah of each sort of land. The classification of the rice lands, mule, or hemp, under 12 heads; the four first still retaining their former well known distinctions. Uwul, first and the best sort; Doom or Dooyom second sort; Seem, third sort; Charoom or Charseem, fourth sort. The first was assessed at 12½ muns; the second at 10, the third at 8, the fourth at 6¼ muns. * * * * * * * The remaining eight descriptions of land went by the following names, discriminating their respective qualities, and were assessed at the annexed rates. 1st Raupal, on which small stunted brush wood grows; 2nd Khurwat, lands in the neighbourhood of the sea or rivers, sometimes called salt bhatty lands: 3rd Bawul, rocky soil; 4th Khuree stony soil: 5th Kuriyat or Toorwat, lands cultivated with pulse, hemp etc.; 6th Manut, lands with roots of large trees still uncleared, as near Indapur and Goregaon.

Raupal	8	maunds	per	Beegah.
Kharwut	7½	,,	,,	,,
Bawul	6½	,,	,,	,,
Khuree	6¼	,,	,,	,,
Kureyat 1st sort	6¼	,,	,,	,,
Rutoo	5	,,	,,	,,
Toorwut or Kathanee	5	,,	,,	,,
Manut	5	,,	,,	,,

Subsequently the wretched cultivators have planted small spots on the most rocky eminences, wherever a little water lodged, and the least portion of soil favoured the growth of rice, this is frequent about Unjunvel and Ratnagiri Talookas and have been classed under two heads both called Sirwat the former assessed at 3¾ maunds, the latter the half of that; the produce of the first kind would be about 16 bushels per beegah."[75]

(*To be continued.*)

72 *Sabhasad*, p. 32.

73 Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. XX, p. 98.

74 "Till on the right, within a mile or more of Gullean they yield possession to the neighbouring Sevagi, at which city (the key this way into that rebel's country), Wind and tide favouring us, we landed at about nine in the morning, and were civilly treated by the customer in his choultry, till the Havaldar could be acquainted of my arrival."—Fryer, p. 123.

75 For these figures, see Jervis, pp. 94-97.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 186.)

LXXIII—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN IBRÂHÎM QUTB SHÂH AND MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHÂH AND OF ITS RUPTURE OWING TO THE MACHINATIONS OF MISLED FOMENTERS OF STRIFE.

When Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh heard of the rupture which had occurred between Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh in the course of their expedition against Tufâl Khân, he sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar for the purpose of settling the terms of an alliance between Ahmadnagar and Golconda. The envoy disclosed some of the duplicity of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and conveyed expressions, which were supported by the strongest oaths and assurances, of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's friendship. The letter which he brought urged Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh to march from his capital against 'Alî Âdil Shâh, saying that the fortress of Bîjâpûr was in a ruinous state and that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was devoting all his time and attention to rebuilding it. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh promised that if Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh would march against Bîjâpûr, he, the son of Eltamrâj, ruler of Vijayanagar, and Tufâl Khân of Berar would join him and would unite with him in besieging Bîjâpûr. Khûnzah Humâyûn, being disgusted with the duplicity and bad faith of 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh, agreed to the proposals of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and at once marched from Ahmadnagar, without halting by the way, to the banks of the Krishna, which was the meeting place agreed upon. Here both Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and the son of Eltamrâj joined the army of Ahmadnagar, and were honoured by being permitted to pay their duty to Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh.[165]

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh became aware of the great strength of the army of Ahmadnagar and of its having been joined by Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and the son of Eltamrâj, he realized that he could not withstand it in the field and therefore set himself by fraud and artifice to cause dissension between the allies. By means of his guile he succeeded in detaching Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh from Ahmadnagar and in attaching him to himself, thus inducing him to break his treaty with Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh.

Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, being thus beguiled by 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, deserted the camp of the allies at midnight and marched on Golconda, and on the following morning, at daybreak, the news was brought to Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh ; and Khûnzah Humâyûn, having taken counsel of the officers of state, resolved to retreat to Ahmadnagar. News was now received that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had aggravated his perfidy by attacking and plundering a convoy which was on its way to the royal army. This news confirmed Khûnzah Humâyûn in her resolution of retreating, and the army of Ahmadnagar retreated from its encampment to the distance of one day's march on its homeward journey, and halted. That night the enemy's infantry attacked the camp in great numbers and there was great bloodshed until the breaking of the day. When the day broke, the king ordered that fortifications should be thrown up around the camp and should be garrisoned by infantry, artillery, and archers, in order that strangers might have no access to the camp, nor egress therefrom. These orders were carried out and the enemy who attacked the camp were seized and put to death. In the same

[165] The alliance between Ahmadnagar and Golconda and the expedition to Bîjâpûr, here described, are not recorded in their proper place. It was in A.H 977 (A.D. 1569-70), after Murtazâ had imprisoned his mother, Khûnzah Humâyûn, and when he was marching against Kishvar Khân of Bîjâpûr, who had occupied Kach, near Bîr, and had built the fort of Dârûr, that Murtazâ sought aid of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh. It is impossible to fit in Sayyid 'Alî's account with the events which happened at this time. —F. ii. 78, 79, 258, 336.

manner the enemy, being upon the flanks and rear of the royal army during its march, attacked them, putting to death many of the sick men of the army and of the baggage guard. It was then ordered that some of the *amîrs* with their troops and with the royal guard should use the greatest vigilance in protecting the sick and the baggage guard and should repulse the enemy whenever they appeared. These orders were carried out and the marauders were slain whenever they appeared.

Suddenly, in the course of the march, news was received that the army of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh had appeared in force on the left, which was under the command of Dastûr Khân and Khudâvand Khân Jatâ Khânî, and had attacked it, and that heavy fighting was going on between them and Dastûr Khân and Khudâvand Khân. By the royal command, Miyân Manjhû Khân Begî with his troops hastened to the aid of Dastûr Khân and Khudâvand Khân and fought so bravely that the army of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was defeated. Meanwhile, however, news was received that Muqarrab Khân and Ṣalâbat Khân, with a force from Quṭb Shâh's army, had attacked the right wing of the royal army, under the command of Kâmil Khân and other *amîrs*, and that the battle was now raging in that quarter. Mu'tamad Khân, *Sar-i-Naubat*, who was then in attendance on the king, was sent to the assistance of Kâmil Khân, and it was also ordered that Miyân Manjhû, as soon as he had beaten off the enemy on the left wing, should march to the right wing and assist Kâmil Khân in repulsing the enemy there.

Mu'tamad Khân and Miyân Manjhû with their troops joined Kâmil Khân, and the three commanders with their combined forces attacked the Quṭb Shâhî troops with great valour, defeated them, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Mu'tamad Khân *Sar-i-Naubat* was slain in the fight and Kâmil Khân was wounded, but victory remained, nevertheless, with the troops of the king, and on the death of Muqarrab Khân Qutb Shâhî, who was slain, the hearts of his troops failed them, and they fled and were dispersed.

After thus dispersing and punishing his enemies, the king proceeded in peace on his way to Aḥmadnagar.

LXXIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARRELS, INSTIGATED AND FOMENTED BY ENVIOUS TRAITORS, WHICH AROSE BETWEEN KHÛNZAH HUMÂYÛN AND THE KING MURTAẒÂ NIẒÂM SHÂH.

It has already been mentioned that at the beginning of the reign of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh the whole of the business of state was carried on by the queen-mother Khûnzah Humâyûn, owing to the king's devotion to sensual pleasures, in which he spent all his time. Khûnzah Humâyûn devoted the whole of her time, except what was spent in religious duties, to public business, and conducted the administration with great wisdom and ability. The queen-mother, at the beginning of the reign, wisely appointed a learned man, remarkable for his virtue, veracity, and good birth as tutor to the young king, in order that he might be instructed in religion, in holy law, in the Qur'an and the traditions, and in wise precepts, and might be weaned from his fleshly lusts. Her choice fell on the learned Maulânâ Husain Tabrîzî, who afterwards received the title of Khânkhânân. He, in a short time, gained great influence over the king and was distinguished above all the servants of the court by becoming the repository of his secrets, being never absent from his presence, night or day, or in public or in private. When he had thus gained entire influence over the king, ambition and the desire of place and power entered his heart, and forgetting what was for his soul's good, he listened to the temptations of the devil and schemed to obtain the appointment of *vakil* and *pîshvâ*, regardless of the dangers which lay ahead, until at length he suffered what he suffered.

This faithless and treacherous servant told the king in secret that kingship resembled divinity, in that it admitted of no participant, and that in spite of the great power and influence of Khûnzah Humâyûn in the state, which were so evident and notorious as to stand in need of no proof, the affairs of state were not progressing as they should. He added that it was well known that the queen-mother was much attached to the prince and that the king would act wisely in depriving her of all power as soon as possible. The traitor so worked on the king's feelings that he believed that this advice tended to his interest and accepted it. Maulânâ Husain Tabrîzî then, forgetting all that he owed to the queen-mother, employed a band of ruffians to seize and imprison both Khûnzah Humâyûn and the prince.

Informers gave news of the conspiracy to Khûnzah Humâyûn and she issued orders that the conspirators should be seized. Some even say that the king, in the extreme simplicity of his heart, disclosed the whole affair to her. Be this as it may; the secret was discovered and the conspirators fled and concealed themselves. Among them were Khvâja Mîrak, the *Dabīr*, who afterwards received the title of Changîz Khân and rose to be the king's *vakīl*, and Sayyid Murtazâ, who eventually became *Amīr-ul-Umarâ* of Berar, as will be related. These men, in fear of their lives, fled and took refuge with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh.[166] After a while they returned, were readmitted to the royal service, and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of the royal favour. After these events the king again, at the instigation of turbulent men, laid plans for seizing Malika-i-Jahân (Khûnzah Humâyûn).

In A.H. 970 [167] (A.D. 1562) Kishvar Khân, the 'Âdil Shâhî, marched towards the Ahmadnagar dominions with a large army and laid the foundations of a fortress at the village of Dârûr. Khûnzah Humâyûn, with the king, the *amīrs*, and officers of state, and the whole army, marched from the capital with the object of meeting the enemy, and encamped in the village of Dhanora, near the capital. Tâj Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who were the brothers of Khûnzah Humâyûn, and were two of the most important men in the state, were encamped in the village of Jaichand, which was no more than three or four leagues distant from the royal camp, and although repeated messages were sent to them enjoining them to join the royal camp, they omitted to obey them. The conspirators then gained over Farhâd Khân and some other officers of state, and on *Rabī'ul-awwal* 19, A.H. 970 (Nov. 16, A.D. 1562), by the royal command, appointed Habash Khân, one of the *amīrs* of the court, to arrest Khûnzah Humâyûn. That bold and fearless man hesitated not to commit this act of treason and ingratitude, and entered the queen-mother's pavilion without ceremony and caused her to be violently thrust into a litter. She was then handed over to I'tibâr Khân and others,

166 This account of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh's first and abortive attempt to free himself from the subjection in which he was kept by his mother, whose influence in the state was most mischievous, does not differ materially from that given by Firishta (ii, 255), except that according to his account the leaders of the conspiracy were Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû, Qâsim Beg Hakîm, Shâh Ahmad, and Murtazâ Khân, nephew of Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû. Khûnzah Humâyûn had bestowed about half the lands in the kingdom on her brothers 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân, and other relatives, who failed to maintain their contingents. Consequently there were no troops to oppose to Kishvar Khân of Bijâpûr when he invaded the country and established himself at Dârûr. The 'ruffians' to whom was entrusted the task of arresting Khûnzan Humâyûn were the African *amîrs*, Farhâd Khân and Ikhlâs Khân. The plot was discovered owing to the pusillanimity of the young king who, when his mother sent for him to speak to him on business, concluded that she had discovered the plot and was about to depose him, and confessed everything.

167 This date is wrong by seven years, perhaps owing to a scribe's error. Husain Nizâm Shâh I did not die until *Zi-l-Qa'dah* 7, A.H. 972 (June 6, 1565); it was not until A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68) that Kishvar Khân of Bijâpûr established himself in Dârûr; and it was in A.H 977 that Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh succeeded in shaking off his mother's yoke. If the day of the month given below is correct, it was on Sep 1, 1569, that Khûnzah Humâyûn was arrested.

and removed to Daulatâbâd. The prince who was at that time barely ten, or, according to another account, twelve years of age, was also imprisoned, and was sent to Shivner. 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân, who had always been intimately associated with the administration of the state and of the army, were not then present at court, and the king, therefore, appointed Khvâja Mîrak, the *Dabīr*, who has already been mentioned, to a command, and, having bestowed on him the honourable title of Changîz Khân, dispatched him with a force against 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân. Changîz Khân obeyed the order with alacrity and marched against them. The two *amīrs* perceiving that they were not strong enough to withstand the royal army, fled and separated from one another. 'Ain-ul-Mulk took refuge with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and Tâj Khân with Bahârjî [168]. After a while they both returned to Aḥmadnagar and lived in retirement on their own lands.[169]

After Khûnzah Humâyûn had been detained for a time in Daulatâbâd, she was removed thence to Shivner, and the prince was removed thence to Lohogaṛh, where he remained in retirement until he was released by the king Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh II, as will be related hereafter in vol. II.

Now that Khûnzah Humâyûn was imprisoned, Murtẓaâ Niẓâm Shâh exercised all the power of the crown without restraint, and with none to oppose or hinder him. The administration was entrusted to Maulânâ Ḥusain who was honoured with the title of Khânkhânân.

When news of the queen-mother's fall and imprisonment reached Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh, who was imprisoned in Lohagaṛh, he was exceedingly rejoiced, and without waiting for orders, broke his bonds. He then attempted to leave the fortress and go to court, without waiting for a summons, but the officers of the fortress prevented this and represented the whole matter in writing. As the Khânkhânân was *pîshvâ* and was all-powerful at court, their report came first into his hands. As soon as he had mastered its contents, he feared lest 'Inâyatullâh should come to court, regain his old ascendency and displace him from the post of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. He therefore sent a messenger with orders that Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh was to be treated with great harshness and severity and then put to death, and when he received news of his death he reported to the king that the Maulânâ had died a natural death. The king was much grieved and affected by the news of the Maulânâ's death. In a short time however, the treachery, baseness, and ingratitude (of the Khânkhânân) came to light and he received the reward of his vile actions. Nothing is blacker or more disgraceful than ingratitude, and the envious man is ever a prey to disappointment.[170]

168 This was the raja of Baglâna.

169 According to Firishta (ii. 257), 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân were with the royal army when Khûnzah Humâyûn's arrest was effected. His account of the affair is as follows —Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, urged thereto by Mullâ Husain Tabrîzî, Shâh Aḥmad, and Murtaẓâ Khân, asked Khûnzah Humâyûn for permission to go hunting, which was accorded. The next morning he set out with all the *amîrs* except the queen-mother's own immediate followers, and she, suspecting mischief from the number of his following, also took the field, but for some reason returned to the camp before he did. The king sent Habashî Khan, 'a harsh old man,' to arrest her, and ordered Farhâd Khân and Ikhlâṣ Khân to support him. Khûnzah Humâyûn, on becoming aware of Habashî Khân's intention, armed and veiled herself, mounted her horse, and came forth to meet him. He attempted to pull her off her horse, but she drew her dagger, whereupon, grasping her hand, he compelled her to drop the dagger, and, seizing her, put her into a litter and sent her to the king, who sent her to prison. Her brothers 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khân were present when she was arrested, but fled without attempting a rescue, the former towards Gujarât and the latter towards Golconda. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was arrested on the Gujarât frontier, but his brother made good his escape.

170 'Inâyatullâh had been imprisoned by Khûnzah Humâyûn, who suspected him of complicity with Kishwar Khân of Bîjâpûr. According to Firishta, the Khânkhânân so succeeded in poisoning the king's mind against him that he signed the order for his execution.—F. ii, 256, 260, 261.

LXXV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE ROYAL ARMY AGAINST THE FORTRESS OF DHÂRÛR AND OF THE DEATH OF KISHVAR KHÂN.

A. D. 1569—70. After Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh had imprisoned Khûnzah Humâyûn and sent her to Shivner and had removed from their places some of those *amîrs* who owed their elevation to her, such as Tâj Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, news was brought to him that Kishvar Khân had built an exceedingly strong fortress in Dhârûr and had ravaged and laid waste all the surrounding country, and had also captured from the royal officers the fortress of Kondhâna[171] and was about to march still further into the Ahmadnagar dominions, of which Dhârûr was the frontier post. Now that the king was freed from all anxiety in the matter of Khûnzah Humâyûn, he resolved to march with a strong army against Dhârûr. When Kishvar Khân heard of the intention of the king, he insolently wrote a letter to him saying that he had intentionally left Daulatâbâd to him, and that he had better retire thither and busy himself with the administration of the country dependent on that fortress, for that if he did not follow this advice he would only have himself to thank for what might follow [172].

When the king became aware of the contents of this impudent letter, his wrath and jealousy of kingship were inflamed, and, although his army had not yet joined him and the troops with him numbered no more than 5,000 horse, he, regardless of the strength of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, which numbered more than 30,000 horse, mounted his horse after the evening prayers and pressed on with his small force in advance of his army. His officers, who were with him, endeavoured by various devices to detain him and to prevent him from pushing on; but he would not heed them, and pressed on with great speed by a little known road.

In the morning he reached Dhârûr and besieged Kishvar Khân. Just then Shamshîr-ul-Mulk, son of Tufâl Khân, the ruler of Berar, joined the king with a thousand horse,[173] and as the *amîrs* of Ahmadnagar had not yet come up, the accession of this force greatly encouraged the troops and officers with the king. Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, without paying any heed to the artillery and musketry fire from the fortress, at once attacked it. Kishvar Khân was altogether unprepared for the arrival of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, and for his attack on the fortress, and many of the defending force were slain.

Hindiya, one of the 'Âdil Shâhî officers, urged Kishvar Khân to mount his horse and escape from the fortress. But since the evil star of Kishvar Khân Lârî prompted him to oppose the king, he declined to listen to Hindiya's advice and took the field. In the first charge the troops of Ahmadnagar made a breach in the defences of Dhârûr and utterly defeated Kishvar Khân's army, slaying many of them. When Kishvar Khân saw that his men were defeated and that the troops of Ahmadnagar were pressing on, he took refuge in a bastion stronger and less accessible than the rest, and kept those who were attacking him at bay with his bow and arrow. Changîz Khân, however, shot Kishvar Khân through the navel with an arrow, and for ever put an end to his boasting. The royal troops then reached him and brought him before Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, and he was just breathing his last when he was thus brought

171 Kondhâna, properly Khondhâna, was too distant from Dhârûr to have been captured by Kishvar Khân. According to Firishta (ii, 254), it was captured by another force from Bîjâpûr. Dhârûr is about twenty-seven miles south-east of Bîr.

172 Firishta (ii, 258) mentions this insolent letter, but does not give its contents.

173 Firishta does not mention the assistance received from Berar, and it is highly improbable that any was sent. Relations between Ahmadnagar and Berar continued to be most strained, from the time of the murder of Jahângîr Khân (see note 141) and Tufâl Khân's subsequent refusal to join the Muhammadan alliance against Vijayanagar, until the expedition of 1572—1574 in which Berar was annexed to Ahmadnagar. Sayyid 'Ali's object seems to be to suggest that Tufâl Khân was one of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh's *amîrs*.

before the king. So many of the 'Âdil Shâhî army were slain that the undulations of the ground were filled with their bodies and the broken country became a level plain. A very few managed to escape. All their property, camp equipage, horses, elephants, gold jewels, arms, and munitions of war fell into the hands of the royal troops ; and all that was considered suitable for the king's acceptance was collected by his officers, while the rest was left to the troops. The king then caused the head of Kishvar Khân to be paraded throughout his dominions on a spear, and the fame of this went abroad throughout all lands.

It is said that when Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh reached the gate of the fortress he there saw a nosebag full of nails hung up. He asked what the reason of this was and was told that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had written to Kishvar Khân saying that since he had built the fortress of Dhârûr and had ravaged the country about it, he might return to Bîjâpûr, but Kishvar Khân had replied that he would neither return nor turn back until he had captured Aḥmadnagar, whereupon 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had sent him these nails with a message that the nails would be in the bag of him who returned without taking Aḥmadnagar.

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard that Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh was not in his capital, he set forth with Nûr Khân, 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Zarîf-ul-Mulk for Aḥmadnagar with the intention of laying waste the country and levelling all the buildings and dwellings with the dust to avenge the death of Kishvar Khân.[174]

When the king heard of this he sent Farhâd Khân and Changîz Khân with other officers and a large army to oppose the invaders, sending with them most of the royal army from Dhârûr, while he himself remained for a short time in Dhârûr to restore the fortress, which he renamed Fatḥâbâd. He then appointed one of his officers to the command of the fortress and set out on his return journey.

Farhâd Khân and Changîz Khân, with the rest of the *amîrs* and the army, pressed on with all speed and came up with the enemy, and a fierce battle was fought, in which Changîz Khân displayed the greatest valour, and although he received several wounds he continued to fight until he had completely defeated the 'Âdil Shâhî troops. Nûr Khân 'Âdil Shâhî was taken prisoner by the troops of Fîrûz Jang, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Zarîf-ul-Mulk were killed. The 'Âdil Shâhî troops fought with great determination, but their efforts were of no avail, and when they saw that their officers were no longer at their head they fled from the field[175].

After this signal victory the royal army, taking Nûr Khân and the head of 'Ain-ul-Mulk with them, rejoined the king and made their obeisance to him, and the *amîrs* who had taken part in the battle were honoured with robes of honour and other distinctions.

These two signal victories, obtained in the same expedition, greatly strengthened the king and his administration of the state.

After thus defeating his enemies the king returned in triumph to his capital.

(*To be continued.*)

174 Firishta (ii, 259) does not say that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh himself accompanied the force under 'Ain-ul-Mulk, which consisted of ten or twelve thousand horse, and it is improbable that he did so. It was this force which captured Khondhâna (see note 171).

175 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Ankas Khân, and Nûr Khân had been ordered to relieve Dhârûr, but they feared to meet Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh in the field and sent Kishvar Khân a message to the effect that they would create a diversion in the direction of Aḥmadnagar, but the manœuvre failed to draw Murtazâ from before Dhârûr, and after the fall of that place he dealt with the relieving force in the manner here described. Changîz Khân had with him the contingents of Farhâd Khân and Ikhlâṣ Khân, numbering five or six thousand horse. He ordered these two *amîrs* to attack the enemy, and while the conflict was at its height appeared on the scene with forty elephants, 400 of the household troops, and green banners borne aloft. The Bîjâpûrîs, believing that Murtazâ was coming against them in person, broke and fled.

THE MÎMÂṀSÂ DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

BY K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M. A.

OF the so-called six systems of Indian Philosophy, Vedânta has been the most popular among modern scholars. The MÎMÂṀSÂ system has attracted comparatively little attention. The latter has always been viewed with suspicion as a store-house of soul-killing ritualism, and the question has often been asked as to why it ever came to be looked on as philosophy. Undoubtedly, it gives great trouble to the modern student to understand the technique of Antique Ritualism, at least to such an extent as to enable him to follow the endless speculations on the minute details of rituals ; but anybody, who takes the that trouble, can see that the Mîmâṁsâ Darśana embodies much of philosophy, and what is perhaps of greater importance, more of common sense. It has next to no answer to the great problems of metaphysics. It simply does not concern itself with them. It is part of a religion of Works. It has for its main object the determination of doubtful points in the elaborate rituals enjoined by the Vedas by discussion and interpretation. It raises and answers incidentally some questions of great interest. One of these is the question of the existence or non-existence of a personal god or gods. The object of this paper is to present in translation some of the chief texts, especially those from the great commentary of Śabara Svâmin on Jaimini's Sûtras, and to indicate the place of the Mimamsist answer to this question in the development of Indian religious thought.

It is necessary to state briefly the Mimamsist position regarding the Vedas at the outset. They are accepted as Eternal and Infallible. This belief the Mîmâṁsâ system shares with all the other orthodox systems. But it looks upon them also as *exclusively* Karmic or ritualistic in character, and it undertakes to interpret the whole scripture on this basis. This attitude towards scripture, strange as it may seem at first sight, is not altogether without a parallel. The Romanist position regarding the Bible is very similar to this. The Bible was looked upon as "a store-house . . . of doctrinal truths and rules for moral conduct—and *nothing-more*".[1] The position in either case is not without difficulty. The Vedas, as well as the Bible, contain much more than the Mimamsist and Romanist positions allege. How the Romanists got over their difficulty need not be pursued here. The Mîmâṁsâ holds[2] that the whole Veda falls under two main heads, Mantra and Brâhmaṇa, the first comprising chiefly verses to be chanted in rituals in the manner laid down in the Brâhmaṇas and priestly manuals, and the latter made up of Ritualistic Injunctions (Vidhi) and Arthavâdas, a term which according to the Mimamsist, applies to all portions of the Veda that are neither Mantra nor Vidhi. The Arthavâdas may contain and very often do contain separate ideas of their own. And the modern historian has to rely for most of his information on these portions of the Veda. But the Mimamsist's position regarding them[3] is that all these texts of the Veda are somehow or other connected with Vidhis, intended to extol them in various ways and therefore subordinate to them in importance, and should be understood as parts or adjuncts of the Vidhis themselves. It is not possible here to discuss whether and how far this is a correct position. The matter will come up again in connection with the relative standpoints of Mîmâṁsâ and Vedânta. But some emphasis must be laid on the fact that the Mimamsist understands by the Veda the whole

1 Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. I. p. 455.

2 See *Jaimini II*, 1. 32-33. Also *Apasthamba Srauta Sutra*, XXIV. 1, 30-4 (Bibl. Ind.) for a clear and brief summary of the whole position. Haug—*Introd. to Aitareya Br.*, Part I, towards the end, is also instructive.

3 See *Jamini I*. 2. 1-18, and *Sabara* thereon.

body of revealed scripture that is understood to constitute the Veda by all the other orthodox systems of Indian philosophy. A distinguished Orientalist[4] has said : " In reality the teachers of the Mîmâṁsâ associate the word Veda less with these ancient hymns (viz., Rig Veda) than with the ritualistic texts of the second period of Vedic literature, in which the individuality of the authors is not so prominent." It will be equally true to say that in reality the teachers of the Vedânta associate the word Veda less with the ancient hymns of the Rig Veda and the ritualistic texts of the Yajus and Brâhmaṇas than with the metaphysical and mystical texts (Upanishads) of the third period of Vedic literature, so to say. The reality, at least to an Indian student, seems to lie elsewhere. All the orthodox schools agree in accepting the whole body of the Veda as revealed and eternal.[5] The difference in the emphasis laid on the different parts of the scripture by the different schools arises from totally distinct views of life and religion. Any Indian Mimamsist of the present day would be shocked to hear that his views on scripture deny the quality of *scriptureness* to any portion of the Veda. But it is beyond question that there is a decided difference in the adjustment of stress on various parts of the Veda among the rival schools.

Perhaps the most important general question that the Mimamsist has to answer is as to the meaning and significance of a sacrificial act. According to him, he has to perform it because it is enjoined on him as part of his duty by the Eternal Word ; but this does not preclude him from seeking to understand the logic of his act. Is the sacrifice an act of worship of a personal Deity or what ? With this is bound up the more general question—are we to recognise the existence of a god (or gods) or not ? The answer to these questions is by no means easy for the Mimamsist. He is faced with two difficulties. First, he is often enjoined by the Word to sacrifice to all sorts of curious things as well as to the well-known gods of the Vedic pantheon. Secondly, these better-known gods themselves are embedded in the Vedas in all stages of their making.[6] The nature of these difficulties may be explained by instances, before proceeding to give the texts containing the Mimamsist solution of them. The instances quoted will also go to show that the difficulties had begun to be felt, perhaps long before the Mimâṁsâ school began to apply itself to the task of systematising the ritualism of the Vedic religion. The Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa in discussing the rituals of the famous Aswamedha sacrifice comments on the Mantras in the corresponding portion of the Saṁhitâ. In that sacrifice there occurs a curious *homa* to the actions, etc., of the horse, in which the Mantras are "*sváhá* to Iṁkâra, *sváhá* to the Iṁkṛita, etc".[7] On this the Brâhmaṇa raises a doubt, which is settled in the true dogmatic style of the Brâhmaṇas. It says[8] : " So they say. The actions of the horse are verily unworthy of being sacrificed to : therefore these are not to be sacrificed to. But then (finally) they say this. They should be sacrificed to. For even here (*i. e.*, at the very beginning of the Aśvamedha) one who knows like this and sacrifices to the actions of the horse completes the Aśvamedha." Here then is definitely enjoined a sacrifice to the actions of the Aśvamedha horse, which could not by any means be said to be gods, and even the Brâhmaṇa finds a difficulty in the way. Again, the gods of the Veda are sometimes concrete beings with human form and at others they are unmistakably

4 R. Garbe on *Mîmâṁsâ* in *Hastings' Cycl. of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. VIII. Contra *Jaimini II.* 1, 35-7.

5 The difference in the view of the eternity of Veda taken by Mîmâṁsâ and Vedânta does not affect the argument here.

6 Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda* brings this out very clearly.

7 Sâyaṇâchârya naively explains that *Iṅkâra* is the sound made by the horse when it sees its fodder ; while *Iṅkṛita* means that for which the sound *iṅ* was made, viz. the fodder itself.

8 *Taitt. Br.*, III, 8.

inanimate things treated as persons. Yâska in his Nirukta devotes a section to a brief and suggestive discussion on this point.[9] This portion of Yâska's great work may be said to constitute the point of departure for the Mimamsist view regarding gods. Yâska starts with the sentence : " Then (comes) the consideration of the form of gods." He then states one view saying that gods are like men, and quotes instances from the Veda in which gods are described as (1) having hands, feet, etc., like men, (2) possessing a house, wife, property, etc., like men, and (3) eating, drinking, and doing all other things like men. He then states the opposite view that gods are not like men and quotes instances where inanimate things like wind, earth, sun, etc., are described in exactly the same manner as that just noticed in the case of the other gods. He concludes by suggesting that they may both be considered wise, or that the inanimate things may be considered to have their animate duplicates (*karmâtmânah*), and points out that the last constitutes the belief of the Âkhyânas (folklore, or the Mahâbhârata, according to the comment of Durgâchârya). The texts of the Veda quoted by Yâska furnish the standard instances of the Mîmâmsâ discussions on the matter.

Having thus indicated the nature of the question taken up for discussion by the Mîmâmsâ school, the discussion itself may now be reproduced. It takes the form of an enquiry as to whether the sacrifice is performed for the sake of pleasing a deity whose favour is solicited by the act or not. As happens generally in such discussions, the position to be refuted comes out in a lengthy *pûrvapaksha*, and then follows the answer. The main stages in the argument will be indicated by prefixing capital letters to each stage in the *pûrvapaksha* and repeating the same letters to indicate the corresponding answers in the *siddhânta*. The translation aims at being more literal than literary. Where the text has not been closely followed, this will be pointed out in foot-notes and the reasons stated for the course adopted. There are many extracts from the Rig Veda in the Bhâshya ; these I have mostly traced out with the aid of the *Vedic Concordance* of Professor Bloomfield, and I have used Griffith's version of the Rig Veda and modified it slightly in some places in the light of the great commentaries of Sâyaṇâchârya on the Veda and Durgâchârya on the Nirukta. The texts are marked off separately from my own elucidations and incidental comments.

TEXTS : No. I.

(*Jaimini IX. 1. 6-10, and Śabarasvâmi thereon.*)

(SU.) Or, the deity shall cause the deed to be done (*prayojayet*) as the guest ; the meal (sacrifice) is for the deity's sake (IX. 1, 6).

(COM.) It is *not* true that Agni and others are *not* the inducing agents (of the deed).[10] (On the other hand) all deities deserve to be (considered) the instigators of all sacred deeds. Why ? Because the meal is for their sake. **(E)** For this, which is known as a sacrifice, is (no other than) the meal for the deity. Edible material is offered to the deity, saying, the deity shall eat. **(A)** The name of the deity is mentioned in this sacrifice in the Dative case [11], and the Dative case is employed when a thing is more directly aimed at than in the Accusative case. Therefore the deity is not secondary, (rather) the material (*dravya*) and the deed (sacrifice) are secondary, with reference to the deity.

9 VII, 6-7, pp. 754 and 761 of the *Bombay Government Ednl. Series*.

10 This sentence of Sabara takes up the discussion from a conclusion arrived at in the preceding section.

11 Here the commentator employs the technical expressions of grammar. An attempt to translate them literally will make the translation cumbrous without helping to clear up the meaning. This remark applies to all places where the discussion hinges on case terminations.

(**B**) And moreover sacrifice is worship of the deity [12]. As we see it in the world the worship is secondary to the object worshipped. (**C**) And it must be noted that here it is as in the case of a guest. Just as any little entertainment given to the guest is all for his sake (that is, to please him), so this sacrifice also (is performed to please the deity).

Now, the objection[13] arises that by saying this the deity comes to be accepted as having a form and as eating (the offering). We reply, just so, the deity does have a form and does eat. Whence (is this seen) ? From TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF, AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE.[14] (**D**) For Tradition has it thus; the deity has form. And tradition is for us valid evidence. Again, people believe that the deity has a form. They paint Yama with a rod in his hand: and they say likewise. Similarly, Varuna with a noose in his hand, and Indra with a thunderbolt. And (thus) tradition is in our eyes strengthened by popular belief. So also there is CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE in favour of this view: for example, " Oh, Indra, thy right arm we caught." There is a right hand and left hand only in a human figure. Thus again—"These two, heaven and earth, that are far apart, thou graspest. Oh, Maghavan; thy fist is great"[15]. Kâśi means fist. That also fits in only with the human form. Again —"Indra, transported with the juice (of Soma), vast in his belly, strong in his neck, and stout arms, smites the Vṛitras down"[16]. The neck, belly, arms indicate the human form here also. Therefore the deity does possess form and eats also.

(**E**) How is it known (that it eats also) ? From Tradition, Popular Belief, and Circumstantial Evidence. Says Tradition: the deity eats. And so also they believe the deity eats; thus they bring to it various kinds of offerings. Circumstantial Evidence also leads us to infer that the deity eats. For example: " Eat Indra and drink of that which stirs to meet thee"[17]. So also, "All kinds of food within his maw he gathers."[18] Then (Indra) "at a single draught drank the contents of thirty pails"[19]. It may be said—the deity does not eat, for if it did, the offering (*havis*) offered to it would diminish in quantity. In reply, we say that the deity is seen to absorb the essence of the food like the bee (taking honey from the flower). How ? The food becomes tasteless after being offered to the deity; from this it is inferred the deity eats up the essence of the food.

(**SU.**) And because of the Lordship of material goods (the deity shall cause the deed to be done), (IX, 1, 7).

(**COM.**) If the deity is the Lord of any material good and if it bestows a favour on being entertained, then this worship of the deity may be undertaken in order to propitiate it. But (it may be said) both these things do not exist, (are not true). Hence (to meet this objection) it is said (in the Sûtra), (**F**) the deity is the Lord of material good. How is this known ? From Tradition, Popular Belief and Circumstantial Evidence. Tradition clearly says that the deity is the master of all the good things of life. Thus again (the language of)

12 *Devapûjâ* is a meaning assigned to the root *yaj* in the Dhâtupâṭha.

13 Here the commentator hints at the genuine Mimamsist answer to the question under discussion in order to strengthen the case against it.

14 The terms in the text are respectively—*smṛiti, upachâra,* and *anyârthadarśana.* The translation of *upachâra* by popular belief may appear bold, at first sight. But none of the meanings given in the dictionaries suits the context, and the whole trend of the commentary seems to support the translation given above. The capital letters must be a sufficient warning that the expression is half-technical in character. [*Upachâra* can perhaps be better translated by 'practice' and *anyârthadarśana* by 'extra evidence'—D.R.B.]

15 RV. (Rig. Veda), III, 30, 5 and N. (Nirukta) 6, 1.

16 RV., VIII, 17, 8

17 RV., X, 116, 7. N. 7., 6.

18 RV., I, 95, 10.

19 RV., VIII, 66, 4. N. 5, 11.

Popular Belief—"the deity's village," "the deity's field"—strengthens the same Tradition. Likewise Circumstantial Evidence shows the lordship of the deity, *e.g.*, "Indra is sovereign lord of heaven and earth. Indra is lord of waters and of clouds; Indra is lord of prosperers and sages; Indra must be invoked in rest and effort."[20] Also, "looker-on of every thing, lord of this moving world, lord, Indra, of what moveth not."[21]

Thus also we see from Tradition and Popular Belief (**G**) that the deity bestows favours. Tradition says this distinctly, and there are likewise expressions of Popular Belief, *e.g.*, Paśupati is pleased with him; hence a son is born to him: Vaiśravana is pleased with him; hence he has obtained wealth. Likewise there is Circumstantial Evidence. "It is as if one pleases the gods who are offering-eaters by means of fire-offerings and the gods in their pleasure give one food and sap of food."[22]

(**SU.**) And thence (*i.e.*. from the deity) (arises) the connection with it (the fruit of the deed). (IX, 1, 8.)

(**COM.**) (**H**) From that deity comes the connection between the worshipper and the fruit (of the worship). Whoever attends on the deity with an offering, him the deity connects with the fruit (of his deed). How is this known? From Tradition and Popular Belief. Tradition says that the deity rewards him who sacrifices. And the same tradition is strengthened by Popular Belief as, for example, Paśupati was worshipped by this man and he obtained a son. Again, Circumstantial Evidence shows this same thing. "He with his folk, his house, his family, his sons, gains booty for himself, and with the heroes, wealth; who, with oblation and a true believing heart serves Brahmanaspati the father of the Gods"[23]. Again, "only when satisfied himself, does Indra satisfy this person (sacrificer) with offspring and cattle." Thus by offering of food and sayings of praise the deity is worshipped and the deity being pleased (thereby) gives the fruit. That particular fruit, which Agni, worshipped by a particular deed, is master of, and which he gives to the doer, this could not be given (say) by Sûrya. And we learn from Verbal Testimony (Vedas), who gives what. Thus something is said of Agni but not of Sûrya[24].

(**SU.**) Rather [25], on account of Verbal Testimony, the sacrificial act should be held primary and the mention of the deity secondary. (IX, 1. 9.)

(**COM.**) By the expression "rather" the contention (of the preceding Sûtras) is set aside The statement that the deity is the inducing agent is not tenable. The act of the sacrifice is the prime thing. From the sacrifice comes Apûrva[26]. Why? Because of VERBAL TESTIMONY. The knowledge, that anything which gives fruit, *i.e.*, any inducing agent gives a particular fruit, arises from VERBAL TESTIMONY and not from DIRECT PERCEPTION or other sources of knowledge.[27] (**H**) And VERBAL TESTIMONY derives the fruit from the sacrifice (literally, that which is indicated by the root *Yaj*) and not from the deity. How is this known? Darśa and Pûrṇamâsa sacrifices are referred to in the Instrumental case, as in—"He who desires heaven should sacrifice by the Darśa and Pûrṇamâsa". Thus again "He who desires heaven should sacrifice by the Jyotishṭoma."

20 RV., X. 89, 10. X. 7, 2. 21 RV., VII, 32, 22.

22 The text is *Ishamûrjam*. which Eggaling in his *Sat. Br.* renders "sap and pith."

23 RV., II, 26, 3. 24 *I.e.*, what is said of Agni does not apply to Sûrya.

25 Text, *Api Vâ*. Here begins the reply, or Siddhânta.

26 This word literally means "not existing before." It is here a technical term of Mîmâmsâ by which is designated the resultant of any action (*karma*) in an invisible stage which it is supposed to assume before producing visible results. See *Jaimini*, II, 1, 5 and *Śabara* thereon.

27 It needs no mention that for the Mimamsist, Sabda (VERBAL TESTIMONY of the Veda) is more valid evidence than Pratyaksha (DIRECT PERCEPTION) and other Pramânas.

It is the sacrifice and not the deity that is mentioned simultaneously with the desire for heaven. But then, is not the sacrifice an operation with sacrificing material (*dravya*) and the deity (*devata*)? True it is. But the mention of the deity is secondary. The *dravya* and *devata* are there already; it is the sacrifice which must be brought into existence. When something that exists is mentioned along with some other that has to be brought into existence, the existent is mentioned for the sake of the non-existent. Therefore the deity is not the inducing agent.

(**A**) As for the statement—"(the deity) is more directly aimed at (by the Dative) than when the Accusative (termination) is used",—(we say) we do not gainsay the fact of its being aimed at. It is clear from the SENTENCE [28] that the meaning of the term *devata*, connected as it is with a *taddhita* form or a Dative ending, is being directly aimed at But from the very same source (it is seen) that it is the sacrifice that is connected with the fruit; for by EXPRESS REFERENCE we learn the instrumentality of that and not of the deity (in producing the fruit). Again, though we may infer that the sacrifice is for the deity, still this need not stand in the way of its being performed for the sake of its fruit. It is the fruit that is the *purushârtha* (the thing desired by man). And the endeavour for the sake of the *purushârtha* is ours, not the deity's. Therefore we do not do anything on account of any inducement from the deity. And the mention of the deity's name with the Dative ending quite fits in if it (deity) is a means to the (performance of the) fruitful sacrifice.

(**B**) And as for (the statement)—"sacrifice is worship to the deity and the object of worship is the primary thing in worship as we see it in the world"— (we reply), here it should not be as in the world. Here the worship of the worshipped is important. That which is fruitful is the inducing agent. Therefore the act of sacrifice is the inducing agent. Again by this view (that is being refuted now) we have to assume that the deity has a form and that it eats. as there can be no gift or meal for a formless and uneating deity.

(**D**) [29] As for the statement—"from TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF, and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE (we see that) the deity has form and eats"— (we reply) it is not (true): TRADITION is based on Mantras and Arthavâdas. It is a matter of DIRECT PERCEPTION that (all) the knowledge on which TRADITION rests is based on them. And we shall show (elsewhere) [30] that those Mantras and Arthavâdas do not support this view. Says the objector: "If that is so, (*i.e.*, if the Mantras and Arthavâdas do not say that deities have form), then (I say) the knowledge on which TRADITION rests does not come from Mantra and Arthavâda". We reply that for those who take a superficial view of Mantra and Arthavâda, for them it (the knowledge thus gained by a superficial view) is the basis of TRADITION. (That is) even if it is invalidated for those who take a deeper view, still for some one or other it becomes the basis of TRADITION. Therefore TRADITION has only this source and POPULAR BELIEF is only based on TRADITION.

(**D**—*cont.*) As for CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE like "Oh, Indra, thy right arm we caught". it does not mean that Indra has an arm. It only means—that which is his right arm, that we caught: therefore, we do not learn from the SENTENCE the existence of Indra's

[28] Here it must be explained that there are grades of validity even in VERBAL TESTIMONY. For the present purpose it is enough to note that Śruti (EXPRESS REFERENCE) has greater force than *vâkya* (SENTENCE). See *Jaimini*, III, 3. 14.

[29] Attention may be drawn to the unique interest this paragraph possesses for the modern student of Comparative Religion.

[30] See the next Extract, No. II.

arm.[31] Objection : If it does not exist, then it is not credible that we caught hold of the arm ; hence we have to infer the existence of the arm thus—there is this hand, that which we held. (Reply) : This cannot be ; for though there may be the arm, it is matter of DIRECT PERCEPTION that we did not hold it. So even thus (accepting your inference), there is still an incongruity. We have thus either to admit an absurdity or say this is mere praise (*stuti, i.e.,* Arthavâda). But it may be said that this is the statement of a man who caught hold of Indra's arm. We reply, this should not be suggested as it would subject the Veda to the imperfection of having a commencement (in time)[32]. Again, we are not told that there was a man who caught (the arm), for there is no evidence and it cannot be said that from this very statement, we infer the existence of him who caught the arm, for there occur (in the Vedas) also statements which are meaningless like "ten pomegranates, six cakes". Again, taking him who holds this view that Indra has a form, even according to him, the summoning by the term 'Indra' is for invoking the deity, and the invocation is a remembrancer.[33] In that case remembrancing is proper only if we have known that he is relevant (related to the sacrifice). But it is not known by any means that he is. That being so, the invocation is futile. And it cannot be held that we infer that he is invoked from the evidence of the WORD ; for we have said[34] that when we assume an Adrishta (literally unseen, is equal to, Apûrva), there cannot be any assumption of the hand, etc. Further, it is by no means sure that he has been invoked : for there is no proof (to that effect). Therefore the Vocative word is not for the sake of an invocation, but only for a designation. Even in the case of the deity having no form, it might likewise be used for designation. The vocative-ending-word is for praise. Thus, this, which is called deity, is (only) the most important means (to the sacrifice), which is called by the Vocative word and entertained as if it were sentient in the belief that it procures some good. Likewise, the deity is indicated by the Vocative word and told "we have caught hold of thy hand," that is to say, we are dependents on you. This is only a reminder to us that we have to perform a deed connected with Indra (Indrakarma).

(**D**—*cont.*) Likewise, "these two, heaven and earth, are very far apart, and these you hold, Oh, Maghavan, thy fist is great"—in this the fist is praised as if it exists. But there is no proof that it exists. For this is not to say thy fist is great. But what ? That which is thy fist, that is great. These are different ideas, namely, "thy fist exists", and "thy fist is great". And it should not be said that a thing could be praised only if it exists ; for even if a thing is not necessarily connected with (*i.e.,* does not possess) human attributes, even that thing is (sometimes) praised as if it had human attributes, *e.g.,* "They speak out like a hundred, like a thousand men ; they cry aloud to us with their green-tinted mouth ; while, pious stones, they ply their task with piety and even before the Hotar, taste the offered food"[35]. Again, "Sindhu hath yoked her car, light rolling, drawn by steeds"[36].

31 This line of reasoning may appear queer at first sight. Still, not only is it perfectly logical, but is often found useful in modern discussions. Thus, there are two versions of the martyrdom of St. Thomas in India, but no proof that he was martyred at all, *cf.* V. A. Smith, *Oxford History*, page 126.

32 The Mîmâṁsâ system starts by "proving" the eternity of the WORD. In the 'proof' incidents like this are explained away. Muir. *O.S.T.*, Vol. III, is still useful for the general reader.

33 The text is *anuvachana, i.e.,* saying again what has been settled before.

34 I have not been able to trace this reference so far.

35 RV., X, 94, 2. It may here be noticed that Durgacharya in his commentary on N. 7, 7, quotes this passage and comments on it in the exact manner of a Mimamsist. He says in effect : Seeing that stones are referred to like this, it can be no proof of Indra being animate and human that he is referred to likewise.

36 RV., X, 75, 9. N. 7, 7. Here Sayana has 'Sindhurdevata.'

Therefore there can be no Presumption [37] from Vêdic texts regarding the human likeness of the deity. Likewise, the expression "broad-necked Indra" does not say that Indra possesses a neck. What then? That which is the neck of Indra, that is broad. There is no proof of the existence of the neck. Nor can the praise of the neck necessitate any Presumption [37] (*re*: human form); for (such) praise is seen even in the absence of a human form.

(**D.**—*cont.*) Further, the word 'Indra' connected with the words "Indra smites his foes" could not come into any connection with (the words) "strong-necked, etc." For, in that case, a double pronunciation of the word will be necessitated. We shall have to understand that Indra has a broad neck and (also) that Indra smites his foes. Thus, there will be a break (into two sentences); but as we have it, the sentence is (a) single (whole).[38] It is appropriate, if we take it that 'broad-necked, etc.,' are not laid down here as facts, but only mentioned for the sake of praise, *i.e.*, as much as to say, that he (Indra) being so and so in the transport (born) of the Soma juice, smites his foes. The form of the sentence is clearly calculated to tell us about the slaughter of Vritras (foes). And the sentences: "Thy two arms, Oh Indra, are hairy". "Thy two eyes, Oh Indra, are tawny"—tell us only of the hairiness of the arms and tawny colour of the eyes, and not of the existence of the arms or eyes. And even where we can infer the mention of the existence of eyes, as in "To thee I say it who hast eyes and hearest"[39] even there it is not the connection with the eyes (that is intended), but the connection with speech; thus, "I speak to you that has eyes": and the sight is mentioned for the sake of praise, as if it exists. Whence is this known? From the Dative ending (of Chakshusmate). If we import the meaning of the substantive (Chakshus) then the sentence will break, as it will connote both the ideas: "You have eyes" and "I tell you who has eyes". Therefore there is absolutely no CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE that indicates that the deity has human likeness.

(**E**) And this (sacrifice) is not a meal. The deity does not eat. Hence the (reason alleged) "Because the meal is for the deity's sake" is erroneous.

(**E**—*cont.*) As for (the statement)—"From TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE (we learn that) the deity eats". this has been rebutted by proving that the deity has no form. Further, the meal offered to an eating deity will diminish. And there is no proof that the deities eat the essence of the food in the manner of the bee. There is DIRECT PERCEPTION in the case of the bees; it is not so in case of the deity. Therefore the deity does not eat. The statement that the meal offered to the deity becomes tasteless creates no difficulty; the food becomes tasteless and cold on account of exposure to the air.

(**F**) Nor is the deity lord of any material good, and being powerless, how can it give (anything)? And it does not hold good that from TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE, we can infer the lordship of the deity. We have already

37 Here the term in the text is Arthâpatti, the fifth of the six Pramânas generally accepted by Mimamsakas.

38 Here we come to one of the most fundamental rules of interpretation adopted by Mimamsakas. Vâkya-bheda (lit. breach of sentence) is a fault that must be avoided. Says Sabara: "As many words as serve a single purpose, so many constitute one sentence" (on II. 2. 27) and one sentence cannot serve more than one purpose at a time. And Sabara's comment on II. 2. 25. makes it clearer still. "We do not say that one *thing* cannot effect two purposes at a time; but we say that one sentence cannot serve to indicate both these purposes"—*i.e.*, omitting the details of the discussion there, a word or a group of words pronounced only once can indicate only one purpose. If the correct position of Mimamsists here is not grasped, most of their discussions would appear pointless.

39 RV., X, 18, 1.

said that TRADITION, is based on Mantra and Arthavâda : and POPULAR BELIEF as in "the deity's village" and "the deity's field" is merely a belief. That which one can dispose of at his will, that (alone) is his property. And the deity does not dispose of either the 'village' or the 'field' at his own pleasure. Therefore (the deity) does not give (anything). And those who worship the deity get their prosperity from that which they have given up with the deity in their minds. And for the statement that CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE shows the lordship of the deity as in "Indra is the lord of heaven, etc."—knowing by DIRECT PERCEPTION that the deity has no lordship, we infer that these words are figurative. Here says (the opponent)—"We learn from VERBAL TESTIMONY the lordship of the deity, *e.g.*, 'the gods distribute all good things,' and we infer that this is only because the gods will it." (We reply) it is not so. For we see by DIRECT PERCEPTION that this is only the will of those that worship the deity. And that (will) could not be superseded. Even those who describe the deity as omnipotent do not disguise (the part of the) will of the worshippers. They say further that the deity so does as is the will of the worshipper. And he is no lord who follows the will of another and who cannot distribute (favours) at his own will. Further, there is no such VERBAL TESTIMONY (as is alleged). On account of its present-tense form and its being opposed to DIRECT PERCEPTION, it (the sentence quoted) is seen to be mere praise. When such expressions could be (easily) explained as intended for praise, they cannot be used as VERBAL TESTIMONY to the lordship (of the deity). And the deity does not connect a man with the fruit for which it may be worshipped.

(G) And for the statement—"From TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE (we see that the deity) gives and bestows favours" —TRADITION and POPULAR BELIEF have already been disposed of. And there is no CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE in the statement, "Being pleased, the deity gives him food and sap of food", for there is another Vidhi enjoined, viz., "He says—'collect together to the right hand side.'" [40] Likewise in (the following) :—"Only when satisfied himself does Indra satisfy this person (sacrificer) with off-spring and cattle." Here it is an Aindra (related to Indra) offering (Havis) that is enjoined. Therefore the deity is not the inducing agent.

(**SU**.) In the case of a guest he is primary, as his satisfaction is (the) primary (aim): it is not so in Karma.—IX, 1, 10.

(**COM**) (**C**) The analogy of the guest is yet to be refuted. Hospitality must be guided by the guest : for there his satisfaction is enjoined. The guest is to be served, *i e.*, action must be so guided as to please him. A gift or a meal must be given (literally, made). Whatever is desired by the guest should be done. What does not please him should not be forced on him. But here in Karma there is no injunction of (the deity's pleasure). Therefore the analogy of the guest is false (lit. uneven, not on a par).

No. II.

(*Sabaraswamin on Jaimini X. 4. 23—Extract.*)

Now what is this that we call deity (Devata) ? One view (is as follows): Those, Agni and others, who are, in the Itihasas and Puranas said to reside in heaven, they are the deities. Here (against this) we remark that among these deities are not included day, etc., (Aharâdi) and tiger, etc. (Śârdûlâdi). But TRADITION includes words indicating time among deities, *e g.*, "This for the Kâlas (times), the month is deity, the year is deity."

Another view is, that we use the word Devata of those with reference to whom the word Devata is heard in the Mantras and Brahmanas, as in, "Fire is Devata, wind is Devata, sun is Devata, moon is Devata," and similar statements. Here again, days, etc., are not included. Further, the common term Devata will cease to have any (definite) meaning as it will cease to be employed in every day language.

40 This is for the priests to gather together and take their fee after the sacrifice—the fee in this case being food prepared in one of the sacrificial fires.

Hence, (we say) those that get Hymns (Sûkta) and offering (Havis) are deities. Who are those that get hymns ? " For Jâtavêdas worthy of our praise will we frame with our mind this eulogy as'twere a car ; for good, in his assembly, is this care of ours. Let us not in thy friendship. Agni, suffer harm."[41] Those who got Havis, as in—" He shall prepare (the Purodâsa offering) pertaining to Agni on eight potsherds". " That pertaining to Agni-Soma on eleven potsherds". Objection : If all those that get Havis are deities, then the potsherds become eligible to deityhood as they also get the Havis. Then (we say) that which gets the Havis and about which it can be said the Havis is intended for it, (that) is the deity. Likewise in the case of hymns. The word Devata is in TRADITION used thus:—" The hymn having Agni for its deity, the Havis having Agni for its deity." Likewise, "having the guest for deity, having Manes for deity". Thus deityhood comes to be (an attribute) of all embodied and abstract. animate and inanimate (objects) to which in accordance with VERBAL TESTIMONY, something or other comes to be devoted as being particularly intended for them. And the common word (Devata) also becomes appropriate (gains a definite meaning). What hence ? If that is so, then for a particular act, that is the deity, the word indicating which is intended or remembered, when the resolution is made, " I give up (this) Havis".

But[42] in that case, any word for Agni may be used to indicate (that deity in the Darsa and Purnamasa sacrifices). Here we say that it might be so, if the word Agni is pronounced for conveying its meaning and if the meaning is conveyed for indicating its connection with the Havis. But here the word 'Agni' is not so pronounced for the sake of its meaning. Where an operation takes place on the thing connoted, there the word is for conveying its meaning, as there is use for the meaning. But where the operation is on the word itself, there only the word must be conveyed which is intended to be connected with the operation. And the deity does not become a means to the sacrifice by its form, (Rûpa). By what then ? By the connected word. Just as the Adhvaryu aids by both his hands, so the deity aids by the word. "He cleanses the Hota's hand by twice rubbing (*i.e.*, by two coatings of ghee)"—just as here, though there is (direct) connection with the hand, still it is only the Hotar that aids, likewise the deity that helps by the connected word is understood to aid (the sacrifice). Though the deity is enjoined as an aiding agent. still it is only the sound (word) that is connected with the sacrifice. Therefore the word is not pronounced for conveying its meaning ; for else, the meaning (conveyed) will once more convey the word and give rise to (the fault of) far-fetchedness.[43] Is it then (like this)—that only the word is connected with the Havis, and by its connection with the word the object connoted is also deity : so that it is the deity whose name is so connected with the Havis that the latter is (intended) for the former? (No.) It is only when there can be no operation on the word that it comes to be on the meaning. But here the operation is only on the word. Therefore the word is not for conveying its meaning (the object connoted by it). Hence it has been said by the Vrittikâra—" The word comes first, the understanding of its meaning afterwards ; from the word arises the meaning". Thus the Havis is connected only with the word 'Agni,' and other words like Śuchi, etc., have no place (in the sacrifice). And hence, it is only the word in the Vidhi that must be used as Mantra. It may be said that in such a case the word by itself becomes the deity. Our reply is that it is not our concern to refute this : for it by no means. invalidates our contention that the words " Śuchi, etc. " have absolutely no place (in the Mantra).[44]

(To be continued.)

[41] RV., I, 94.

[42] The point of the following discussion is whether in a sacrifice the meaning of the word for the deity is intended, or simply the word. If the former, two consequences follow: (1) Any other word conveying the same meaning may be substituted in the place of that mentioned in the Vidhi. (2) The concrete existence of the deity is also accepted.

[43] Text has " Lakshitalakshanâ."

[44] This last reply is very interesting and must be carefully noted.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A.;

(*Continued from p.* 204.)

Special rates for special cultivation.

Vajat Jamin or uncultivable waste lands were generally excluded when a village was assessed.[76] But as cultivation spread with the progress of agriculture, and there was a greater demand for arable lands, hilly tracts and waste lands of all description were generally brought under the plough. At first they were exempt from assessment, but ultimately these were also taxed at a moderate scale. Jervis says that these Wurkus or Dongur lands were assessed by the "Hul, Nangur or plough, and not by the Bigha." In some instances, however six or seven Bighas of such lands were counted as one for revenue purposes. The rent of such lands varied not only with their fertility but also with the nature of the crops raised. Major Jervis gives us the following scale :—

"Nachnee was assessed at 3¾ maunds per Nungar in superior soil and 3 maunds in inferior soil.

Wuree at 3 maunds and 2½ maunds.

Hureek at 3 maunds.

Other kind of inferior produce at 1¼ maunds."

Besides their principal harvest, the peasants often raised a second crop on the first-class lands. These second crops were also assessed at a special rate according to their nature and deteriorating effect on the land. Jervis gives the following scale :—

Turmeric—Five maunds per Bigha, each Bigha being ¾ actual measurement.

Hemp —Five maunds per Bigha, each Bigha being ¾ actual measurement.

Sugar cane cultivation assessed from 6¼ maunds to 3⅓ of raw sugar per Bigha.[77]

We have seen elsewhere how special consideration was given by the Peshwa government for such costly plantations as those of sugar cane, cocoanut and betelnut. The planter had to wait long for any profit and so did the government. This was however a common practice in the Deccan,, and we may expect that a similar principle existed in Shivaji's time also.

Revenue Divisions.

The provinces under Shivaji's rule were styled Swarajya, in contradistinction to Mughlai or provinces under other (generally Muhammadan) rulers. The Swarajya was for revenue purpose divided into a number of Prants consisting of two or more districts. There were in all 16 Prants, according to Ranade.[78]

These were :—

(1) Prant Maval.
(2) Wai.
(3) Satara.
(4) Karad.
(5) Panhala.
(6) South Konkan.
(7) Thana.
(8) Trimbuk.
(9) Baglan.

76 Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, XX, p. 94.
77 Jervis, pp. 94-97.
78 Ranade, *R.M.P.*, pp. 117-118.

(10) Wanagad.
(11) Bednore.
(12) Kolhar.
(13) Shrirangapatan.
(14) Karnatick.
(15) Vellore.
(16) Tanjore.

But we get a bigger number in a *jabita*[79] drawn in the earlier years of Chhatrapati Shahu. The document, written partly in Persian and partly in Marathi, is supposed to be in the handwriting of Shankraji Malhar.

(1) Subha Ramnagar including Ghanderi.
(2) Subha Jawher Prant.
(3) Subha Prant Bhivandi (12 Talukas).
(4) Subha Kalyan (20 Talukas).
(5) Cheul Subha (6 Talukas).
(6) Subha Rajpuri (12 Talukas).
(7) Subha Javli (18 Talukas).
(8) Subha Dabhol (11 Talukas).
(9) Subha Rajapoor (18 Talukas).
(10) Subha Kudal (15 Talukas).
(11) Subha Prant Bhimgad (5 Talukas).
(12) Subha Prant Akole (5 Talukas).
(13) Subha Poona (6 Talukas).
(14) Subha Baramati.
(15) Indapur.
(16) Subha Prant Mawal (13 Talukas).
(17) Subha Prant Wai (4 Talukas).
(18) Subha Prant Satara (6 Talukas).
(19) Subha Prant Karhad (9 Talukas).
(20) Subha Prant Khatao including Kasba Khatao (11 Talukas)
(21) Subha Prant Man (4 Talukas).
(22) Subha Prant Phaltan Mahal.
(23) Subha Prant Belgaum.
(24) Subha Sampgaon.
(25) Subha Gadag.
(26) Subha Loaxmespwar.
(27) Subha Nawalghund.
(28) Subha Kopal.
(29) Subha Halyal.
(30) Subha Betgiri.
(31) Subha Malkapur (4 Talukas).
(32) Subha Prant Panhala (10 Talukas)
(33) Subha Tarle (5 Talukas).
(34) Subha Ajera (51 Parganas).
(35) Subha Prant Junnar (24 Talukas).

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79 Mawji, *Jabita Swarajya*, *J.B.Br.R.As.*, Vol. XXII, p. 30.

Some of these may be later additions, but this list, we think, fairly represents the divisions of Shivaji's kingdom. Sambhaji had no mind to improve the administration and Rajaram had no leisure. It is not therefore probable that many changes had been made in the revenue administration of the kingdom before the accession of Chhatrapati Shahu.

Revenue officers.

It has already been noted that Shivaji had done away with the agency of such old hereditary officers as the Patil and the Kulkarni in the village and the Deshmukh and the Deshpande in the district. They were left in enjoyment of their old dues, but the work of revenue collection was entrusted to new officers directly appointed by the king. The country had been divided by the Muhammadan government for Revenue purposes into Maujas, Parganas, Sarkars, and Subhas ; Shivaji abolished, or to be more accurate, modified these old divisions. In his time the country was divided into Maujas, Tarfs and Prants. The officer in charge of a Tarf was styled Havaldar, Karkun, or in some rare instances, Paripatyagar. It is interesting to note that in old Hindu inscriptions we often come across an officer styled Danda Nayak or Danda Nath[80], who was perhaps, as his designation implies, the predecessor of the Maratha Paripatyagar. The officer-in charge of a Prant was variously designated Subhadar, Karkun or Mukya Deshadhikari. Over several Prants was sometimes placed an officer called Sarsubhadar, to supervise the work of the Subhadars. These officers, like the Kamavisdars and the Mamlatdars of the Peshwa period, had to look after all branches of the administration. The Subhadar's staff consisted of the usual complement of eight officers, *viz* :—

(1) The Dewan.
(2) The Mazumdar.
(3) The Fadnis.
(4) The Sabnis.
(5) The Karkhanis.
(6) The Chitnis.
(7) The Jamdar.
(8) The Potnis.

Remuneration.

The Subhadar usually had an annual salary of 400 hons a year, with a palanquin allowance of another four hundred, while his Mazumdar's pay varied from one hundred to one hundred and twenty five hons a year. The Mazumdar also enjoyed the proud privilege of carrying a sunshade[81] on public occasions, and a small allowance was sanctioned by the government for its upkeep. A Havaldar in charge of a small village had often to be contented with a paltry allowance of three to five hons a year.[82]

District and Provincial officers often transferred.

The Kamavisdar and the Mamlatdar under the Peshwa *régime*, though appointed for a short term, were generally allowed to retain their office for life, and frequently to transmit it to their heirs. No public office was hereditary under Shivaji's administration, and like the Magistrates and Commissioners of British India, his Karkuns, Havaldars and Subhadars were as a rule

80 *E.P. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 37. 81 *Abdagîr.*

82 *Sabhasad*, p. 31. मुलखास कारकून ठेवावे त्यास महाल पाहून हवालदारास तीन होन तैनात अगर चार पांच होन इतकी तैनात मजमुदारास तीन चार पांच पन्नास पाउनशें होन येणेंप्रमाणें करावें. होन महाल मिळोन लाख सव्वा लाख पउण लाख होन पाहून एक सुभेदार व एक कारकून करावा त्यास दर आसामीस चारशें होन तैनात करावी मजमुदार सुभाचा करावा त्यास शंभर सवाशें होन करावे सुभेदारास पालखी चारशें होनांत करार करावी. मजमुदारास अबदागिरी द्यावी तैनात सरकारची द्यावी.

transferred from District to District and Province to Province. This can be clearly proved by a list of officers carefully compiled by Mr. Bhaskar Vaman Bhat[83] from the official letters and documents published in the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 20th volumes of Mr. Rajwade's *Marathyancha Itihasanchi Sadhanen.* In Mr. Bhat's list, we find that the following officers were in charge of the several Districts for the years marked against their names :—

Havaldars—

Himbe (Pargana)	—Yesaji Ram,	A.D. 1676.
Haveli	—Anaji Kanho,	A.D. 1676.
Koregam	—Bhimaji Malhar,	A.D. 1676.
Tarf Satara	—Kukaji Bayaji,	A.D. 1675.
	Mahadaji Anant,	A.D. 1676.
	Tukaji Prabhu,	A.D. 1677.

It is a pity that we are not in possession of a complete list of Havaldars. We do not know whether in other Districts also, officers were changed so often as in Satara. Our information about the Subhadars and the Sarsubhadars is however more satisfactory, and the working of the principle of short term appointment and constant transfer can be very conveniently proved by the following instances from Mr. Bhat's list.

Subhadars—

Wai Prant—

Yesaji Malhar,	A.D. 1676.
Do.	A.D. 1679.
Do.	A.D. 1687.
Do.	A.D. 1690.
Do.	A.D. 1696.
Annaji Janardan,	A.D. 1697.

Jawli—

Viroram,	A.D. 1664.
Viththal Datto,	A.D. 1671.
Do.	A.D. 1672.
Ambaji Mordev,	A.D. 1676.
Gopal Rayaji,	A.D. 1677.
Kashi Rangnath,	A.D. 1780.

Prant Kol—

Ganesh Jogdeu,	A.D. 1672.
Venkaji Rudra,	A.D. 1677.

Prant Puna—

Tryambak Gopal,	A.D. 1679.
Vinayak Umaji,	A.D. 1681.

[83] Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, *Tritiya Sammelan Vritta*, pp. 128—131.

It is also certain that this principle survived Shivaji and continued down to the Peshwa period. In support of this view Mr. Bhat has produced the following list of Mudradharis or officers in charge of the Sajjangad fort :—

The principle survived Shivaji.

Jijoji Katkar	—A.D. 1676.
Do.	—A.D. 1682.
Makaji Katkar	—A.D. 1689.
Barhanji Mohite	—A.D. 1692.
Do.	—A.D. 1699.
Girjoji Bhonsle	—A.D. 1708.
Do.	—A.D. 1709.

From the 11th Falgumyesaji Jadhava—A.D. 1709.

Satbaji Dabal	—A.D. 1712.

Mr. Bhat further points out that Ambaji Mordeu, who was subhadar of Jawli in 1676, occupied the office of the Subhadar of Satara from 1683—1685. Mahadji Shamraj, Subhadar of Jawli from 1706—1708, was formerly in charge of Prants Satara and Mawal.

From the multiplicity of their duties, these officers were liable to corruption. Public opinion in those days was not offended if a Havaldar went out of his way to take a small present from a traveller for granting his passport or from an aggrieved petitioner for redressing his grievance. Dr. Fryer, who visited the Maratha dominions towards the close of Shivaji's career, has left a quaint account of such an occasion.—"When I came before the governor," says the Doctor[85], 'I found him in state, though under an hovel, where were many Brachmins with accompt books, writing at some distance, nearer his Privy council, with whom he seemed to advise. I was placed on his left hand, and desired my interpreter to acquaint him my errand, withal intreating his favour for my secure passing the Hill. He made it a piece of difficulty and told me I must return to Bimly for orders, to whose Havaldar he was accountable; not to him of Gulleon, which was within half a days journey from whence I set forth. Hearing this I bore myself as sedately as I could, having been informed of the advantage they take of a disturbed countenance ; and sweetened him with his own authority being sufficient, telling him of his master's kindness to the English, and their friendship towards him, which worked him to a yielding temper ; yet he scrupled my canister, or trunk, might be lined with pearl, my horse sold to the enemy, hoping to suck somewhat out of me ; I replying what I had brought were at his liberty to search, and that I went only on an amicable account to cure a sick person, and should be as ready to serve him if required, his fury was quite pawled ; but perceiving an hungry look to hang on them all, and suspecting lest they should serve me some dog-trick, I made a small present, and signing the pass, dismissed me with a bundle of pawn, the usual ceremony at parting." This hungry look and the weakness for presents are perhaps pardonable, but another charge that the English Doctor brought against Shivaji's revenue officers is too serious to be overlooked.

A Havaldar at work.

85 Fryer, p. 127.

Corruption and Tyrannys.

Public officers in the 17th century, whether Asiatic or European, were not overscrupulous. But good kings as a rule kept a strict vigilance over them. Shivaji in particular was served by a very efficient intelligence department. It is an old practice in India to employ spies to watch over the conduct of government servants.[86] The work of the District and Provincial officers was supervised by Pant Amatya and Pant Sachiv. Ranade tells us that "The District accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to supervise the working of the District officers."[87] Shivaji, moreover, was very keen about the success of his government and wanted his administration to compare favourably with those of his Muhammadan neighbours.[88] But all his care and sound regulations were fruitless indeed if his revenue officers really acted as arbitrarily as Fryer says they did. "They are neither for publick good, or common honesty, but their own private interest only. They refuse no base offices for their own commodity, inviting merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them or else turmoil them on account of customs; always in a corner getting more for themselves than their master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master's dues: so that trade is unlikely to settle where he hath anything to do; notwithstanding his country lies all along on the sea-shore, and no goods can be transported without his permission; unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do."

Fryer's charges.

This is by no means the worst that the English traveller has to say against the Maratha officers. He continues—" It is a general calamity, and much to be deplored to hear the complaints of the poor people that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the slavery of Seva Gi. The Desies have land imposed upon them at double the former rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard conditions (if monied men) they are carried to prison, there they are famished almost to death; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is. They have now in Limbo several Brachmins, whose flesh they tear with pincers heated red-hot, drub them on the shoulders to extreme anguish (though according to their law it is forbidden to strike a Brachmin). This is the accustomed sawce all India over, the Princes doing the same by the Governors, when removed from their offices, to squeeze their ill-got estates out of them; which when they have done, it may be they may be employed again. And after this fashion the Desies deal with the Combies; so that the great fish prey on the little, as well by land as by sea, bringing not only them but their families into Eternal Bondage."[89] Fryer was of opinion that even Bijapur rule was milder than that of Shivaji.

(To be continued.)

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[86] See Kantilya's *Arthashastra*, translated by R. Shama Shastry.

[87] Ranade, *R.M.P.*, p. 125.

[88] Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. 8, pp. 23-25.

[89] Fryer, pp. 146-147.

MISCELLANEA.

BOCAMORTIS—BACAMARTE.

This term occurs (*ante*, vol. XLIX, 10) with *Episodes of Piracy in the Eastern Seas* (Episode XVI). Thus :—"They kept at a small distance firing their muskets and bocomortasses and flinging granadoes." Bocomortass clearly means a blunderbus or musketoon, which was frequently in the East a gun with a bell mouth or open-mouthed face, not infrequently-that of a tiger, sculptured at the muzzle. Lat. *bucca*, It. *bocca*, Port. *boca :* hence, buccamortis, death-dealing face. Cf. Boca Tigris, mouth of the Tiger, for the narrows in the Canton River and in the Tigris.

In Part II of *An Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, by The Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, entitled 'Catalogue of the Arms in the Indian Museum,' is, No. 585, "Matchlock ; very long barrel. Taken at the siege of Seringapatam," and a note thereon from the Codrington Collection, where it is called a "Bukmar ; musquetoon with bell mouth ; tiger pattern. Taken at Seringapatam. Used by the officers of the camel corps."

It is therefore possible that *bukmár, bugmár*, is a western Indian term arising out of the Portuguese term *boca mortis*.

Since the above note was written, Mr. S. Charles Hill has drawn my attention to further instances of the use of the word in its Portuguese form from Rebeiro's *Hist. of Ceilão*.

In describing "How the Hollanders besieged and assaulted the City of Colombo" in 1656, Rebeiro writes (2d ed. tr. P. E. Pieris, pp. 368, 369, 370): "One afternoon we [the Portuguese] encountered them and had a fierce fight, and as the passage which they had made through the earth was two *braças* [fathoms] in breadth, many hastened to its defence and a large number of them were killed ; while the hole which we had made being small and dark, they could do us no harm. The only arms which could be used in this position were **bacamartes** and pistols . . . Inside the fort at the mouth of the countermine they set up a wicket through which a man could hardly creep, and when the two whose turn it was to go on guard reached there, they were disarmed of all their weapons before entering . . . and therefore each of them took with them only a **bacamarte** . . . Their orders were that if an advance were made from that side on the bastion, they were to fire their **bacamartes** in such a way as to set the touch-hole of the powder-cask alight."

Lacerda, *Portuguese Dictionary*, gives **Bacamarte** as a variant of an obsolete word **Bracamarte**, meaning a cutlass, a hanger, a whinyard, the *braca* therein being possibly connected with the Portuguese words *braça etc.*, for arm. That the **bacamarte** was a hand weapon is clear from the above extracts, but it is doubtful if Lacerda is right in defining it as a cutlass. In his English-Portuguese volume of his *Dictionary* he gives **bacamarte** as an equivalent for both hand-gun and musketoon, but not for either cutlass or hanger.

From the instances of the use of the word by Rebeiro and in the E.I. Co's. Records, it is obvious that the weapon intended was a hand gun or musketoon. The confusion between Portuguese *bacamarte* and Latin *bucca mortis* probably arose both from the appearance of these guns and from the execution caused by them.

I referred the matter to Mr. M. Longworth Dames, and he wrote as follows :—

"I have been unable to find any other instances in Portuguese of the use of the words 'bacamarte' and 'bracamarte.' In the original text of Rebeiro's work, *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão*, first printed in 1836, I find '*bacamarte*' used, as correctly given in the translation you have quoted. Vieyra's *Dict.*, ed. 1813, gives *bacamarte* as meaning a 'blunderbuss,' and *bracamarte* as 'a short and broad sword' formerly used. The two words seem quite distinct. Dalgado does not give either in his *Glossario Indo-Asiatico*, no doubt considering them original Portuguese words, not of Oriental origin. I do not think 'bracamarte' can have any connection with the word for 'arm.' An 'arm' in Portuguese is *braço*, with a soft c', and not *braca*. For 'bracamarte I can suggest nothing better than *boca mortis*, but 'marte' might conceivably stand for Marte, Mars, and thus mean 'mouth of Mars' instead of 'mouth of death.' But it is impossible to be certain, for it does not seem very probable that a common word in universal use like *boca* should be turned into *baca*, unless by a misprint or mistake in writing. I am sorry I cannot help more on this curious point."

The expressions *bacamarte* and *bracamarte* are therefore obviously an old puzzle to lexicographers and scholars, and these notes are put forward in the hope of some one finding a clear elucidation. With regard to *braça* and *braca*, the cedilla was so often omitted in MSS. that they may yet prove after all to be indentical.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ŚÂKAPÂRTHIVA.

In the following note I intend to make some observations on Mr. Jayaswal's very interesting discussion on the above word; they will, however, be chiefly confined to the first member of the compound word, *i.e.* to शाक of शाकपार्थिव.

There are three interpretations of the word शाकपार्थिवः, *viz.* (i) शाकभोजी पार्थिवः, as given by Patañjali; (ii) शाकप्रधानः पार्थिवः, as the authors of the *Kâśikâ* say; and (iii) शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः, as explained by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and others.

Now as regards the first interpretation, *i.e.* शाकभोजी, Mr. Jayaswal observes that the authors of the *Kâśikâ* have rejected it and have given their own: शाकप्रधानः. But in reality, the authors of the *Kâśikâ* have not *rejected* the interpretation of Patañjali, but, on the contrary, have supported or followed him by explaining it very clearly. It appears that in their opinion शाकभोजी means शाकप्रधानः. That the word भोजी in such cases may mean प्रधान, 'chief' or 'head,' is evident from the following two words which now occur to my mind: (1) First, Pkt. अधिकरणभोइअ (*Mricchakaṭika*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, IX.$_0$[1] and 55·1), Skt. अधिकरणभोजिक or अधिकरणभोजक, as the commentator translates, explaining it as follows: "अधिकरणं न्यायविवादस्थलं प्रसिद्धं ... अदालत इति यदुच्यते.. तस्य भो ज काः प्र भ वः ..." Thus the word means 'a judge' who is the प्रधान or प्रभु of a court. (2) The second word is Pali गामभोजक, Skt. ग्रामभोजक[2] (*Jâtaka*, No. 31; *Fausboll*, Vol. I., p. 199, l. 27; The Commentary on the *Dhammapada*, PTS., Vol. I., p. 69, l. 5), and it similarly means 'the head-man of a village or villages.' The root भुज् from which भोजिन् or भोजक is derived primarily means here पालन, 'to protect,' and secondarily 'to rule,' as is evident in the words महीभुज्, क्षितिभुज्, etc., meaning 'a king'; and in such cases it does not mean अभ्यवहार 'to eat.' So there is no straining whatever, as Mr. Jayaswal thinks, in his own explanation of the term शाकभोजी, as 'the *śâka-ruling*.'

It is to be noted here that as the two terms have been explained above, the word शाक in शाकभोजी can never mean here 'vegetables,' for then the whole compound word would imply "the धान or प्रभु, *i.e.*, 'chief' or, 'head' of 'vegetables,' which is absurd.

The authors of the third explanation, *i.e.*, शाकप्रिय, seem not to have clearly understood the import of Patañjali's शाकभोजी and have paid no heed to शाकप्रधान in *Kâśikâ*, or else could not understand it. Evidently they have taken भोजी in शा क भोजी to mean primarily 'one who eats,' and secondarily 'fond of.' It also appears that by the word शाक they have meant here 'vegetables.'

Here it deserves to be mentioned that according to Haradatta, the author of *Padamañjarî*, a commentary on the *Kâśikâ*, the real reading of the compound word under discussion is शाकपार्थव, though he has also given the reading accepted generally, *i.e.* शाकपार्थिव. पार्थव means, as he has explained, "पृथोरपत्यम्", a 'descendant of Pṛithu.'

It is needless to say that the present note strengthens the views held by Mr. Jayaswal.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SHAHBANDER=PORT OFFICER.

The following extracts from the Annual Report of the British Adviser to the State of Trengganu for 1919 show that in the modern Malay States under British Rule, the **Shahbandar** is the Port-Officer as distinguished from the Customhouse Officer :—

1. "No proper trade returns are kept. The following values, supplied by the **Shahbandar**, are for the port of Kuala Trengganu only :

	A.H. 1336. [A.D. 1918] $	A.H. 1337. [A.D. 1919] $
Imports	1,780,784 ..	2,417,645
Exports	1,380,150 ..	1,718,428

Duties collected were $ 47,876 in 1336, $ 63,540 in 1337."

2. "The Superintendent of the Chandu [Intoxicating Drugs] Department (Che Da Omar) is also in charge of the Customs and **Shahbandar** Offices at Kuala Trengganu."

R. C. TEMPLE.

1 For this method for citation, see *Uttararâmacarita*, Harvard Oriental Series, pp. xvi, *seq.*

2 See Sir M. Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*

THE HISTORY OF THE NÎẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 210.)

LXXVI.—An account of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh's expedition, with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, against 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh, and of the conclusion of Peace with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh by 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and of his revenge on Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh.

As 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had repeatedly violated his treaties and broken the peace with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, Murtaẓâ was constantly devising plans of revenge against him with a view to putting a stop to the strife caused by him. At this time Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh sent an envoy to Aḥmadnagar to ask pardon for his former acts of enmity against Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and to conclude a treaty of peace. It was also now reported to the king by the Khânkhânân, who was *pîshvâ*, that the fortress of Bîjâpûr was falling into ruins, and that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was so careless and negligent that he was paying no heed to the business of repairing it. It was also said that the spirit of the army of Bîjâpûr had been broken by the death of Kishvar Khân and other *amîrs*, and the capture of Nûr Khân, all these *amîrs* having been among the leading officers of the Bîjâpûr kingdom. The Khânkhânân's advice was that this opportunity should not be missed, but that Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh should march with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh against Bîjâpûr, should break the power of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and thus free himself from anxiety, and should regain possession of Sholâpûr and of the townships which had formerly belonged to Aḥmadnagar.

The king granted the request of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and accepted the advice of his nobles. He then issued orders for the assembling of his army, and when the whole army was assembled at Aḥmadnagar, he set out to wreak his vengeance on his enemies. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh also, agreeably to the treaty which had been made, marched at the same time from his capital with a large army, and the two kings with their armies met and encamped near Wâkdarî.

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the offensive alliance between Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, he was much perturbed and alarmed, and attributed the alliance to the advice of Sayyid Shâh Abû-l-Ḥasan, son of the late Sayyid Shâh Ṭâhir, who was at that time *vakîl* of that kingdom (Bîjâpûr). 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh used very violent language regarding Shâh Abûl-l-Ḥasan. Shâh Abû-l-Ḥasan was very much alarmed by what 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh said and devoted all his attention to making peace. Sayyid Murtaẓâ,[176] who had formerly been in the service of Aḥmadnagar and had fled and taken refuge with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, owing to the fear of Khûnzah Humâyûn, was on most friendly and intimate terms with Shâh Abû-l-Ḥasan, and, relying on the clemency and generosity of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, volunteered to go to the Aḥmadnagar camp and do what he could to promote peace and compose the strife.

Accordingly he set out from Bîjâpûr at dead of night and rode at such speed to the camp of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh that he covered the distance, which was three days' journey, before the morning. He then stabled his horse and, covering his head in a blanket, made his way towards the royal court. As he could not obtain admission on his own authority, he went

[176] This was Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî who afterwards re-entered the service of Aḥmadnagar, took a prominent part in the conquest of Berar, was appointed governor of that province and afterwards, being de eated in his attempt to overthrow the regent Salâbat Khân, fled from the Dakan and entered the service of Akbar, and was employed by him in the campa.gn against Aḥmadnagar.

to the Khânkhânân's tent. The Khânkhânân asked him why he had come, but he replied that he would give no account of his mission until the Khânkhânân took him into the royal presence. The Khânkhânân thus found himself obliged to report Sayyid Murtazâ's arrival and his refusal to declare its object except in the king's presence. A chamberlain then came and escorted him to the royal presence, and when he arrived before the king he made a low obeisance and remained for a long time with his head on the ground. The courtiers told him to raise his head, but he paid no heed to them and remained as he was until the king deigned to ask him why he had come. He then raised his head and began by uttering an encomium on the king and praying for his long life and prosperity. He then proceeded to state the object of his mission and said that Shâh Tâhir's long and faithful service to Ahmadnagar was known to all and that his eldest son and successor had also rendered faithful service to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and was now like to suffer death on account of his loyal devotion to Ahmadnagar. He then explained that 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh attributed the invasion of Bîjâpûr by Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh to the advice of Shâh Abû-l-Hasan, and that if Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh persisted in the expedition and marched on to Bîjâpûr, it could hardly be doubted that Shâh Abû-l-Hasan would be put to death. He also said that if the king would give Shâh Abû-l-Hasan a safe conduct he would visit him. The king replied that if Shâh Abû-l-Hasan would visit him he would be guided by his advice.

When Sayyid Murtazâ obtained this answer, which was entirely in accordance with his hopes, and was thus encouraged to hope for better things, he at once took his leave and hastened back with all speed to Bîjâpûr to tell Abû-l-Hasan how he had fared. Shâh Abû-l-Hasan was much relieved. He sent a rich *pîshkash* consisting of money, goods, horses, and jewels to Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, who honoured him by accepting it. The nobles who had taken the field with the king, and especially the Khânkhânân, also sent rich presents to the king, and Shâh Abû-l-Hasan made great efforts to induce the Khânkhânân to join him in advising the king to stop the war. These efforts were effectual, and the Khânkhânân and the other nobles reminded the king that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had been a determined stirrer up of strife and breaker of treaties [177] and that his past treacherous conduct, especially in the affair of Sangamner, was well known. They represented that now that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was in the king's power, having himself walked into the snare, the king had an excellent opportunity of avenging himself on him for his past misconduct and of taking from him, without difficulty, the large number of horses and elephants which was one of the chief sources of his pride and power. Such an opportunity they said, might never occur again and was not to be neglected, as the king, after humbling Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, could easily reduce the fortresses of Kaulâs and Udgîr, which were among the largest and strongest fortresses in those regions, and thus inflict on Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh one punishment after another and display to the whole world the results of bad faith and breach of treaties.

Thus the king, by the advice of the Khânkhânân, granted Shâh Abû-l-Hasan's requests and set himself to take revenge on Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh. Accordingly he commanded that his army should surround the camp of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and plunder and slay. The next morning, when the sun rose, the army of Ahmadnagar attacked Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's camp from every side, pouring showers of arrows into it and attacking their late allies with the sword.

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[177] According to Firishta (ii. 260) 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had received from Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh a sympathetic letter, which Shâh Abû-l-Hasan showed to Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh.

Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh was still in his tent when he was awakened from his sleep by the shouts of the mail-clad warriors. He awoke from his sleep to perplexity, and finding that he could not withstand the foe, abandoned all idea of earning fame by valour in the fight, and leaving his insignia of royalty, all his horses and elephants, his tents, pavilions, and baggage, fled with a few courtiers, while his army, seeing that their king was not at their head, abandoned the fight, dispersed and fled. The army of Aḥmadnagar, enriched with the gold and jewels and other spoils of the army of Golconda, came to the royal court. Besides these, large numbers of handsome slave boys and beautiful slave girls, of horses, and of elephant fell into their hands. After the royal share of the spoils had been set apart, the rest was remitted to the army.

When Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh was fleeing in terror before the army of Aḥmadnagar, his eldest son, who was a young man of good understanding and great valour, offered to collect such of the troops as he could and to save as much as could be saved of the baggage, camp equipage, elephants and other establishments, and to bring what he could thus save to the royal camp. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh returned no answer to his son, but the youug man's valour and boldness aroused in him such suspicion that when he arrived at his halting place he caused poison to be given to him and thus slew him[178]. Wise men attributed the ill-fortune that led him to murder his son to his constant bad faith with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh.

The writer heard from Sayyid Khaibar Shâh, Mîr Ṭabâṭabâ, who was one of the most famous learned men of his time, and was at that time in close attendance on Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, that when Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh fled before the victorious army, he alone of all his attendants was with him. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh turned to him and said, ' These people, who have broken their treaty with me and turned our friendship into strife, will surely suffer in their faithlessness, will they not ?' Sayyid Khaibar Shâh made bold to say, ' It is that for this world for which we are suffering now, and we should now lose no time in escaping from this whirlpool of destruction, lest we be overtaken by punishment for what is past.'

After the rout of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh's army, the victorious army of Aḥmadnagar marched against the fortress of Udgir, besieged it, and took it by storm. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh then placed one of his own officers in the fortress, with instructions to repair it. The king then returned in triumph to the capital with his army.

LXXVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S MARCH WITH HIS ARMY TO THE TOWN OF JUNNÂR, AND OF HIS VISIT TO SHIVNER, AND OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THIS TIME.

After the conclusion of peace between 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and the flight of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, Shâh Ḥaidar and Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Ḥusain Injû, who were honoured by close attendance on and association with the king, were, by the royal command, associated with the administration of the state, and by their means the base actions of the Khânkhânân were by degrees brought to the knowledge of the king, until he became estranged from and enraged with his servant, and the Khânkhânân suffered the punishment which was his due for his ingratitude to Khûnzah Humâyûn, and was, by the king's order, imprisoned in the fortress of Jond, the air of which is fouler than that of any other fort[179].

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178 The eldest son of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh was 'Abdul Qâdir. Ibrâhîm on his return to Golconda, caused him to be imprisoned in a fortress, and ultimately had him poisoned. F. ii. 260, 336.

179 Firishta says (ii. 261) that the two causes of the downfall of Multâ Husain Tabrîzî, Khânkhânân were his having compassed the death of 'Inâyatullâh and his having counselled the plundering of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh's camp. Sayyid 'Alî seems to have been, for some reason, a partisan of Khûnzah Humâyûn, but the Khânkhânân's share in the destruction of the queen-mother's power can hardly have been imputed to him as an offence, for the measure had been not only a service to the State but a service to Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh personally.

After the disgrace of the Khânkhânân the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* was bestowed upon Shâh Haidar, son of Shâh Tâhir, and Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû was associated with him in this high office, and these two Sayyids undertook the administration of the state.

At this time the king marched with his army on a tour to Junnâr for the purpose of inspecting the fort of Shivner and enjoying its air. On the way thither Shâh Haidar remained in one of the villages on the road to rest, and the royal army arrived at Junnâr. At this time the wife of Shâh Haidar, who was the daughter of Shâh Qivâm-ud-dîn Nûr Bakhsh, one of the greatest of the Sayyids of Khurâsân and 'Irâq, arrived in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar from 'Irâq, and sent a message to the king requesting him to honour with a visit her lodging, which was on his way. The king acceded to her request and honoured her with a visit. The lady entertained him with choice dishes, beverages and fruits, and presented him with costly gifts, among which was a beautifully written and richly bound book. The king was much surprised with the lady's knowledge and by the royal entertainment which she had provided for him, and after expressing his thanks returned to his camp.

On the following day Shâh Haidar rejoined the royal camp, and when he heard of the banquet which his wife had given to the king he was much perturbed and annoyed, and in his disgust ceased to have any concern with affairs of state, remaining apart from the royal camp, until it returned to the capital.

When the royal camp reached the fort of Jond, the king, angered by the thought of the murder of Maulana 'Inâyatullâh and of the other evil acts of the Khânkhânân, ordered Bisat ân to go up into the fort and to subject the Khânkhânân to disgraceful treatment. Bisat Khân obeyed this order and the royal camp then moved towards the capital.

Farhâd Khân requested the king to honour his *jagîr* village of Nandgâon, which was near the line of march, with a visit, in order that he might pay his respects to the king there, and the king granted this request and turned aside towards Nandgâon. On the way that army came to a deep river in flood, the passage of which was very difficult. The king, with some of his immediate attendants entered a small boat and proceeded to cross. When the boat reached midstream it was swamped and overturned, and all who were in it fell into the water. The king swam first to one and then another of his attendants, caught hold of them and drew them to the bank one by one until he had saved them all.

When the king reached his camp, he, in accordance with the advice of some of his loyal counsellors, honoured Shâh Haidar by paying him a visit, although Shâh Haidar had neglected affairs of state, the administration of which was now entrusted entirely to Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain. The king now, having regard to Shâh Haidar's excellent service, summoned his wife from Junnâr, gave her a suitable dwelling house and a gift of a *lakh* of *tangas* for her daily expenditure, and again honoured her with a visit. This lady remained for a long time in India and then, owing to her quarrel with her husband, returned to 'Irâq.

LXXVIII.—On account of the King's expedition against the turbulent Franks and of its conclusion.

The king's ambition was ever to uphold the honour and glory of Islâm and of the holy law, and as at this time the Franks extended their dominions over the land of Islâm and oppressed and persecuted its inhabitants, the king formed the intention of undertaking a holy war against that people, regarding the abolition of the tyranny of that hellish tribe as the most important affair then before him. He therefore assembled his army and

marched to Chaul, a port on the Arabian Sea, where he encamped. The army then laid siege to the fortress of Revdanda,[180] which was the headquarters of the Franks, and opened the campaign. The Franks resisted manfully and fought like men. The siege artillery was brought up by the king's order and opened fire on the fortress, destroying the houses and buildings of the polytheists therein and casting down their standard. The Franks replied with a fire like hail from their guns, muskets, and catapults, and the fight raged fiercely, while the din of the battle rose with a deafening roar to the sky, and the plain was watered with the blood of the brave. Meanwhile an incessant fire was kept up by both sides.

The siege continued for nine months during which time the royal army was night and day under arms, and displayed the greatest valour. The most valiant of all were the Foreigners, the Turks, the men of Dailam, the Arabs, and the Persians. The artillery did great execution among the Franks and against the defences of the fortress, and destroyed most of the buildings, dwellings, churches and places of worship of the polytheists and idolaters. Victory was on the point of declaring for the true believers, but since Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Ḥusain, in whose hands the entire management of affairs then lay, wearied of the long siege and gave himself up to the gratification of his animal passions and spent all his time in listening to sweet music and lewd songs, he had no time to spare for the conduct of military operations, and so neglected his duties in this respect that he found it necessary to appoint Changîz Khân as his lieutenant. This excellent and able man not only showed great personal valour in the fight, but also formulated wise schemes and plans, so that in a short time his administrative ability and practical wisdom became apparent to the king.

The Franks, however, who were now reduced to great straits by the close and protracted siege, sent sums of money as bribes to the chief *amîrs* and *vazîrs* and encouraged them to hope for more, so that the principal officers such as Farhâd Khân, Ikhlâṣ Khân and other *amîrs* and *vazîrs* began to show apathy in attacking the polytheists, and to refrain, on various excuses, from marching against them. Thus all that had been done was rendered of no avail by the treachery and lethargy of the officers of the army and the apathy and neglect of Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Ḥusain, who had been reduced by his indulgence of his lusts to a state of complete imbecility, and Changîz Khân, who now had access to the king, advised him that nothing was to be gained by halting longer before Revdanda or by prolonging the siege. It would be wiser, he said, to patch up a temporary peace, like that

180 Revdanda, or lower Charel, was on the same estuary as Chaul, but on the opposite bank. Firishta says (ii. 261) that the attack on the Portuguese was due to their insolent treatment of Muslims. According to the Portuguese, this expedition against Chaul was part of a great scheme, the partners to which were Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, 'Alî 'Adil Shâh, and the Zamorin, for expelling the Portuguese from their possessions on the west coast of India, which were to be divided among the partners. The siege of Chaul was opened by Farhâd Khân on Nov. 30, 1569. The commandant, Luiz Ferreira de Andrade, had in Chaul but 50 horse and a small number of foot soldiers and neither provisions nor munitions to enable him to sustain a siege until Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas came to his assistance with 600 men in four galley and five small vessels, besides some barques laden with provisions. In January 1570, Murtaza Nizâm Shâh appeared before the place with the main body of his army, so that the besiegers numbered 34,000 horse, 100,000 foot, 16,000 sappers, and 4,000 artificers, with a great train of artillery and elephants. Further reinforcements reached the garrison, but its numbers probably never succeeded 3,000. The siege was raised in Sep. 1570. Its failure was due to treachery. All the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar, except one, were in the pay of the Portuguese and supplies and provisions were freely conveyed into the fortress by night. For more than nine months an army of over 150,000 men, under the immediate eye of its King, besieged a garrison of 3,000 who slew of their assailants considerably more than their own numbers, and the besiegers were at length compelled to retire discomfited.—See *Danvers*, i. 560.

between wolf and dog, with the crafty enemy, for most of the bravest men of the army had been slain, and it was commonly believed that the loss of the army amounted to nearly 14,000 men, while a number of the *amîrs* and principal officers were in secret league with the enemy and had put all idea of fighting out of their minds. He advised also that the interests of the faith and the state would be best served by a retreat to the capital in order that the king might reorganize his army, and in due time avenge himself on the polytheists. The king accepted this advice and retreated towards the capital. On the way he promoted Changîz Khân from his post as deputy to the office of *vakîl*, entrusting the whole administration to him, while Shâh Jamâl-ud-dîn Ḥusain, who had gradually withdrawn himself from all affairs of state, departed, by the king's order, with all his family and dependants from Aḥmadnagar to enter the service of the emperor Akbar, and he enjoys great honour in the rank of *amîr* in that great emperor's service until now, viz.—A. H. 1001 (A.D. 1592—93)[181]. Mullâ Ḥusain, entitled Khânkhânân, who was imprisoned in the fort of Jond, was, by the advice of Changîz Khân, released, and entered the service of Râja 'Alî Khân in Burhânpûr, where he remained until shortly before the accession of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh. He was then accused of sedition and was again imprisoned and what then became of him is not known.

When the king arrived at his capital he devoted all his attention to setting matters right and repairing what was past, to which end he reassembled his army, and for the rest of this year he spent his time at the capital with his army in pleasure and enjoyment.

At this time Sayyid Murtaẓâ, some account of whom has already been given, took refuge at the royal court as an envoy from 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and was highly honoured by Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh. As the king had great regard for the Sayyid, owing to his former services, he would not give him leave to depart, but received him again into service and appointed him *Sarsilāḥdār*, a rank which is not inferior to the *vizārat* or the *sardārī*. At this time news was received that 'Alî Âdil Shâh had imprisoned Shâh Abû-l-Ḥasan.

(*To be continued.*)

FOLK-TALES OF THE CAR NICOBARESE.

COLLECTED BY THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD.

Prefatory Note by Sir R. C. Temple.

[The following twenty folk-tales communicated by Car Nicobarese children are of special value to the folklore student. In several cases they follow a track widely different from the usual legends, and where they deal with well-worn stories they present them in an hitherto unknown and varied garb.

The tales, so Mr. Whitehead informs me, are all familiar to the Car Nicobarese and most of the matter has been taken from school children's essays. Where necessary, footnotes have been added by Mr. Whitehead or myself to elucidate the text.—R. C. T.]

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181 Jamâl-ud-dîn Ḥusain Injû resigned his office of *vakîl* and *pishvâ* before the raising of the siege of Chaul, and returned to Aḥmadnagar. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, on his return thither, banished him to Burhânpûr and he entered the service of Akbar, in which he rose to the rank of Commander of 3,000 Under Jahângîr he attained the rank of Commander of 5,000 and received the title of 'Azud-ud-Daulah. Murtaẓâ, after his return to Aḥmadnagar imprisoned Farhâd Khân and Ikhlâs Khân and appointed Khvâja Mirâk with the title of Changîz Khân, *vakîl* and *pishva*. Khudâvand Khân, whose father was from Mashhad and his mother an African, Jamshîd Khân Shîrâsî, and others were made *amîrs* at the same time.- F. ii. 262.

I.—THE DELUGE.

There was once a great flood in this land, and all the surface of the earth was covered with water.

Now there was one man who was fortunate enough to swim to a great tree which was not entirely immersed in the water. He climbed the tree and lived up in the branches of it until the waters were assuaged.

When he saw any cocoanuts floating about in the water, or any dead pigs and fowls with distended stomachs, he would swim out to them and bring them in : and there up among the branches of the tree, he would eat his food.

At last the rain stopped : and then, little by little, the water decreased : and little by little he got more room, and at last was able to get down to the solid earth.

Then, when the waters had gone down, he spied a bitch perched up on the branches of a tree, its ear being spiked by the great thorn of the *kun-hŏal* [prickly-palm]. So he went and released it, and took it, and made it his wife : and they lived together, the bitch and the man : and they had offspring which was human.

So the people of these parts copy the dog in wearing the *ki-sât*.[1] for it has tails hanging down like a dog's tail ; their turban[2] too has ears standing up like the dog's ears. The people also say of themselves that they are the offspring of that bitch.[3]

II.—THE METAMORPHOSES OF THE SUN AND MOON.

Long long ago when the world was new and the skies were still low down and near to the earth, the moon was changed[4] into the sun. . The sun too was changed into the moon, and[5] the heat was terrific, so that boards cracked and the ground was cleft asunder.

So one day the ancients who dwelt in these lands of ours met together to take counsel as to what was to be done. As a result of their deliberations, they directed the fletchers to make some long-bows, and they prepared arrows of *ta-chöi*[6] and of *cha-lūök*.[7]

Then they shot at the sky until the sky removed a long way off.

Some of the arrows they shot up at the sky never came down again, but remained stuck up in the sky. Those made of the strands of the cocoanut-leaf burst into flame and became stars. Those made of *ta-chöi* sticks did not burst into flame.

III.—ABOUT TREES IN DAYS OF YORE.

Long long ago, when this world of ours was young, trees would be obedient to men, and go wherever they were told. People could drive them far away from their original place.

So in the days when the trees were obedient to the commands of men, we did not get wearied when we travelled, for we would fasten our loads on the branch of a tree, letting the load hang down, duly balanced : and then we would drive the trees along.

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1 The scanty Nicobarese loin-cloth. [In my *Census Report*, 1901, I remark, pp. 215-216, "The Nicobarese man at home wears only an infinitesimal loin-cloth, or rather string, fastened behind with a waggling tag. This must have been his garment from all time, because of the persistent reports that these people were naked and tailed from the days of Ptolemy onwards to the middle of the 17th century."—R.C.T.]

2 A band round the head made of the spathe of the betel-nut. [This band may, however, have a common origin with the now white cotton cincture round the head worn by royalty, courtiers and elders in Burma and Siam.—R.C.T.]

3 [For a variant form of this story of origin, see *Census Report*, 1901, p. 211.—R.C.T.]

4 Or, "changed itself."

5 Literally, " for."

6 The bark of the *ta-chöi* (*ta-û-ku*) is used for tying thatch, and the small twigs, which are very white, light and brittle, are used by the witch-doctors to scourge the devils.

7 The strands of the cocoanut-leaf, much used in making brooms.

So too when we wanted to bring in our things from the gardens in the jungle, all we had to do was to put the load in balanced quantities on the branches of a tree; and the tree would of itself take them off to the village.

In those days, too, people who could not walk could get up into a tree, and they would be borne safely to their home or where they wished to go, whilst quietly sitting on the branches of the tree.

Now there was once quite a large number of people going out into the jungle at the same time, and also coming back to *el-panam.*[8] Their loads were heavy and the distance great, so that their strength was somewhat overtaxed. So they packed their loads on the branches of the trees and drove the trees along. But as the trees were going along, the people who were behind went into fits of laughter at the comical sight of seeing the trees carrying their loads and lumping up one against the other. So the trees turned stubborn and would not move any more, for they were angry at being laughed at. So nowadays we have often to overtax our strength in carrying our own loads when we travel, because trees have now become fixtures.

IV.—THE PIXIES.

Once upon a time the people of Malacca[9] used to go down to the underworld through a narrow passage. It was dark in the passage, so they needed cocoanut-leaf torches.

Down there, lying on the soft grass, they found lots of eggs belonging to the "little folks" who lived down there. Every time they went down, the people of Malacca would steal these eggs.

On one occasion they came across the "little folks" and said to them, "Where are your parents?" "We are the old folks," was the answer. Then the people of the upper world (from Malacca) challenged the "little folks" to a dancing competition; and the pixies did not come off second best.

But the people of the upper world were never able after that occasion to go down there again and to steal the eggs; for the pixies blocked the way with the spathe of betel-nut, which turned into stone.

They never come back again now-a-days,[10] for there is no road.

V.—THE ORIGIN OF THE LITTLE ONE[11].

Long ago there used to be a small island off the headland at Kakana[12], and a *sa-ka*[13] thought it would steal the island and have it for its own place. So in the night, when there was no one to see it, the little bird picked up the island and made off with it.

The bird was not able to go quickly, for the island was a heavy load; and whilst she was still on her way, the day began to dawn; and as the bird did not wish people to see her in the act of thieving, she dropped the island anywhere and anyhow; and through her haste it fell wrong side up. However, she left it as it was and did not trouble to put things straight, as in any case it was not worth very much.

8 The annexe of the village by the shore, where the public buildings are.

9 A village on the south-east coast of Car Nicobar.

10 I cannot make out the reference here. It can hardly refer to death, for the Nicobarese Hades is not in the underworld, but in the lowest air, especially in certain parts of the jungle, *el ki-tel-kö-re.*

11 The "Little One" is the rocky islet, Batti Malv, equidistant from Car Nicobar and the next inhabited island, Chowra, being about twenty miles from each. Its area is about three-quarters of a square mile.

12 A small village on the south coast of Car Nicobar.

13 A small bird that lives on insects.

So that island—it is called the "Little One"—remains there, and serves as a guide-post to us when we go in our canoes to Chowra.

VI.—ON THE ORIGIN OF BATS.

Long long ago, when there were still no bats in this land, a ship came here from some foreign country or other. It sailed straight for Arong[14] and there it was wrecked, on account of the stormy seas and high winds. The ship was cast up on the sands, and broken in pieces by the waves.

All the poor foreigners suffered greatly, and only a few of them were able to swim to the shore of our land. These went inland and struck the "forbidden" land[15] in their search for food.

They were Coringhees,[16] and their clothing was all tattered and torn. They were amusing themselves by swinging on the boughs of trees and hanging down from the branches by their arms, when they were all turned into bats. Big people were turned into the big variety of bat (the flying-fox); people not so big as they into the medium sized bat; and small children into the small variety of bat; and they still hang down by their arms from the branches of the trees.

There were no bats here before that.

VII.—ON THE ORIGIN OF SHARKS.

Once upon a time, in the olden days, there were some very wicked people who used to live between Tamalu and Pöökö,[17] at a place which does not exist now, but was then called Tarûlö. Those people were barbarous savages and used to bewitch folk.

So the other people rose up against them, and slew a number of them; and the remnant fled to our side of the island to a place then named Chûökvök, which is not far from Tittop;[18] and there they built houses for themselves. These savages thought nothing of killing a person; they would often kill a stranger on sight.

Now it happened that two children were going to *el-pannam*.[19] and the elder was carrying his young brother on his shoulders. They did not notice that there was a man coming up behind them with a sharp spear in his hand.

That man hurried up stealthily and stabbed the little fellow in the rump; whereupon he cried out, "Oh! I am hurt."

So the elder brother said to the stranger, "Please do not tease the little man and make him wriggle about, for he will be falling down." He did not know that his brother had been stabbed behind. He thought the man was merely tickling the child; but he had stabbed him.

Again the man stabbed the child, this time under the armpit; and the blood gushed out, and the child fell down dead.

Then, at last, the elder brother realised that the child had been stabbed; and he ran off as fast as he could, leaving the dead child, for he was afraid of those people: and he told his parents what had happened.

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14 A village on the west coast of Car Nicobar.

15 The land of spirits and devils.

16 [Karingas, *i.e.*, Kalingas, Klings, from the northern part of the Madras coast. See *ante*, vol. XXX, p. 350.—R.C.T.].

17 Two small villages on the east coast of Car Nicobar.

18 A hamlet on the north coast of the island.

19 The annexe to the village where the public buildings and cemetery are.

So the people held a council, and decided to slaughter all those savages. They attacked them, and most of them were killed ; but some swam out into the deep sea and were turned into a very voracious kind of shark. So these sharks will always eat human beings, if they can get at them, in the sea.

VIII.—THE CRUEL MOTHER.

Once upon a time there was a man and his wife who had three children. One day the man wanted to go to spear fish ; and he spoke to his wife and said, " Tell the children to be on the lookout for my coming back and to gather cocoanut shells for firing to roast the fish that I hope to catch."

So she bade the children do what her husband had said ; and they collected the cocoanut shells, carrying them in their arms.

The woman then took a razor and rubbed it and made it sharp. After that she told the children to make a fire ; and when they had made the fire, she called her eldest son to come to her, saying, "Come, and I will shave your head."

He did not know that his mother wanted to cut off his head ; so he came and she began to shave his head, when, gash ! and she had cut his head off.

She next called the second son and did the same to him : and then she threw their heads into the fire and burnt them.

After that, she called her youngest child, but he answered, " No ! No ! I am not coming, for you will do to me as you have done to my two brothers."[20]

Then said the mother, " No, I would not like you to fare like them, for you are the one that bites up and partially chews the betel-nut for me. You are my favourite child." But she was only enticing the child to come to her, and then she cut off his head too.

When the father came back, he said to his wife, " Where are the children? " " I don't know," she said, "Perhaps they are playing among the *ta-chöi* bushes." The father called the children, but there was no answer.

Again he said to his wife, " Where are the children ?" She replied, " Perhaps they have gone to fetch water ; I do not know. Perhaps they are hiding behind the boxes." The man did not find his children.

Now her husband was hungry ; so the woman told him to get his food out of the basket that was hung up (as usual) near the fireplace. So he had his breakfast.

When he had finished eating, his wife said to him, " Well ! it is the palms of your children's hands that you have been eating ;" and she uttered the cry of the sea-eagle,, " Auk ! Auk ! Auk ! " and flew away as an eagle. The man leaned back against the walls of his house and wept, and beat his head against the wall. He was turned into an owl, and never ceases to bewail his sorrows. His wife was turned into a sea-eagle, and she never ceases catching fish.

IX.—WHEN THE WORLD WAS YOUNG.

THE STORY OF TÖT-TA-RONG.

Long ago, in the days of yore, there was a man, Tôt-ta-rong by name, who was violently in love with a beautiful damsel, and anxious by all means to get her for his wife. Time after time he would come to her to speak with her and to urge his request ; but the girl simply did not care in the least for Tôt-ta-rong.

20 Literally, " companions."

Töt-ta-rong did not know what to do, for the girl always gave him a persistent and most emphatic "No!" So he was utterly miserable, and felt inclined to commit suicide on account of his grief.

Now it happened to be the time of the great ossuary feast [21] in his village, and great crowds of people had come in from the other villages for the occasion. It had got on towards midnight in the bright moonlight; and the people were coming in from their gardens in the jungle, and were carrying round the pigs, which were to be killed for food at the feast.

Töt-ta-rong went round too, and saw the people carrying the pigs—a merry crowd and a pleasant sight, sufficient (one would have thought) to banish sorrow from any heart. But Töt-ta-rong found no pleasure in what he saw. On the contrary, he hated it all on account of his grief; and he could not endure it.

There was none among his friends either to comfort him: for they were one and all busy, seeing to the comforts of their numerous guests.

He felt that he must do something to assuage his sorrow on account of that woman; he would kill himself and thereby perhaps work out her death too.

"However," he thought to himself, "I will go to that woman once more and try to win her. I will speak my final words to her." So he went and spoke to her once more, but she never deigned to answer him a word.

After he had considered his course of action, he went home and took a long *dah* (or sword), and forthwith went out into the jungle. His intention was to cleave asunder the island, in the north-west portion of it, the part where the lady dwelt and where all that crowd of feasters were.

So he went on until he came to "Cleft Hill."[22] He got up on to a rock in the midst of where the dancers were; for, owing to the great numbers of guests, there was dancing going on in all the somewhat scattered groups of houses round about. Then Töt-ta-rong drew his sword and tried to cleave the earth with it. But the earth did not part asunder when he marked it with the point of the sword.

So he took a piece of *ta-choi* wood[23]; this he fashioned like a *dah* (a sword or chopper); and then, when he had marked the ground with the point of it immediately the earth rent asunder at his feet—from "Cleft Hill" even to "Deep."[24]

When the ground was being thus cleft asunder, Töt-ta-rong was in two minds as to where he would like to be on the part which was moving off elsewhere. Ultimately, he decided to go away with the part of the island that was being rent off. But already there was a chasm formed, and when Töt-ta-rong tried to jump it, he slipped and fell.

Meanwhile, the portion of land that was moving away thought better of it, and decided to come back again, and join on to the main part of the island as before; and so Töt-ta-rong got crushed between the rocks.

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21 [This is the most important of the festivals of the Car Nicobarese. It is known as *kana-háun*=eat pig, and used to mean "when the remains of the dead are disinterred." The festival is observed every third or fourth year and consists of a course of ceremonies lasting from one new moon to another, in the middle of which, at full moon, the pigs are slaughtered and eaten. For a detailed account of the ceremonies, see *Census of India*, 1901, *Andamans and Nicobars*, pp. 226-229.—R.C.T.]

22 *Rung Tö-kûchi*, which lies a little to this side of the hamlet of Pasa, on Sawi Bay. The hill takes its name from Töt-ta-rong and his adventures.

23 See *ante*, p. 235, note 6.

24 *Tö-a-ru*, some rocks on the shore, quite close to the mission at Mûs.

When the severed portion of the land saw the blood of Töt-ta-rong, it felt hysterically sick at the sight, and in disgust again moved off and became Little Andaman Island ; at least, so say some travelled Nicobarese.[25] The body of poor Töt-ta-rong was turned into a rock, and strewed on the beach lies his hair, which the uninitiated think to be the decaying fallen leaves of the *casuarina* pine.

Meanwhile, the cleaving of the ground was going on, right up to the place whence the sound of the revelling came ; and then and there, friends and lovers, husbands and wives, parents and children, were being parted asunder for ever ; for some were on the land which remained here, and some on that which moved away.

Those left here had no relics of their friends, nothing to remind them of the dear ones who had been carried off. So they picked up the empty nuts which their friends had drunk, and put them in boxes and stowed them carefully away ; and every now and then they would open the boxes and take out the empty nuts, and kiss them, and then put them back again, in sorrowful remembrance of the dear ones departed.

(*To be continued.*)

THE MÎMÂṀSÂ DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

BY K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M.A.

(*Continued from p.* 220.)

No. III.

(*Śabarasvâmin on Jaimini VIII*. 1, 34—*Extract.*)

Now all this trouble is for propitiating the deity. The deity when pleased gives a man the fruit. Sruti says this—"Indra only when pleased himself pleases him with offspring and cattle". And that which has been known to be the method of pleasing Indra, the same has to be repeated whenever Indra has to be pleased * * * We say here (in reply)—this may be so, provided the fruit comes from the deity. But the fruit is from the sacrifice and Śruti says "He should sacrifice who desires heaven." As for "Indra only when pleased, etc.," we remark that the deity is mentioned in a secondary sense. The deity is part of (secondary to) the sacrifice and it is said figuratively (lit. for praise) to be the giver, as for instance in (the statements) "The minister gave me the village", "The general gave me the village". Neither "minister" nor "general" but only the king is lord of the village. While the others are secondary, the talk about their giving is merely for praise (figurative).

No. IV.

(*Śabarasvâmin on Jaimini, III*, 3, 44—*Extract.*)

He (Pûshan) has no share (in the Havis). Objection : That which is given to a deity must be the share of the deity. Reply : This is simply renounced with an indication of the deity (with the deity in the mind). Mere renunciation does not constitute the proprietorship of the deity, for the property—proprietor-relation can arise only from (the) acceptance (of the thing renounced). And there is not the slightest evidence that the deity has accepted (it). For that which is got by one may be said to be his share. And the deity does not receive the Havis. Therefore, there is no Pushan's share.[45]

[25] Little Andaman is many times larger than Car Nicobar, and some 50 miles distant from it.

[45] The printed text here gives no sense. I have corrected it with the aid of a manuscript belonging to Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sastri of the College of Oriental Learning—B.H.U.

We are now in a position to estimate the correct Mîmâṁsâ view of the nature and existence of gods. The texts translated above show the remarkable amount of dialectical skill displayed by the commentator—the only limits recognised by him being the Eternity and Infallibility of the Veda and the Duty to Action that follows from it. He spends great force in combating the idea of the personal nature of the deity ; he argues by the dry light of reason and logic applied to the Veda, and his final position is an attitude of scepticism rather than of dogmatic atheism. His suggestion that TRADITION and POPULAR BELIEF are based on misunderstandings of the true meaning and purpose of the Veda might furnish the text for a treatise on the growth of Popular Mythology, although one feels that these popular developments were perhaps more natural than the Mimamsist's inferences and explanations. Is the sound " Indra ", then, all that is left of the great Vedic hero and god ? It may be so. Mîmâmsâ is not concerned with that, in effect it does not know. Does not then the Mimamsist believe his own Veda when it talks about these gods ? The answer is, how can anybody take such texts at all seriously when their neighbours make gods of stocks and stones ? Either everything, down to the grass and the neighing of the steed, becomes a god or we have to go without having a god. The latter position seems far better to the Mimamsist [46].

This has not always been correctly understood in modern times. It has been said, " The Mîmâṁsâ does not recognise the existence of god. Nevertheless, this fact interferes as little here as in the Sankhya and the other systems with belief in the supernatural beings of the popular Indian faith."[47] This is hard to maintain in the face of the texts translated above. The Sâṅkhya and other systems do not concern us now. The discussion of Śabarasvâmin is almost entirely an attempt to contradict and set aside what may with great propriety be called " popular Indian faith". Therefore to say that the Mimamsist has "belief in supernatural beings" after all the trouble he has taken over the question is to make a statement that derives no support from the Mîmâṁsâ system as such. It is true that the position of Jaimini and Śabarasvâmin fell in the course of centuries more and more out of touch with the realities of " popular Indian faith". But here, we seek to understand the Mîmâṁsâ system as it was and its place in speculation. It is clear that no professed Mimamsist of any great standing has ever swerved from the position of Jaimini. It is difficult to be dogmatic about the views of the Prabhâkara school in the present state of knowledge; but there is perhaps no vital difference between Prabhâkara and his more famous rival Kumârila Bhatta on this matter. Again, on the strength of one of Kumârila's verses in the introductory portion of the Ślokavârtika[48] it has sometimes been hastily assumed that Kumârila makes out the Mîmâṁsâ to be theistic. The assumption, however, is proved to be wrong by (1) Kumârila's own Tupṭîkâ on Texts I and II, translated above ; (2) Pârthasârathi Miśra's comment on the verse of Kumârila in the introductory portion of the Ślokavârtika which gives apparently the true explanation of Kumârila's words, and (3) the position of the same writer in his Sâstra-Dîpikâ in which he follows Kumârila rather closely.[49] But it seems clear that Kumârila is somewhat reluctant to drive the agnostic conclusion hard. There is a note of hesitancy in his remarks on the question. Personally he seems to have been a theist.

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46 Reference may be made here to the trenchant remarks of Pârthasârathi Miśra in his *Śâstradipikâ* towards the close of his comments on *Jaimini IX*, 1, 6-10.

47 R. Garbe, *Loc. cit.*, note 4 above. Reference may here be made to the article on " Atheism " in the *Encycl. Brit.*, XI Edn., which distinguishes three types of " Atheism, " among which Mimâṁsâ may be said to be of the last or critical type.

48 Verse No. 10 and Muir, *O.S.T.*, Vol. III, page 95.

49 *Vide* note 46. See Dr. Jha's *Prâbhâkara Mîmâṁsâ*, p. 85 ff.

And his first verse in the Ślokavârtika which is, for instance, clearly a salutation to a personal deity is explained on the pure Mimamsist basis by the annotator only by twisting the text in a rather merciless fashion. A later Mimamsist was so saturated with the "popular Indian faith " that he stood aghast at what he had just written, following the lead of Jaimini and other great Mimamsists after him, and exclaimed penitently [50]"—"इति जैमिनिमतनिष्कर्षः। ममत्वेवं वदतोऽपि वाणी दुष्यतीति हरिस्मरणमेव शरणम्" ॥ It is also not without significance that Vedânta-Deśika named one of his many productions Seśvara-Mîmâṁsâ, which is sufficient indication that Mîmâṁsâ has generally little to do with Îśvara. But this Seśvara version of Mîmâṁsâ is that of a divine who was a Vedantist first and Mimamsist only by the way. It may also be stated that Vâsudeva Dîkshita, an eloquent South Indian annotator of very recent times, seeks to quarrel with Śabarasvâmin for his interpretation of Jaimini's views and undertakes to show that Jaimini never meant what Śabarasvâmin holds and that Kumârila admitted the personal nature of the deity.[51]

It is thus abundantly clear that the genuine Mîmâṁsâ position on the question appealed less and less to the Indian mind, especially after the great days of Śaṅkara. It is also clear that there is a strong and almost continuous Mimamsist tradition against the acknowledgment of a personal deity or deities. But the voice of the Mimamsist becomes fainter, and even professed Mimamsists like Khaṇḍa Deva maintain their position only in theory, and in practice join the herd against whose beliefs Jaimini and Śabara had preached, in their day. The attitude of Vâsudeva Dîkshita is, like that of Vedânta Deśika, strongly coloured by his Vedantic prepossessions. In fact, he quotes the conclusions of the Vedânta Sûtras freely in support of his position in Mîmâṁsâ. We can infer from the facts adduced so far—and several others of a like nature can be easily produced—that the true Mîmâṁsâ position came to be looked upon as something close to the borderland of heterodoxy, if not entirely on the other side of the frontier. At least two large developments may be traced in the later religious history of India, each of them in its own way hostile to the genuine Mîmâṁsâ view. First came the great impetus given to the Vedânta by the life and teaching of Śaṅkara, probably the finest intellect of India. The Advaita system as developed by Śaṅkara furnished a common platform on which popular religion and metaphysical speculation might meet together and live in peace. At the same time, it set up an influential opposition to the Mîmâṁsâ view on many important questions of religion by adopting a rival standpoint. The rivalry was to a large extent inherent in the two systems, but it was emphasised and developed by the life-work of Śaṅkara. The other great factor in the situation was the growth of a great longing for a personal god, communion with whom would be the highest form of bliss—a longing that accounts for the development and spread of various Bhakti cults in later-day India. In such an atmosphere the old Mîmâṁsâ view was a perilous one to keep, and even the specialists in the system became afraid of themselves[52]. But the Mîmâṁsâ system was at no time much fitted to be a popular one. Its great interest lies in its being an important phase of speculation, and it is easy to underrate the influence exerted by the Mîmâṁsâ system on later speculation in our country.

But the allegation of Vâsudeva Dîkshita that Jaimini did not mean what his Bhâsyahkâra holds is hardly one that can be accepted in the face of the unanimous verdict of other and greater writers on the position of Jaimini. The illustrious Śaṅkara had never any doubt on

50 Khaṇḍa Deva's *Bhâṭṭa Dîpikâ* (Mysore Edn.), Vol. III, page 53.

51 See his remarks in the *Kutûhala-Vritti*, Vol. I, page 47 (Srirangam Edn.). I have not access at present to the portions of his extensive work not yet printed.

52 *Cf.* Barth, *Religions of India*, pages 94-5, for some very suggestive remarks on Neo-Hinduism.

the correct Mîmâmsâ position, which he sums up with great force and characteristic terseness in his discussion on Vedânta Sûtra, I, 3, 32. Again, Sâyaṇâchârya in one place records side by side the opposite views taken by the Vedânta and Mîmâmsâ, where he mentions Jaimini by name.[53] But the best authority on Jaimini's position is Jaimini himself, and his Sûtras do not leave us in the slightest doubt as to the intentions of the Sûtrakâra. He says that the deity is secondary (guṇa).[54] And again, he directly comes to the conclusion that the *havis* is more important than the deity in the elements that make up a sacrifice.[55] Further in discussing whether the prerogative (*adhikâra*) of sacrificing is confined to men or extends to others outside the human sphere, his Sûtras[56] are very significant and form a striking contrast to the corresponding portion of the Vedânta Sûtras [57] In one Sûtra, Jaimini states that whoever desires the fruit can perform the sacrifice enjoined; in the next he says only they have the prerogative of doing it who can do it exactly as enjoined by the Veda. And this is supposed to be possible only by men. But in some texts of the Sûtras, two other Sûtras are ascribed to Jaimini in this place, one excluding gods and another excluding Ṛishis from the prerogative of performing sacrifices. It is to say the least very doubtful if these are genuine Sûtras of Jaimini. For one thing, we find the sentences in the text of Sabara's *Bhâshya* on VI, 1, 5, and they do not have the look of Sûtras,[58] though they are quite good enough to be the sentences of the great commentator. And it would be somewhat strange on Jaimini's part if, after having discussed the question of *Sarvâdhikâra* (the prerogative of all) and restricted it to men, he added two more Sûtras regarding Devatâs and Ṛishis. On the other hand, it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that in discussing the question of *Sarvâdhikâra* in the light of the two Sûtras laid down by Jaimini the expounder of his system adopted a division into men, and non-men[59] and sub-divided the latter group into three sections—Devatâs, Ṛishis, and animals and trees, for facility of discussion in the light of the Vedic texts quoted by him in the commentary on the *pûrva-paksha* Sûtra. It may also be pointed out that the manner in which Sankara quotes[60] the two sentences under discussion, gives no indication as to whether he understood them to be the words of Jaimini or Sabarasvâmin. Personally I have no doubt that these two sentences do not form part of the Jaiminîyadarsana

As a matter of fact, Jaimini adopts that course which may most naturally be expected of a ritualist. To ignore a personal deity may appear rank heresy in an orthodox Hindu of, say, the seventh or eighth century A.D., but not of an earlier time. From the beginning there had been a vein of scepticism in the Vedas and Brâhmaṇas, and the ritualist most naturally developed it further as his primary concern was with a religion of self-contained ritualism "well-nigh independent of the gods whom it served"[61]. The old scholiast, Yâska, had summed up the results of previous speculation on the form (*âkâra*) of the Devatâs and indicated several lines of advance for his successors. It would appear that, even before Jaimini's day, this ritualism had run riot and had led to somewhat strange results. A certain Bâdari is somewhat frequently referred to by Jaimini in his Sûtras, who may be described as an extremist in ritualism. According to this Âchârya, there is no relation even between the sacrifice and

53 See his Com. on *Taitt. Brâh.* III, 8, 8 Text cited above (Note 8).

54 *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 10.

55. *Ibid.*, VIII, 1, 32-4.

56 *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 4-5.

57. *Vedânta Sûtra*, I, 3, 25-33.

58 They are नदेवानां देवतान्तराभावात् । नर्क्षीणामार्षेयान्तराभावात् ॥

59 The term *amanushya* is actually used by Śabarasvâmin here.

60 In his *Bhâshya on Vedânta Sû.*, I, 3, 26. Ânandagiri in his comment on Śankara treats them as Sûtras.

61 Barth, *op. cit.*, page 64.

its reward.[62] Jaimini's position is that the sacrifice is performed for the sake of heaven, whatever that may be; and that, in the language of Mîmâṁsâ, Karma is *śesha* (secondary) with reference to the fruit of the same. Bâdari holds that the Karma is its own end, and, when it has been done, there is nothing else to do. This gives an idea of the fervid faith in ritualism that underlies the Mîmâṁsâ. And Bâdari's positions help us to understand how little gods had to do with the Mîmâṁsâ ideal of the attainment of bliss by WORKS. When the WORKS are their own end there is no question as to who or what gives the fruits of the deed and all talk about god and supernatural beings is cut at the root. Jaimini's position is that the deed gives its own reward, and as for the gods, we have no proof that they exist.

The discussion of the place of Jaimini and Śabara in the history of Indian thought is considerably hampered by the absence of any reliable results regarding the dates of these writers and by the unsettled nature of the literary chronology of ancient India. It has been usually assumed that Jaimini and the author of the Vedânta Sûtras must have been contemporaries, and the suggestion has been made that the two sets of Sûtras must have been composed somewhere between 200 and 450 A.D.[63] The assumption that Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa were contemporaries rests on the occurrence of Jaimini's name in the Vedânta Sûtras and of Bâdarâyaṇa's in the Mîmâṁsâ Sûtras and perhaps also on an ancient tradition current among the learned divines of India that Jaimini was a pupil of Bâdarâyaṇa. But this seems to be very doubtful. It is not however possible to undertake to settle the point here.[64] But still more doubtful is the view that the Mîmâṁsâ system has "close connection with the Vedânta doctrine"[63]. Far more correct is the opinion expressed by Barth that the early "antagonism between the men of the ritual and the men of speculation" developed in later times into an antagonism between their successors of the Vedânta and Mîmâṁsâ schools.[65] As the same writer very aptly suggests, the only thing in common between the two lines of development is that both of them, each in its own way, agreed to put the Vedic gods somewhere on the back shelf. In all other respects, the two systems are diametrically opposed. This in truth is the *rationale* of Śaṅkara's refusal to consider the so-called Purva and Uttara Mîmâṁsâs as one Sastram.[66] A few points of opposition may be touched on here in order to bring out more fully the ultimate bearings of the Mîmâṁsâ DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

Some idea has been given above as to how the Mimamsist interprets the Veda. On this question there is a vital difference between the Mîmâṁsâ and the Vedânta. To the former the ritualistic portions of the Veda are the most important ones, and the others are to be explained or explained away as the case may be, in the light of those texts that enjoin the duty of Karma on every man. To the Vedantist, the portions literally at the end of the Veda, constitute the end of Veda, its highest aim, all the other portions being subsidiary to this highest knowledge that comes at the end. The Vedantist has not to take so much trouble to explain away the other texts that appear to go against him by their ritualism and other features. He is an idealist, and his is the unique privilege of letting the wolf and the lamb lie together in the same fold. To the Mimamsist the thing is more vital. Hence to him what constitutes the highest end of the Veda for the Vedantist is only a means to WORKS.

[62] *Jaimini*, III, 1, 3 and *Śabarasvâmin* thereon.

[63] See R. Garbe on *Mîmâṁsâ* in *Hast. Cycl.*, Vol VIII, where H. Jacobi is referred to on the question of dates.

[64] See my paper on *Jaimini and Bâdarâyaṇa*, *I. A.*, 1921, pp. 167-74.

[65] Barth, *op. cit.*, 64, 5.

[66] See Śaṅkara on the word *ATHA* in *Ved. Sût.* I, 1, 1.

The metaphysical texts are secondary, calculated only to tell a man that there is a soul apart from the body and another existence after death, in order that he might look about himself and prepare for it by WORKS while there is yet time. In fact, the Mîmâṁsâ, in so far as it can be said to be a philosophy, is a philosophy of ACTION. This is distinctly recognised by Śaṅkara, who spends as much powder and shot in fighting out the notion that the Vedas tell a man to be up and doing[67] as Śabara does to combat the view that the deities have form. Jaimini is an unflinching exponent of *Âmnâyasya kriyârthattva* (the actional end of Vedas, so to say)—a notion which Śaṅkara starts by refuting at the very outset. Again, Jaimini simply does not recognise the highest end of Vedantic endeavour, viz., Moksha. It does not exist for him. In truth, it is very doubtful what he would have said if the whole of the Vedantic position as Śaṅkara expounds it—and Jaimini comes in for a good deal of adverse criticism at Śaṅkara's hands—were placed before him. As it is, he has nothing to say on it directly. But we may certainly infer with Bâdarâyaṇa [68] that he would decline to consider that the knowledge of self led to any separate fruit, as the whole of it was for him only a means to an end, that end being the attainment of Svarga by WORKS. The result of Jaimini's position is that the highest thought of the Upanishads has to be treated as a handmaid of ritualism—a position intrinsically very hard to maintain. On the other hand, the Vedantist has simply to ignore the bulk of the Vedas that consists of chants and rituals, or somehow attempt a weak reconciliation between the two portions of the Veda, as for instance, by saying that the performance of WORKS produces a Right frame of Mind (*chittaśuddhi*), and thus indirectly contributes to induce a desire for the knowledge of Brahma. In one place, Vâchaspati Miśra has attempted to prove a more direct connection between Ritualism and Soul-Knowledge[69], and the performance cannot be held convincing. The point is that both the systems have agreed to accept the entire Veda as Revealed Scripture. But historically the Veda embodies different strata of religious thought and practice coming down from different ages. As is generally held at present, the Ritualistic portions of the Veda are anterior to the metaphysical Upanishads in their date of composition. The result is the Ritualist has been forced to subordinate the later religion of knowledge, while the Vedantist has to subordinate the earlier religion of Ritualism. The Mimamsist has been described as tradition-incarnate. He does really embody in his system a more ancient phase of India's religion than the Vedânta. The splendid, elaborate and costly Ritualism of the more antique period was certainly developed at a time when the material conditions of human existence were such that religion could be made costly. This is the element of truth that underlies the brilliant suggestion of Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy that the pessimistic vein in the philosophical thought of India is the result neither of climate nor of disgust with life born of a morbid mentality, but the result of drinking life to the lees[70]. If there is any truth in what has been said so far, the Mîmâṁsâ system may be said to embody the philosophy of a fairly prosperous and somewhat materialistic age. But the spirit with which these people went to do their religious duties—gods or no gods—is a spirit that is remarkable in many ways. And the Ritualist, down to our own days in India, has held a place worthy of honour and of respect. Says Barth[71]—"No sectarian movement has on the whole produced anything of such solidity as the old Smritis, anything so independent and so purely intellectual as certain philosophical Sûtras. The

67 See his elaborate and close discussion on I, 1, 4 of the Vedânta Sûtra.

68 *Ibid.*, III, 4, 2.

69 *Bhâmatî* on III, 2, 40.

70 See his *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism.*

71 *Religions of India*, page 39.

Vaidika, who knows by heart and teaches to his disciples one or several Vedas, which he still understands at least in part, is superior to the sectarian *Guru*, with his unintelligible Mantras, his amulets, and his diagrams; the *Yājñika*, who possesses the complex science of ancient sacrifice, must be ranked above the illiterate attendant of a temple and an idol; and the *Agnihotrin*, who, while diligent in his own business, keeps up his sacred fires, and with his wife and children, conforms to the prescriptions of his hereditary ritual, is a more serviceable and moral being than the Fakir and even the Buddhist monk."

BOOK-NOTICES.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA, vol. I, Pt. II, Mon Inscriptions, Rangoon, 1920.

The second issue of *Epigraphia Birmanica* is as valuable as the first, which dealt with a quadrilingual inscription, including a version in the Pyu Language. What that issue did for Pyu, this one does for Mon, or Talaing as it is more familiarly known.

The author is obviously Mr. C. Otto Blagden, and how much he has advanced the knowledge of these tongues can perhaps be only appreciated by those who, like myself, have seen the rise of it, as it were from the beginning, nearly half a century ago. Of Pyu there was no knowledge in those days, and Haswell's *Peguan Vocabulary* was "just out" in 1874, when I endeavoured, in a now forgotten pamphlet, to assimilate it to the Jonesian (afterwards familiar as the Hunterian) system of transliteration. Twenty years later, in 1893, when concocting an article on the *Antiquities in Râmññadêsa* (*ante*, vol. XXII, pp. 327 ff.) I well recollect the difficulty of getting any European or Talaing in Rangoon or Pegu to read and translate a Mon Inscription. Nowadays, thanks to Mr. Blagden's efforts, students have no longer to face the old difficulties.

Mr. Blagden sticks to his system of transliteration, letter for letter, though of course he is well aware that Mon orthography, like Burmese and English, constitutes, to use his own expression, "an elaborate tangle of conventions." The tangle is greater than in Burmese or English, and is not improved by transference from the native to Roman letters.

Historically, the Inscriptions now published are of great value in fixing the date of the accession of the important king Kyansitthâ in 1084-1085 A.D. His reign of 28 years has been usually taken as ending in that year. The significance of the rectification to general Burmese history will thus at once be seen. Like the other outstanding rulers of that time, Anarwathâ and Alaungsîthû, Kyansitthâ is the hero of much legend, chiefly aimed at proving that he belonged to the recognised dynasty. It is the familiar story of alleged illegitimate descent attaching to a recognised scion of a royal line. Mr. Blagden gives the outline of the legend as retailed to him by Professor Duroiselle, and says, "It would be worth publishing in full in another place." I cordially agree, for the reason that in the versions thereof in the accounts given to me of the legends of the Thirty Seven Nats (*ante*, vol. XXIX, pp. 117 ff.), the story is told of other kings of the period connected with the cycle of legends that have gathered round the revered name of Anawrahtâ (or Anawrahtâzaw, as he is quite as often called).

If the *Epigraphia Birmanica* continues as well as it has begun, it will be as important a Journal of Oriental Research as any of its contemporaries.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHAN, by LT.-COL. JAMES TOD. Edited with an Introduction and Notes, by William Crooke, C. I. E., Oxford University Press, 1920.[1]

This is a reprint of Tod's famous Rajasthan, now nearly 100 years old, brought up to date through an Introduction and Notes by a thoroughly competent student of "Things Indian."

Tod had opportunities of studying his protégés, the Rajputs, denied for many reasons to his successors in office, of which he had a natural aptitude for taking full advantage; and though his official career was not a success, his bent of mind, his wide reading and devotion to the study of the people he so loved in their every aspect, enabled him to produce, to use his editor's words, "the most comprehensive monograph ever compiled by a British officer describing one of the leading peoples of India."

Tod wrote his great quarto a century ago and put into it all the oriental learning of his day, perforce consisting largely of speculation, which

[1] Reprinted from *Man*, 1921

100 years of investigation, ever increasing in accuracy and method, has shown to be mostly erroneous. It had its value, however, in setting generations of patient scholars and searchers after truth on to lines of study, which have produced much knowledge that must be for ever sound. And although one knows now that a great deal of what Tod thought and read is wholly inadmissible as the truth, one cannot help being struck by the extent of the learning of his time. The serious writers and thinkers that were his contemporaries were much more often on the right track than is perhaps nowadays acknowledged, and though they could but grope where we can now see—as we in our turn may be in the eyes of our successors really groping where we think we see—their method was at bottom truly anthropological *i.e.*, they tried to find the springs of action of the Indian people in their history and ethnology as well as in the society they observed about them. When, however, as in the case of Tod, they presented the narrative of their observations, and the speculations based thereon, in an attractive literary form, they produced a danger to succeeding students. Tod evidently knew so much at first hand; he read everything bearing on his subject that he could come across, and he wrote it all down with such honesty of purpose and in so entertaining a style that he produced a classic: and classics are apt to be dangerous things, if accepted as gospel and not read with the discretion that subsequent study should induce in the reader. For this reason it is high time that such a guide to the truth, as we now understand it, should be produced by one so competent to provide it as Mr. Crooke.

While thus discounting Tod's trustworthiness in many respects, one cannot but be struck by the perspicacity that induced him to advocate the alien " Scythic " origin of many Rajput tribes, though the evidence in his day was so scanty that his advocacy could not be shown to be more than speculative. To take another instance of true historical insight. He is describing the influence of women on Rajput Society, and in a series of historical and traditional instances of its effect on the history of Hindu India he asks " What subjected the Hindu to the dominion of the Islamite ? " And answers " The rape of the princess of Kanauj." When composing a résumé of Indian History only a few years ago, the present writer, with the fruits of infinitely more research at hand than was available to Tod, made this very event a turning point in Indian History, remarking that " in 1175 Jayachandra (Jai Chand) Gaharwar of Kanauj held a *swayamvara* (the public choice of a husband) for his daughter at Kanauj, and Prithviraj Chauhan (Rai Pithora) of Delhi and Ajmer, his cousin, took the opportunity to carry her off. The feud thus generated between the two great Rajput Rulers of the (then) Hindu frontiers enabled Muhammad Ghori, who had overthrown the Muhammadan dynasty established by Mahmud of Ghazni in the Punjab, to found in 1193 the Sultanate of Delhi and Northern India, which led eventually to the Mughal Empire." One more instance in addition to the above must suffice to make clear the point now raised. In Vol. II p. 693 of the reprint, Tod has a philological note, in itself wrong, but containing a prescient remark, which induces one to wonder if he had an inkling, in spite of the general belief of his time, that Sanskrit was not an original language, but merely one of a group arising out of some older common tongue. His statement concerning a certain etymology, untraced to its source in his day, is that it " may be from the same primeval language that formed the Sanskrit."

On the whole, the attitude which it is safe to adopt towards Tod and his work cannot be better expressed than in his Editor's own words. "Even in those points which are most open to criticism, the *Annals* possesses importance because it represents a phase in the study of Indian religions ethnology, and sociology. No one can examine it without increasing pleasure and admiration for a writer who, immersed in arduous official work, was able to indulge his taste for research. His was the first real attempt to investigate the beliefs of the peasantry as contrasted with the official Brahmanism, a study which in recent years has revolutionized the current conceptions of Hinduism. Even if his versions of the inscriptions which he collected fail to satisfy the requirements of more recent scholars, he deserves credit for rescuing from neglect and almost certain destruction epigraphical material for the use of his successors. The same may be said of the drawings of buildings, some of which have fallen into decay or have been mutilated by their careless guardians. When he deals with facts which came under his personal observation, his accounts of beliefs, folklore, social life, customs, and manners possess permanent value." It remains to say that Mr. Crooke has carried out his plan of editing admirably: that is, he has given the text as it stands, errors and all; only adapting the spelling of place and personal names and of vernacular words to that generally adopted by scholars of the day dealing with India—a great saving of labour in reading

the book—and adding the briefest of notes to set straight the many serious errors in Tod's lucubrations as revealed by research subsequent to his time. The present writer is in a position to appreciate the enormous labour and research required to compile such notes. It is only too easy to detect a mistake in a text. It is always difficult to be quite sure that one has put it straight, correctly, sufficiently, and intelligently in a footnote, and Mr. Crooke is to be congratulated, on the results of his efforts in this direction.

R. C. Temple.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SLAVERY FOR DEBT.

The following paragraph foreshadows the imminent death, under British rule, of a very widely-spread and ancient custom in Indo-China. It is culled from the Annual Report (1919) of the British Adviser to the State of Trengganu, the latest acquisition in the Malay Peninsula.

"The registration of debt-slaves was completed during the year, and the institution—except for the registered slaves, whose debts are being steadily lessened by monthly reductions—is now abolished by law."

R. C. Temple.

TIN CURRENCY IN THE MALAY STATES.

The following extracts from the Annual Report of the British Adviser for the State of Trengganu, Malay Peninsula, for 1919 will be of interest to those who have followed my article on this subject, *ante*, Vol. XLII, pp. 85 ff. They show that under given circumstances, a tin or lead-tin currency is natural to some of the Malay States even under British Rule.

1. "The condition of Trengganu weights and measures has for several years been a serious scandal; it is doubtful if a single true steel-yard (*daching*), or gallon, quart, or pint measure (*gantang, chupak, leng*), could have been found in the whole State. The matter was dealt with soon after the amendment of the Treaty; it was found that the quart and pint standards corresponded to the Singapore scale, but that the gallon was smaller by ½ kati (5½ katis as compared with 6 katis in the Straits Settlements).

"After some discussion it was decided to adopt the Singapore Standards and to purchase a supply of new metal measures from Singapore. The Chief Police Officer, Singapore, very kindly arranged for and superintended their manufacture. They have now been brought into use, and the use of buckets, cocoanut shells, and cigarette tins, that formerly served the purpose of measures, is now prohibited."

2. "Great distress was caused during the year by the shortage of subsidiary coin. Some $ 10,000 worth of copper coin supplied by the Treasurer, Straits Settlements, disappeared immediately from circulation, in spite of penalties for hoarding. Even the local tin coins (*pitis*) began to disappear. At the time of writing [May 1920] Government is preparing to mint further supplies; they are made of a mixed lead-tin alloy (60 per cent. : 40 per cent.)."

3. [The following table gives the current value in 1919 of well known weights and measures in Trengganu] :—

1 dollar	=	*2s. 4d*
1 pikul	=	133⅓ lbs. (17 pikuls=approximately, 1 ton).
1 tahil	=	1⅓ oz., av.
1 kati	=	1⅓ lbs.
1 gantang	=	6 katis.
4 chupak	=	1 gantang.
2 leng	=	1 chupak."

R. C. Temple.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

21. The Company's premises at Peddapalle.

3 *September* 1682. *Letter from Samuel Wales and Council at Pettipollee* [*Peddapalle*] *to William Gyfford and Council at Fort St. George*. . . . Upon Tuesday the 29th past at night wee arrived here and went Immediately to view the honble. Companys Factory, which wee found in soe miserable a Condition that there is noe thoughts or possibility of repairing it, the upper Chamber being fallen into the Godowne and the walls of the two Roomes below mouldred away, and the Rooffe fallen off and all the timbers Consumed and rotten and the floore broken upp. Soe there being noe habitation for us, we were forced to accept of a Choultry [rest-house] with a hovell at each end provided by the Governour for us and the honble. Companys goods which is neither Convenient for the one nor the other in respect the floore is Mudd, Extreame damp and swarms with Ground [White] Ants Soe as there is noe preservation for the Europe Cloth nor Callicoes (when brought in) nor is there any Convenient place for Sorting or any thing Elce, Wee our Selves being forc't to lye in the Open Aire in Pallankeen[s] ever since wee Came hither. Wee have Sent into the Towne to Enquire for Godownes [warehouses] and find there is none of Fit dementions for our purpose; and for a small Mudd hole which they Call a Godowne of 10 foote square they aske a pagoda and a halfe [about Rs. 5¼] per month rent. Wherfore wee entreat your Worship &ca. to take it into your Consideration to find out some expedient for a remedy of these inconveniences; otherwise wee shall not be able to serve the honble. Company as our Inclinations lead us for our healths will be impared and their goods damnified. . . (*Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682, vol. II, p. 84).

R. C. Temple

FOLK-TALES OF THE CAR NICOBARESE.

COLLECTED BY THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD.

(*Continued from p.* 240.)

X.—A VOYAGE TO THE MOON.

There was once a widow who had four children. Three of them were grown up to be quite big girls, but the youngest was a baby ; its name was Tö-mi-röȯk. The names of the others were Tö-kə̆n ("Industrious"), the eldest ; Tö-pêt-ngen ("One who minds one's own business"), the second ; and Va-mî-rô ("Story-teller"), the third—all girls.

Now they had a small garden at some distance from the house ; and one day the children were sent by their mother to go and weed it. She herself could not go with them, as there was no one else to mind the baby.

Early in the morning "Industrious" and her two sisters set out for the garden, and when they got there, at once set about to begin the weeding.

But soon the sun got up and it began to get hot, and "Story-teller" got tired and went into the shade to rest. Then she began to sing and to climb up on the boughs of trees (some of which had been chopped down and were lying full length on the ground). There she played and amused herself by swinging and did no more work for the rest of the day. This was the mother's favourite.

The two elder girls kept hard at their work out in the sun, and got very much sun-burnt. "Va-mî-rô, please do come and help us, so that we may get the weeding finished," said Tö-kə̆n to her. But the request was in vain, for Va-mî-rô simply would not do any work.

Then said Tö-pêt-ngen ("One who minded her own business"): "We will tell mother about you when we get home, so that you will get a whipping." But Va-mî-rô would not budge and did not say anything in reply.

When it got well on in the afternoon, Va-mî-rô began to sprinkle rubbish on her head, and then went home before the others, and said to her mother, "I have been the only one to do any work to-day ; those other two did nothing but play the whole time. I left them now in the garden, still in the midst of their games."

The mother got extremely angered against the others when she heard "Story-teller's" account of them, and she said, "Wait till they come and I will teach them a lesson. You have your dinner now, for you are tired. You will find it on the shelf."

Then, after a while, the two elder girls came home, and they felt disappointed that there was not a word of welcome for them on their arrival. They merely had some food given to them, which they ate.

Then, after they had finished their dinner, their mother asked them if the food they had had, had been nice, and they replied that it had been good. "I gave you food to eat which I had befouled (*cum excremento infantis, fratris vestri*) ; for you two have been lazy to-day ; indeed, your never mind anything but play and amusement."

They did not say anything in reply, for they knew that she was repeating one of Va-mî-rô's fabrications, which she believed.

Then the two elder girls talked over matters together, and determined to run away from home. They got their few things together and put their little box on their shoulders; and off they went. They were anxious to go up to the moon, for they felt that their mother would find them out if they remained anywhere on the island.

Now there was hanging down a creeper called *tö-a-nqu-ö*,[26] and they tried to ascend to the skies by it; but it began to break.

"Come, let us try to ascend by the cobweb," said "Industrious."

"Shall we not fare still worse, if as soon as we tread on it, it should snap," said öpêt-ngen.

"In any case let us try," the other one replied.

So Tö-kĕn ("Industrious") went up first, and then her sister followed her: and the cobweb did not break.

When they had already got a good distance up, they suddenly remembered that they had forgotten their little basket (made of *ra-foh*, the spathe of the betel-nut); and Tö-kĕn sent her younger sister to fetch it.

However, she ran across her mother in the house, and was at once stopped. The mother then told Va-mî-rô to keep watch over Tö-pêt-ngen, whilst she herself went in search of Tökĕn.

She found her on the cobweb, not far from the ground, for she was waiting for Tö-pêt-ngen, and had come down some distance to meet her.

The mother caught hold of Tö-kĕn by the foot, and tugged at it, but she held on fast to the cobweb, and by dint of vigorous kicking, she managed to get free from her mother's grip.

Tö-kĕn's ankle was twisted out of its socket by reason of her mother tugging so at it; and she only accomplished the ascent to the moon by dint of painful perseverance.

But she thought no more of the pain, for she had got up to the face of the moon and was now far away from her insulting and unjust mother.

There she lay down on the surface of the moon and slept, having her box for her pillow. Her ankle remained out of joint, and Tö-pêt-ngen much missed her, for she was still in the clutches of their insulting mother.

XI.—"CURSES LIKE HENS, COME HOME TO ROOST."

(More literally, "The Arrow ricochets and strikes the Archer.")

Once upon a time, long long ago, the people of Chowra came to this island with a canoe for sale, which was purchased by the people of Nök-töl-tui.[27] In exchange for the boat, the people of Chowra got a great quantity of goods—spoons, silver-wire, axes, and *dahs* (choppers).[28] But they cheated the people of Chowra by shaping pieces of wood to look like *dahs*, and then daubing them over with soot.

The Chowra people did not in the least perceive how they were being deceived: and they took their things and went home. There, at last, they discovered how they had been befooled; perhaps it was through accidentally finding out how very light the *dahs* were.

Now the people of Chowra are wondrous magicians. So they made a ball of *pandanus* (or bread-fruit) paste, and a small canoe to contain it. Then they sent off this toy canoe with the *pandanus* paste aboard it; and it went straight to the village of those people who had deceived them; and it was cast up on the beach there.

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[26] Tö-a-nqu-ö, *i.e.*, "bitter," from its taste.

[27] A former village on the south coast of Car Nicobar.

[28] [See my *Beginnings of Currency*, *ante*, vol. XXIX, pp. 32-33, for the value of a racing canoe in cocoanuts and other articles at Car Nicobar in 1896. The interest in the Nicobarese practice of exchange between islands lies in the fact that a racing canoe is first valued in a large number of cocoanuts, but the payment is actually made in a number of articles each separately valued in cocoanuts, the sum of which amounts to the value of the canoe in cocoanuts. In modern European international trade the same idea is exactly represented by the difference in exchange between two countries.—R.C.T.]

A person found it and took it away with him, and all the people of the village, every one, ate some of the paste. There was just one little child that did not eat any ; perhaps he was asleep when all the others were eating the *pandanus*. The child was quite small and not old enough to understand things.

Now early next morning a man was going out from an adjoining village to spear fish, and he saw that child playing all alone on the beach. He thought to himself, "That child is the only one to get up early here this morning," and did not trouble himself any more about the matter.

When he was returning from spearing fish, on his way home, he again saw the child, still playing alone. So he went up into a house, and lit his cigarette ; and on looking round saw every one stretched out stiff and still.

The little child came up the ladder too, and began to suck at his mother's breast, not knowing that she was dead ; but the man who had been fishing realised that all the people were dead.

So he picked up the child and went off with him to his own village, "Ot-ra-höön" (or Kemnyûs), and hunted around for some people to come and help him to bury those who had thus died all together.

It was as when the bolt that has been shot strikes against a tree, and ricochets, and hits the archer who shot it. We are sure to have falling on our own heads the consequences of our actions ; if they do not come at once, they will find us out in the future.

XII.—THE TWO WOMEN WHO WERE MAKING TRIPE.

Long long ago two women were once making tripe on some rocks which jutted out a good way into the sea, and were bare at low water, whilst below them lay the deep sea. One of the women accidentally let their knife drop into the water, and it was immediately swallowed by a fish. That fish, which was called a *ka-hû-kö,* had an enormous mouth ; it is never seen in these days.

"Quick ! jump down, and dive after our knife," said the other woman to her companion. So she dived down after it ; and she too went straight down into the belly of that big fish, just as their pocket-knife had done.

The other woman waited for her companion for a long time, idly playing with a pebble in her hand ; and then she said to herself, "Why is she all this time ?"

Splash ! she too had dived down into the water for the knife ; and she too went straight into the belly of that big fish.

The big fish then swam away and went right out into the middle of the ocean.

Now, some considerable time after they had gone down into the belly of the fish, one of the women said, "We are getting hungry."

"Why not cut off some meat for yourselves from my liver ?" said the fish to them. They took the fish at his word and helped themselves to a considerable quantity of his liver.

"Oh ! Oh !" said the fish, "Are not you two going beyond all bounds in doing this ?" But the women replied, "Oh ! no ! no !"

When they had gone a long distance further and it was now another day again, they began to get hungry ; and again the fish said to them : "Help yourselves again to some more of my liver ;" and they did so.

"Oh ! is not this going too far ?" said the fish again ; and again the women cried, "No ! no !"

They only helped themselves twice to the liver of the fish, for the fish vomited them up and spat them out on a great rock in the midst of the ocean. The fish then swam away.

After a considerable time, the two women spied a shark coming towards the rock ; and they were afraid when they saw him come.

" Don't you be afraid, you two," said the shark, " for I have been backwards and forwards looking for you in the midst of the ocean for many a long day. " Come ! get up on my back, and I will carry you away."

The women got up on the back of the shark, but they could not keep a firm seat and were continually gliding off ; for the fish's back was slippery. So the shark told them to rub his back.

So they rubbed his back, and after that they got up on his back again, and found they had a steady seat. They were carried away by the shark and landed at the very place where they had been making tripe.

They went home, and the fish returned to its own place.

XIII.—THE MAN WHO BECAME A PYTHON.

Long long ago, there were once some people who had gone away to their gardens in the jungle, to get the requisite fruit and vegetables for the annual *kunseû-rò* festival.[29]

The men were on their way back from the jungle "hinterland," when they stopped to cut some nuts for themselves to drink,[30] for they were thirsty.

As usual, one man climbed a palm-tree to cut the nuts for the party ; and they soon all had as many as they wanted.

His friends drank the nuts, and then got tired of waiting for him, for he remained a very long time up in the tree. So they called out to him : "Come down at once : we want to be going."

But the man who had cut down the nuts for them replied, " You go home now ; but I am not going to the village until the day after to-morrow."

Then the man cut open the spathe of a cocoanut flower and ate the flower, for he wanted to have plenty of fat around his intestines.[31]

Somehow or other, by swallowing the cocoanut flower, he managed to increase the fat round his intestines, and so became a python.

On the next day but one he came to the village, just when the women were in the midst getting out the fibrous matter from the *pandanus* (or bread-fruit) paste, and he sported indelicately with the women with his tail.

The women were all terrified, thinking it was a "devil" (or evil-spirit), and jumped down from the house where they were and went straight down the throat of the python.

[29] About the beginning of the rains the whole village joins in this quasi-Harvest Festival, or Feast of Pomona, as an acknowledgment of favours received from the unseen powers. The following day they must rest, and above all things, not go far from their houses.

[30] [The water in Car Nicobar is too brackish for drinking purposes and the drink of the island is cocoanut milk which is always available. The people are all therefore experts from childhood in climbing a cocoanut tree without undue fatigue.—R.C.T.]

[31] The saliva with which the python covers its victim, is supposed to be fat from around its intestines.

Now, some of the women had big kitchen knives in their hands; and with these they cut for themselves a way out of the belly of the python, and thus escaped.

A number of bystanders, too, cried out and made a loud noise, for the people were still there, not having finished the grating of the food for the *kun-seû-rö* festival. The python then went off into the jungle.

The only occupation of that python now-a-days is to swallow the sun and moon occasionally, which is the cause of the eclipses; for having proved himself able to swallow human beings, he sometimes goes in for attempting to swallow the sun and the moon.

(To be continued.)

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A.

(Continued from p. 226.)

Fryer examined.

If Fryer's account is borne out by facts, the state of the country was terrible indeed. But Fryer had made only a short trip through Shivaji's dominions and his stay there was by no means long. It does not appear probable that his account was based on personal experience of first hand knowledge of any other kind. Shivaji is still adored as an ideal king, and people referred to his institutions with admiration in days of anarchy and misrule. Traditions may be exaggerated but they are never baseless. Traditions attribute all sorts of good institutions to such good rulers as Alfred and Elizabeth, but legends have not hitherto paid any tribute to the memory of such bad kings as John or James II. It is a very important point that the memory of Shivaji is still cherished by the people of Maharashtra as that of a great and good king. If he had really tortured his Brahmin officers with red hot pincers and they in their turn had dealt out similar treatment to the Desais, Shivaji would not have been revered as an incarnation of Shri Shambhu Mahadev. We have already seen how the great Maratha had striven to liberate the poor peasant from the tyranny of the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes; it therefore seems improbable that he should have allowed his officers to force lands on the Desais at an exorbitant rate. Far from molesting Brahmans, Shivaji never offered any insult to holy men and holy place of his Muhammadan enemies. Although many temples and idols were defiled and desecrated by the Muhammadan bigots, Shivaji never failed to send any copy of the Koran, he might come in possession of, to some of his Muhammadan officers. Even Khafi Khan, an inveterate enemy of the Maratha hero, paid him an unwilling compliment on that account.[90] Dellon, a French Doctor, who visited the western coast about the same time as Fryer, remarks that, "His (Shivaji's) subjects are pagans, like himself. But he tolerates all religions and is looked upon as one of the most politic princes in those parts."[91] Shivaji styled himself as Go Brahman Pratipalak, the protector of Brahmins and cows, and could hardly with any consistency to his professed ambition have overlooked the conduct of his officers, if they really tortured the Brahmans. Fryer's story therefore seems to be baseless. Corruption certainly existed and instances of tyranny and misrule doubtless occurred. Shivaji in the midst of those wars of conquest and defence could hardly get any time for improving

90 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 260.

91 Dellon, pp. 56-57.

his government. But Fryer seems to have dipped his brush in the black colour too frequently while painting a picture of Shivaji's country. Grant Duff[92] says—The Muhammadan writers, and one contemporary English traveller, describe his country in the worst possible state; and the former only mention him as a depredator and destroyer; but those districts taken by him from Bejapoor which had been under the management of farmers and direct agents of government, probably experienced great benefit by the change.

Besides land-revenue and customs-duties, a small income was derived from mints.

Licensed Mints.

The Peshwas did not permit free coining but the goldsmiths usually obtained license for mints under certain restrictions. This must have been the practice in the pre-Peshwa period also. Shivaji never tried to control the currency and plainly told the English Ambassador, that he "forbids not the passing of any manner of coins, nor on the other side can he force his subjects to be losers; but if their coin be as fine an alloy and as weighty as the Moghul's and other princes he will not prohibit."[93] The result was that all sorts of foreign coins were current in Shivaji's kingdom and even in his own treasury could be found few or no coins of the Raiagad Mint. Sabhasad says,[94] that Shivaji had no less than 400,000 of Shivarai Hons at the time of his death, but these Shivarai Hons were in all probability of Bijayanagar origin, for only 2 or 3 Shivaji Hons have yet been discovered. Sabhasad enumerates no less than 32 different kinds of gold coins and 6 different kinds of silver coins while giving an account of Shivaji's treasures. These were :—

GOLD COINS—

1. Gambar.
2. Mohar.
3. Putli.
4. Padshahi Hon.
5. Satlamis or Satramis.
6. Ibhrami.
7. Shivarai Hon.
8. Kaveripak.
9. Sangari Hon.
10. Achyutrai Hon.
11. Devrai Hon.
12. Ramchandrarai Hon.
13. Guti Hon.
14. Dharwari Hon.
15. Falam (Fanam).
16. Pralkhati Hon.
17. Pav Naiki Hon.
18. Advani Hon.
19. Jadmal Hon.
20. Tadpatri Hon.
21. Afraji Hon.
22. Tribaluri Hon.
23. Trisuli Hon.
24. Chandavari (Tanjori) Hon.
25. Bildhari Hon.
26. Ulaphkari Hon.
27. Mahamad Shai Hon.
28. Veluri Hon.
29. Katerai Hon.
30. Devajvali Hon.
31. Ramnathpuri Hon.
32. Kungoti Hon.

SILVER COINS—

1. Rupees.
2. Asrafis.
3. Abashis.
4. Dabholi Kabri.
5. Chonli Kabri.
6. Bassora Kabri.

92 Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 188.

93 Fryer.

94 Sabhasad, p. 95.

Some of these coins were of non-Indian origin. Ibhrami, for instance, came from distance Irak.[95]

Shivaji's Mint.

Shivaji had his mint at Raiagad. But his first coins were not probably issued before 1774. A large number of copper coins were issued, and no less than 25,000 of these were collected and examined by the Rev. Mr. Abbott.[96] But very few gold and silver coins of Shivaji are known to-day, probably because they were never struck in any large number.

Crude Method.

Shivaji had no good mechanic for working the mint. The irregular shape of the coins and the mis-shapen alphabets of the legends show the crude method in which they were manufactured. The writer of the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Nasik volume)[97] gives the following account of the working of the Chandor mint, closed in 1830—" A certain quantity of silver of the required test was handed over to each man who divided it into small pieces, rounded and weighed them, greater care being taken that the weights should be accurate than that size should be uniform for this purpose. Scales and weights were given to each of the 400 workmen, and the manager examined them every week. When the workmen were satisfied with the weight of the piece, they were forwarded to the manager who sent them to be stamped. In stamping the rupee an instrument like anvil was used. It had a hole in the middle with letters inscribed on it by a workman called batekari, and a third man gave a blow with a six pound hammer. Three men were able to strike 2,000 pieces an hour, or 20,000 in a working day of ten hours. As the seal was a little larger than the piece, all letters were seldom inscribed." The Chandor mint was opened long after Shivaji's demise. But that the description holds good with respect to Shivaji's mint also, can be proved by a simple inspection of Shivrai coins. The small Shivrai Hon in the museum of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, for example, acks the compound letter " Tra " (त्र) in the word Chhtrapati, evidently because the little circular piece had originally been hammered on a seal of much larger size.

Variation in spelling of Shivaji's name.

The goldsmiths in charge of the mint could evidently boast of very little learning. In the copper coins only we find no less than eight different spellings of the word Shri Raja Shiva Chhtrapati. The Rev. Mr. Abbott gives the following eight variations in the spelling of this word on Shivarai pice :—

1.	ob.	श्री राजाशिव	R.	छत्रपति
2.	,,	श्री राजाशिव	,,	छत्रपती
3.	,,	श्री राजाशीव	,,	छत्रपति
4.	ob.	श्री राजाशीव	R.	छत्रपती
5.	,,	श्री राजासिव	..	छत्रपति
6.	,,	श्री राजासिव	..	छत्रपती
7.	,,	श्री राजासीव	..	छत्रपति
8.	,,	श्री राजासीव	,,	छत्रपती

95 Fryer p. 210.

96 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Nasik Vol., p. 429.

97 *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XX, p. 109.

The small Shivarai Hon of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal's museum has on the obverse the figures of Shiva and Bhavani seated side by side, and on the reverse the name of Shivaji inscribed in the following manner :—

सीव

रा (Modi) जछ (त्र)

पती

Through the kindness of Mr. D. V. Potdar, the joint secretary of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodak Mandal, I obtained an opportunity of examining this really rare coin, which has already been described by Mr. Bhave in the fifth *Sammelan Vritta* of the Mandal.[98]

Chouth and Sardeshmukhi.

But neither the land revenue nor the custom duties and the income from the mints added so much to the treasury of Shivaji as the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi and the spoils of war. Even in normal times he depended more on his army than on his civil officers for the necessary finances. It was on this account that he has been branded as a robber chief both by his contemporaries and by posterity. But the great Maratha king had no other alterna tive. He had to brave the enmity of the Mughals and the Sultan of Bijapur, not to count the pinpricks that he had to often bear from such minor powers as the Habsis of Janjira, the Portuguese of Goa, and the petty semi-independent chiefs, like the Koli Raja. He had to organise an army and defend his newly conquered territories ; he had to build innumerable orts, fortify submerged rocks and difficult passes ; he had to fit out a fleet, to stop the piracy and the depredations of the Siddi's navy ; he had to buy arms and ammunition and he needed money for these works. Nature was by no means so munificent to the Maratha. The valleys yielded but scanty return to the strenuous labour of the Mavali peasant. It would have been impossible for Shivaji to finance his army and navy from the limited resources of his native land alone, even if he had taxed all his ingenuity to enhance them. Consequently he had to make " war furnish the means of war."

The nature of the Chouth and Sardeshmukhi.

But the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi were quite different from spoils of war. They were more or less permanent demands. Shivaji's claim to Sardeshmukhi was based on a legal fiction. He claimed to be the hereditary Sardeshmukh of his country and had put forth his claim early in his career. If his claim had been acknowledged, or if he had succeeded in obtaining a Farman in its support, there would have been no legal flaw whatever in his demand. This Imperial sanction however could not be obtained before Shahu's accession to his grandfather's throne, and in Shivaji's time at least the Sardeshmukhi was not recognised as his Watan. The Chauth was nothing but a tribute, exacted from the weak by the strong. The Raja of Bednur and the Chief of Sunda agreed to pay the Chauth in 1676. because they had no option in the matter. Shivaji had invaded their principalities with a strong army and any refusal would have been sternly punished. The Marathas obtained a legal right to levy Chouth, when the diplomacy of Balaji Vishvanath secured for Shahu an imperial recognition of that off-repeated claim. This legal sanction would have been of little avail,

[98] *Pancham Sammelan Vritta*, p. 121.

if it had not been backed by the lance of the Maratha horseman. Nothing short of an expedition would make any chief or king, either Hindu or Muhammadan, admit Shivaji's claim to a quarter of his revenue, and nothing but a strong army could enforce its punctual payment. It was therefore nothing but a military contribution levied by a power without being in formal occupation of the country, and without observing the legal forms specified by modern International Law.

Ranade's views.

That great Maratha scholar, the late Justice Ranade, however, does not admit that the Chauth was a military contribution only, without any moral or legal obligation on the part of the Maratha government to protect the country from the invasion of any other power or to restore peace and order in the country. He was of opinion, that the policy underlying the exaction of the Chauth was the same as that impelled Lord Wellesley to enforce a subsidiary alliance on his weaker neighbours. "The demand for chauth was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops, maintained for such service. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji, and it was this same idea which, in the Marquis of Wellesley's hands, bore such fruit a hundred and twenty five years later." This is Ranade's interpretation of the chauth policy.[99]

Ranade examined

It is true that Shahu had, in return of the grant of the Chauth, bound himself to maintain a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service, to be placed at the disposal of the Subadars, Faujdars and officers in the different districts, and to maintain peace and order. But neither Shahu nor the Peshwas ever cared to assist the Subadar of the Deccan, unless it served their own interest. Shivaji also, had often offered to serve the Delhi government but he had exacted the chauth at the point of his sword ; the Emperor did not expect that Shivaji would ever look after the interests of the Delhi power and Shivaji also knew that no treaty would serve him better than his own strong arm. It cannot therefore be denied that the Maratha kings exacted chauth without undertaking the least responsibility for the country's welfare, and it should also be remembered that they never expected the Chauth, paying governments to give up their diplomatic liberty. Here lies the fundamental difference between the subsidiary system and the exaction of Chauth. The English company always held themselves responsible for the defence of their ally's realm, while they expected him to renounce all diplomatic relations with other powers. Moreover, the Marathas never maintained any extra regiment or battalion when they received the chauth from a prince, nor had the amount of tribute any relation to the possible expense that might be incurred in the defence of the Chauth-paying territories. I do not however hold that the Maratha statesmen had no idea of a subsidiary arrangement—such an arrangement was made with the Raja of Bundi by the Peshwas ; but that was long after the demise of Shivaji.

Are such exactions sanctioned by International Law ?

The Chauth was therefore nothing but a contribution exacted by a military leader. But are such exactions sanctioned by International Law ? The ancient Romans, while extending their empire, had set no limit to their rapacity. *Bellum alit bellum*—war must pay for war—was their favourite maxim. But pillage has not ceased to be an inevitable characteristic of war with the disruption of the Roman Empire. Even in the 19th century, so late as 1865, General Sherman's campaign was characterised by the systematic pillage of the territories he marched through.[100] Requisition, which is only a variation of contribution, is also sanctioned by the most modern laws of war and was practised, though unwillingly, by no less a man than George Washington.[100] Shivaji also could plead as urgent a necessity as Washington. Both

99 Ranade, *R. N. P.*, p. 225.

100 Bentwitch., p. 28.

of them had been fighting for their country's liberation and both of them were surely in need of money. Washington requisitioned the property of his unwilling fellow-citizens and Shivaji levied contributions on the enemy's subjects. It served two ends at once. It not only weakened the enemy he was fighting, but at the same time added to his own resources.

Conclusion.

Shivaji's kingdom was a military state, if we are allowed to style it so. It was in a state of chronic warfare. Even for its finances, Shivaji depended more on war than on the processes of peace. The wealth amassed in the ports of his enemies by their commercial enterprise flowed into Shivaji's treasury, as a reward of his military prowess. The result of this policy was the inevitable ruin of trade and commerce. Surat, the premier port of Western India, lost its trade for ever. But while plundering his enemies' lands, Shivaji took good care to protect his own country from a similar calamity. It was absolutely impossible that his attempts in this direction would be crowned with complete success. But he did all that was practicable. His statesmanship converted the hardy soldiers of Maharashtra into excellent civil administrators. Shivaji did not aspire to be a legislator; indeed he had no leisure for such work. But he revived some of the best regulations of his predecessors, and made slight improvements upon them. It does not seem possible that he was able to achieve much reform. We also do not know how far the spirit of these regulations was observed in their actual working by Shivaji's officers. The public opinion of that time did not condemn bribery and corruption, and we are afraid, Shivaji's officers were not much better if not actually worse, than their successors of the Peshwa period. His country saw no peace till the overthrow of the Moghul power. Shivaji never had more than a couple of peaceful years at a time and even that not more than once in his life. It is futile to expect that commerce and agriculture could have prospered under these circumstances. But Shivaji's regulations were well suited to the needs of the country. The assessment was flexible and varied from year to year. Whatever might have been the annual yield, a considerable share was left to the peasants. In the years of scarcity they could expect relief from the State. Consequently they had good reasons to devote their attention to agricultural pursuits but it is quite probable that the prospects and honour of a military career had stronger charms for the hardy peasant of the Ghat ranges.

CHAPTER IV.

ARMY AND NAVY.

Efficiency aimed at.

In his military organisation Shivaji aimed at efficiency. Vastly inferior to his enemies in numerical strength, he tried to compensate by quality, the lack of quantity. He therefore tried to enforce strict discipline in his army and appealed not only to their military honour but also to the patriotism of his soldiers. His earliest adherents were the Mawlis, a race of hardy hill men, who came into prominence under Shivaji's leadership and have since then declined to their original obscurity. Shivaji depended mainly on these hill men and the hills. The hills constituted an excellent defence, while the hill men accompanied him in all his bold excursions and perilous raids. The ill clad and ill fed hill men of Mawal were trained into an excellent infantry by the great Maratha Captain, and he fortified the bare rocks and mountain passes to bar the enemy's progress through his country. At the time of his death, Shivaji possessed no less than two hundred and forty forts and strongholds, as in the Jabita Swarajya of Shah[101] we find that not a single Taluka or Pargana was left without a protecting fort. Scott Waring says that—" Before his death, he (Shivaji) had established his authority over an extent of country four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and

101 *J. B. Br. A. S. P.*, XXII, pp. 36—42.

twenty in breadth. His forts extended over the vast range of mountains which skirt the western shore of India. Regular fortification barred the open approaches : every pass was commanded by forts ; every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and impeded the labouring march of cavalry, elephants and carriages."[102] Chitnis pointedly remarked that forts were the very life of the kingdom[103] and Lokhitvadi tells us that Shivaji was famous mainly for building forts.

Officers in charge of forts.

Shivaji's hill forts, impregnable by nature, did not require a strong garrison. Five hundred was the normal strength, but in some exceptional cases a stronger force was allowed. No single officer was ever placed in entire charge of the fort and its garrison. "In every fort," says Sabhasad, "there should be a Havaldar, a Sabnis (and) a Sarnobat; (and) these three officers should be of the same status. These three should conjointly carry on the administration. There should be kept a store of grain and war material in the fort. An officer called Karkhananis should be appointed for this work. Under his supervision should be written all accounts of income and expenditure. Where the fort is an important one and where forts are of extensive circuit, there should be kept five to seven Tat Sarnobats. The charge of the ramparts should be divided among them. They should be careful about keeping vigilant watch. Of every ten men of the garrison to be stationed in the fort one should be made a Naik—nine privates and the tenth a Naik. Men of good families should in this manner be recruited. Of the forces, the musketeers, the spearsmen, the archers and the light-armed men should be appointed, after the Raja himself had carefully inspected each man individually, and selected the brave and shrewd. The garrison in the fort, the Havaldar and the Sarnobat should be Marathas of good family. They should be appointed after some one of the royal personal staff has agreed to stand surety (for them). A Brahman known to the king's personal staff should be appointed Sabnis and a Prabhu Karkhananis. In this manner each officer retained should be dissimilar (in caste) to the others. The fort is not to be left in the hands of the Havaldar alone. No single officer can surrender the fort to any rebel or miscreant. In this manner was the administration of the forts carefully carried out. A new system was introduced."[104]

The system not new.

The system was however by no means new in Southern India. The regulations of Muhammad Adil Shaha of Bijapur lay down clearly that the officers in charge of a fort should be three in number, neither less nor more. The Muhammadan ruler also says that these officers should be frequently transferred from one fort to another.[105] We have seen in the preceding chapter that Shivaji also used to transfer the Mudra Dharis, or officers in charge of forts and strong-holds, very often. Shivaji had no prejudice against his Muhammadan predecessors and freely borrowed their ideas. He was moreover strongly influenced by the circumstances of the time, while framing these regulations. It would have been sheer imprudence to leave a fort entirely in charge of a single officer in those days of disloyalty and treachery, when gold succeeded where policy or prowess failed. Shivaji himself had frequently used the golden

102 Scott Waring, pp. 96-97. 103 Chitnis. p. 80. किल्ले कोट हे आपल्या राज्याचा जीव प्राण.

104 Sabhasad, pp. 27-28.

105 किल्लांत व कोठांत मुख्य कामगार तीन असावे २ किल्लेदार २ दशमाकडील कामगार व ३ गुप्तबातमी लिहिणारा ह्या तिघाहून अधिक कामगार नेमूं नये कांहीं दिवसानंतर ह्या कामगारांचा बदल्या करीतें जाव्या.
—*Itihas Sangraha Aitihasik Sphuta Lekh*, p. 27.

bait with success and it was but natural that he should take proper precaution against its repetition at his cost. It was also necessary that he should conciliate three principal castes by distributing the responsible posts under his Government equally among them. The Prabhus and the Brahmans, were jealous of one another, perhaps for social reasons, but the state of their feeling could not be overlooked even in adminis trative affairs. Shivaji himself had reason to fear Brahman opposition when he assumed the sacred thread prior to his coronation. The Marathas of his time also eminently deserved high commands in the army. The different sections of the great Brahman caste were not in amity [106] and Chitnis tells us that the Sabnises were recruited from all classes of Brahmans, *viz.* the Deshasthas, the Karhadas, the Kokanasthas and the Madhyandins. It may be incidentally mentioned here that the Kokanastha had not yet come to the forefront in Maratha politics, and most of Shivaji's principal Brahman officials belonged to the Deshastha section. The keen intelligence of the Shenvis had already espied a bright prospect in another quarter and they had in large numbers entered the Portuguese service. With their characteristic literary aptitude, they mastered European tongues before long, and acted as interpreters for European merchants of all nationalities. It is not clear whether persecution of them had begun so early. In any case, prudence demanded that Shivaji should recruit his officers from all the principal castes, and conciliate them all.

The chief of the three officers was the Havaldar. He was to keep the keys with him. He was to shut the fort gates and lock them up with his own hands every evening. He was to draw the bolt and see whether the gates were properly secured. He was not to admit any one, whether friend or foe during the night.

The Havaldar.

Early in the morning he was to come and with his own hands open the principal gates.[107] Although he was to carry on other duties conjointly with his colleagues, the Havaldar was never allowed to relegate these to any one else. In fact, Shivaji tested the efficiency of his Havaldars mainly by their proper observance of the regulations regarding the gates. Chitnis gives an anecdote that will bear quotation here. [108] One night Shivaji went to Panhala and knocked at the gates of fort. His attendants shouted out to the Havaldar, that the Maharaj himself was seeking admission, hotly pursued by the enemy. The gates must be opened and the king taken in. The officer came and stood on the rampart with his colleagues. With due humility the Havaldar pointed out that the king's regulation did not permit the gates to be opened at that hour. He however offered to check the enemy till morning with the help of the guards of the outstation, while the Maharaja should wait near the gates. Then the king replied—the regulations are mine, and the order involving their violation is also mine. It is I who order you to open the gates. But the officer again submitted that he could not open the gates. Night was almost over. Till dawn the enemy would be kept off. Then Shivaji tried threats. " It is not proper," said he, "that a servant like you should not obey my orders. I will make an example of you." But still the gates were not unlocked. Early in the morning the Havaldar unlocked and unbolted the gates and with clasped hands approached the king. " I have done wrong; your majesty should punish me according to my deserts"—said the officer. But the king applauded his sense of duty and promoted him on the spot. The *Chronicler of Shivadigvijaya* informs us that those who failed this test were degraded or dismissed.

(*To be continued.*)

[106] For the question of caste rivalry, see J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji.*—
Thakre—*Gramanyache Itihas.*
Do. —*Kodandacha Tantkar.*
Gupte —*Rajwadachi Gagabhatti*

[107] Chitnis, p. 79.

[108] Chitnis, p. 108.

THE HISTORY OF THE NÍẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from* p. 234.)

LXXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE INVASION OF BERAR BY MURTAẒA NIẒAM SHÂH, AND OF THE CAPTURE OF THE WRETCH, TUFÂL KHAN, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS BREACH OF FAITH AND TREACHERY TO HIS MASTER.

A.D. 1572. 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was ever watching for an opportunity to break his engagements, and now that he heard that the army of Aḥmadnagar was demoralized, he entered into an offensive alliance with Tufâl Khân against Aḥmadnagar and thus violated his treaty of peace with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh.[182]

When informers brought the news of the treaty between 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and Tufâl Khân to Changîz Khân, Changîz Khân, whose ability in negotiations was unrivalled, advised the king that an envoy should be sent to Tufâl Khân to deter him from displaying hostility to Aḥmadnagar, to advise him to submit to Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and to refrain from meeting 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh or from entering into an alliance with him. In accordance with this advice, the king sent Maulânâ Ṣadr as an envoy to Tufâl Khân to offer him the advice suggested, but as Tufâl Khân had concluded a treaty with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh before the envoy's arrival, he would not see Maulânâ Ṣadr, nor hear of friendship with Aḥmadnagar. It had been decreed by God that the country of Berar was to fall into the hands of the Sultan of Aḥmadnagar, and that Malik Tufâl Khân, who had been guilty of rebellion against his lord, should fall, and, his evil disposition having in these days been diverted from its usual course, he discontinued the friendly letter which had for years passed between the 'Imâd Shâhi kings and the Sultans of Aḥmadnagar and opened a friendly correspondence with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh of Bîjâpûr and raised the standard of rebellion. The natural result of his conduct was his ruin and the ruin of his family and the loss of Berar and all its fortresses, which had formerly fallen into his hands.

When Tufâl Khân in his pride refused even to receive the envoy, Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh consulted with Changîz Khân and his other officers of state as to the best means of dealing with the enemy. Both the king and his advisers agreed that the best course was to meet and crush 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh before he could join Tufâl Khân; and the king marched with a large army towards Bîjâpûr. The army marched with great celerity towards Bîjâpûr and laid the whole of the enemy's country waste. Having so devastated the country that no sign of habitation remained, the army then turned towards Ausa and encamped at the village of Rûî.

[182] Firishta (ii. 263) gives a different account of the events which preceded the conquest of Berar by Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh. 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had apparently had an understanding with former ministers of the Aḥmadnagar State, and especially with Shâh Ḥaidar, brother of Shâh Abû-l-Ḥasan and Jamâl-ud-dîn Ḥusain Injû, who had at one time been in the service of Bîjâpûr. With Changîz Khân, the newly appointed *pîshwâ*, who had given evidence, at the siege of Chaul, of his incorruptibility, he seems to have had no understanding, and he feared his energy and honesty of purpose. He therefore opened negotiations with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh with a view to arranging a meeting and entering into an alliance with him. Changîz Khân, in order to prevent this alliance, persuaded Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh to march towards Bîjâpûr. 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh marched to meet him but Changîz Khân averted hostilities and arranged a friendly meeting between the two kings, at which they entered into a treaty. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh was to be free to annex both Berar and Bîdar, while 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was to annex an equivalent from the remnants of the Vijayanagar kingdom. The two kings then separated and Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh set out, in 1572, to annex Berar.

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the approach of the army of Aḥmadnagar and of the laying waste of the town of Alan and the surrounding country, he was much perturbed, for he knew that he was not strong enough to withstand the invaders and was disappointed of the help which he had hoped to receive from Tufâl Khân, for the army of Aḥmadnagar, which Tufâl Khân was too weak to attack, lay like an impenetrable barrier between his and his ally.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh now repented him of having begun hostilities against Aḥmadnagar, and wished for peace. He marched with his army from Bîjâpûr towards the invaders, but on the way he sued for peace, and was very careful not to attack Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh. While 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was still on his way, he sent Sayyid 'Alî Mu'tabar Khân, who was then *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* of the Bîjâpûr kingdom, with rich gifts to Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, to sue for peace and express his contrition for the action he had taken. The Sayyid fully represented to the king what was in his master's mind, and by means of excuses, apologies, and expressions of regret, succeeded in restoring confidence and in putting the case on such a footing that negotiations were possible.

Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh's chief object was to crush Tufâl Khân, whom he regarded as the author of the strife, and it was impossible to do this without the concurrence of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh. He therefore appointed Changîz Khân to carry through the negotiations in this matter. Changîz Khân, in accordance with the royal commands, set out for 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh's camp and paid his respects to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh before the fortress of Naldrug, and it was there agreed that the two kings should meet and discuss what arrangements should be made. The two kings then marched to meet one another, and met at the village of Kâlâ Chûtra, which had been fixed for their meeting.

The treaty which the two kings made between them was to the following effect :—

First, that they should unite in capturing the city of Bîdar, which should be handed over to Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh should then march against the infidels of Vijayanagar, while Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh conquered Telingâna and Berar.

On the following day the two armies marched towards Bîdar with the object of capturing it.

When the two armies arrived at Bîdar, 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh encamped on the bank of the Kamtuna tank and Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh on the bank of a tank close to the city, and both armies laid waste the country on all sides of the city.

After the armies had been halted at Bîdar for some days, Changîz Khân came to the conclusion that the conquest of Telingâna and Berar and the punishment of Tufâl Khân were more important than this campaign in Bîdar. He therefore sent a messenger to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh to say that it seemed to him to be a mere waste of time and power that the two armies should sit down before Bîdar in order to capture it, although it was clear that one of the armies could not perform the task alone. It was advisable, he said, that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh should invade Vijayanagar and annex that country, while Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh occupied himself in uprooting and overthrowing the turbulent malefactors (of Telingâna and Berar). 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh accepted this advice and the two armies marched from Bîdar. They marched together for two marches, and when they reached the river of Ḥusainâpûr, which is three or four leagues from Golconda,[183] 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh left Dilâvar Khân, the African, and some other officers with some seven or eight thousand horse to assist Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and set out for Bankâpur. Khvâja Ẓiyâ-ud-dîn Muḥammad Samnânî, entitled Amîn Khân, was appointed envoy from the court of Aḥmadnagar with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and left with him, and Khvaja Ghiyâs-ud-dîn Muḥammad, brother of Ẓiyâ-ud-dîn Muḥammad was appointed envoy from Bîjâpûr, at the court of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and remained with the royal camp.

[183] That is to say, from the frontier of the Golconda kingdom.

After the departure of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh appointed Amîn-ul-Mulk and his brother Nizâm Khân, with a picked force from the army, to lay waste the country around Golconda, while he himself with the main body of the army marched along the bank of the river, and when he arrived at Kaulâs, the force which had been sent in advance to devastate the environs of Golconda returned and rejoined the main body of the army, having laid waste and plundered that country. As the rainy season had now begun and movement was very difficult, the king remained in standing camp with his army at Kaulâs, and when the rainy season was over, marched thence and invaded Berar by way of Pâthrî. Some of the chief officers, such as Khudâvand Khân, Rustam Khân, and others were sent on ahead with the advanced guard.[184]

When the royal army reached Pâthrî all the inhabitants of that town and the district surrounding it, from fear of the troops, left their dwellings and fled and took refuge in the distant hills (of the Bâlâghât). Since, however, the king's object was the annexation and not the devastation of Berar, Changîz Khân reassured the inhabitants of Pâthrî, holding out to them hopes of the royal favour and clemency, and issued to them a written guarantee which so reassured them that all hastened to make their submission and pay their respects at the royal court, where they received marks of the royal favour and were thus enabled to return to their fields and their dwellings and to follow their usual avocations. The civil officers, in accordance with the royal commands, apportioned the whole of the Pâthrî district in *jâgîr* to the officers of the army.

News was now brought to the king that Tufâl Khân and his army had set out with a view to undertaking an expedition into the Kandhâr country, and the royal army therefore marched rapidly in that direction, lest the king's subjects in that district should suffer at the hands of the invaders. When Tufâl Khân heard of the retirement of the royal army, he abandoned his intention of invading Kandhâr and marched towards Bîdar.[185] The royal army followed him up march by march, until the two armies met in the neighbourhood of the hunting ground of Bîdar at about sunset. The circumstances of the case were as follows :—When the royal army halted, spies brought news that Tufâl Khân with a very large army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the army. Changîz Khân in accordance with the royal command, at once set out with a picked force to attack the enemy. On his approach Tufâl Khân came forth from his encampment and drew up his army in line facing the attacking force. Changîz Khân then sent on in advance a picked body of foreign horse with Shâh Vardî Khân, Sultân Qulî Beg Rûmlû, Ahmad Beg Aishâr, Shîr Khân Yarâqî, Yûnas Beg, Muzaffar Anjî, and others, numbering some two hundred, and Tufâl Khân sent 5,000 horse under Shamshîr-ul-Mulk to meet and repulse this force. Some twenty of the foreigners of Ahmadnagar, sword in hand, then hurled themselves on the centre of the enemy's 5,000 horse and slew many. It chanced, however, that an arrow pierced Sultân

184 According to Firishta (ii, 263, 264) Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, before invading Berar, sent Mullâ Haidar Kâshî on a mission to Tufâl Khân, bearing a letter purporting to recall him to a sense of his duty to his master. Murtazâ said that Tufâl Khân's regency had been reasonable and natural during the minority of Burhân 'Imâd Shâh, but now that the young king had come to years of discretion, it was the duty of Tufâl Khân to release him from restraint, to surrender all authority to him, and to place himself entirely at his disposal. Tufâl Khân showed the letter to his son, Shamshîr-ul-Mulk, and sought his counsel. Shamshîr-ul-Mulk said that the letter was a mere pretext for aggression and that Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh was evidently bent on invading and annexing Berar. By his advice Mullâ Haidar was sent back without an answer, and he rejoined Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh's camp at Pâthrî.

185 Firishta gives no indication of the scene of the fighting between the armies of Ahmadnagar and Berar, but says (ii, 264) that Murtaza Nizâm Shâh, after the return of his envoy, marched towards Elichpur.

Qulî's breast and projected from his back, and his friends lifted him up and bore him from the field. The sun now set and each army retired to its camp. The army of Aḥmadnagar passed the night in expectation of the battle on the morrow. At sunrise the royal army formed up in order of battle and was advancing to meet the enemy when spies brought news that Tufâl Khân, overcome with terror, had fled in the night at such a pace that no trace of his army could now be found. The king remained encamped where he was for a few days and sent scouts in all directions to obtain news of the movements of Tufâl Khân. Sulṭân Qulî Beg, who had been wounded in battle, died, and the king conferred on Aḥmad Beg Afshâr, who had distinguished himself by his valour, the title of Qizilbâsh Khân.

The scouts now reported to the king that Tufâl Khân had marched out of the kingdom to Mâhûr. The king then appointed Ḥaidar Sulṭân Qulî, who then held the appointment of *Sar-i-Khail*, with Mîrzâ Yâdgâr, Chandhâ Khân, Kâmil Khân, and other officers under him, to the command of a force which was to remain in the neighbourhood of Kandhâr in order to protect that country from invasion by Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, while he himself with the main body of the army set out for Mâhûr in pursuit of Tufâl Khân. The royal army marched rapidly, and when it reached the town of Maptâpûr the civil officials of Pâthrî reported that Tufâl Khân was encamped near this village. Changîz Khân, in accordance with the royal commands, marched with a force from the royal army against Tufâl Khân. When Tufâl Khân heard of his approach he marched from his camp to meet him. Changîz Khân sent on Aḥmad Beg Qizilbâsh Khân, with some other valiant warriors, in advance, in order that they might open the battle. Qizilbâsh Khân and his companions spurred their horses towards the enemy and a body of warriors came forth to meet them. These two forces engaged, and the fight waxed furious and continued until two watches of the night were passed. The two armies then withdrew to their camps, and the wily Tufâl Khân, again dreading a battle with the army of Aḥmadnagar, at once marched off and marched all through the night until he had placed a distance of nearly twenty leagues between himself and the royal army. As soon as Tufâl Khân's flight became known, the king dispatched Qizilbâsh Khân with a picked force to pursue him, but, follow as they might, this force could neither come up with Tufâl Khân nor discover any trace of him, and they therefore desisted from the pursuit and rejoined the main body of the army.

The king then appointed Baḥrî Khân, Jamâl Khân and Qadam Khân to the command of a force to besiege Mâhûr and left them at Pâthrî while he, with the main body of the army, marched in pursuit of Tufâl Khân, annexing the fortresses and districts of Berar as he marched, and apportioning them among his army. The people of the country were not molested, but were kindly treated and reassured, so that they lived peaceably in their houses and went about their usual avocations. Among the evidences of the king's victory and *prestige*, which daily strengthened his position and displayed the might of his army, was the following occurrence. The emperor Jalâl-ud-dîn Muḥammad Akbar was at that time marching to Gujarât with a large army in order to wrest the country from Muḥammad Ḥusain Mîrzâ, son of Baiqara, and his brothers, who had gained possession of it and had proclaimed their independence. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mîrzâ, the eldest and the bravest of the brothers, had died, so that the other brothers and their army were scattered, and their bravest warriors came and entered the service of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and thus every day a fresh band of them came and paid their respects at court and were received into the royal service. Thus the royal army grew in strength from day to day, while the enemy daily lost men and grew

weaker and more disheartened. Among those then who had the honour of entering the royal service were Asad Khân, whose subsequent exploits and promotion to the highest rank will be mentioned hereafter, 'Âdil Khân Mangî, Bâî Khân, and other officers and brave men, a list of whose names would be tedious.

The royal army continued the pursuit of Tufâl Khân; and Khudâvand Khân, Rustam Khân and the other officers with the advanced guard remained still a day's march ahead of the main body of the army and a day's march behind Tufâl Khân.

LXXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISASTER WHICH BEFELL THE ROYAL ARMY.

After Tufâl Khân had twice disgraced himself by fleeing before the royal army, the *amîrs* of the royal army, and especially Khudâvand Khân and Rustam Khân, who commanded the advanced guard, began, in their pride and their contempt of the enemy, to neglect the most ordinary precautions of an army in the field and to spend their time in idleness, making no attempt to ascertain the disposition or whereabouts of the enemy, while the enemy, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of acquainting themselves with the condition of the roya army. Shamshîr-ul-Mulk, the son of Tufâl Khân, having satisfied himself of the negligence and carelessness of the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar, attacked Khudâvand Khân with a large army at the time when the *amîrs* were engaged in drinking. The attack was so sudden that the *amîrs* were completely surprised. They had no opportunity of even girding on their arms or of going forth to the fight, and were forced to flee. Rustam Khân and a few valiant companions preferred death on the field of battle to a shameful existence, and faced the foe manfully. Khudâvand Khân, aroused from the sleep of negligence and the drunkenness of pride, bethought himself of his good name and of the disgrace which he was incurring and, regardless of the flight of most of his men and of the numbers and bravery of the enemy, turned back from his flight with a few companions and threw himself on the enemy's centre and fought most valiantly, slaying many of the enemy, both man and horse, with his sword, and clove a way for himself through the host. At this moment his eye fell on his own standard which was being carried off by a body of the enemy. He at once rode towards them, but found his way barred by a fierce elephant. He struck the beast such a blow with his sword that he cleft its trunk as if it had been a cucumber, and the enemy seeing such determined valour left his standard and fled. Khudâvand Khân, having thus overcome the enemy, contrived to separate several elephants from their army and he raised his standard against them. Although these valiant efforts of Khudâvand Khân saved the honour of the army, Rustam Khân and most of his men were slain, and all the baggage, camp equipage, transport and elephants of the army, with the royal standards and ensigns, fell into the hands of Shamshîr Khân.

After the defeat of the royal army, Shamshîr Khân retired from the field to rejoin his father, and when the news of his retreat spread through the royal camp, the king issued an order to Khudâvand Khân, forbidding him to advance until he was joined by the main body of the army. The main body then advanced by a forced march and reached the scene of the battle, where the royal pavilion was pitched. The officers of the advanced guard were then reproached and rebuked for their neglect and lack of caution and everybody who had displayed bravery in the action was promoted. It was then ordered that nobody should thenceforth separate himself from the main body of the army, nor act independently of it in any way, and that all should be extremely watchful and wary lest the enemy should make a night attack on the army. The army then set forth again in pursuit of Tufâl Khân, and the distance between him and the royal army was steadily maintained at a day's march,

never more and never less. Tufâl Khân was not strong enough to turn and oppose the royal army and the latter could not march fast enough to overtake Tufâl Khân.

As the king had issued orders that nobody in the army should vex or harass the inhabitants of Berar in any way, all the people readily submitted to and obeyed the royal commands, and paid their land revenue to the king, while the land was apportioned in *jâgîr* to the *amîrs* and officers of the army.

At this time Chaghatai Khân, one of the *amîrs* of Tufâl Khân, having asked for a safe conduct, came in and submitted to the king and was received in the royal service and highly honoured.

Tufâl Khân, who had long been harassed and hard pressed, was now reduced to great straits, and the army of the Dakan was also weary. Tufâl Khân fled to Burhânpûr and took refuge with Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh.[186] Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh therefore sent a message to Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, saying that Tufâl Khân had been guilty of ingratitude and treason to his own master, and had then, in defiance of treaties, declared war against the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar and when the army of Aḥmadnagar marched against him, had in terror taken refuge in Burhânpûr. The message went on to say that it was hoped that Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh would remember, observe, and be willing to renew the treaties which had long existed between the Niẓâm Shâhî and Fârûqî dynasties and would refrain from stirring up strife or harbouring offenders against peace and would use his endeavours to promote peace and goodwill between the two kingdoms.

Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh feared to oppose the wishes of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and at once expelled the wretched Tufâl Khân from his country. He received the envoy with great humility and treated him well, and then dismissed him with honour. He then set out in person to meet Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh.

The meeting took place on the bank of a river named Parandî. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh crossed the river with a few of his courtiers and Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh paid his respects to him. At the end of the interview a *Qur'ân* in the handwriting of Alî, the Leader of the Faithful, was produced from Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh's library for the purpose of the oaths to be taken for the confirmation of the treaties and engagements entered into. Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh pointed out that this was the *Qur'ân* which had been used for the treaty entered into with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh. Nevertheless it was afterwards Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh who broke the treaty .

Now that Tufâl Khân could find no place of refuge or rest in any country, he resolved to shut himself up in one of his forts. He therefore separated from himself, like his own good fortune, Shamshîr-ul-Mulk, who was in truth the right arm of his kingdom, and dispatched him to Gâwîl, while he, with infinite difficulty, threw himself into the fortress of Narnâla.[187]

When spies brought news of Tufâl Khân's taking refuge in the fortress to the royal camp, the army of Aḥmadnagar set forth on his track and on reaching Narnâla, surrounded the fort and laid siege to it, encamping around the lofty hill on which it is built.

186 This was Muḥammad Shâh II, the tenth of the Fârûqî dynasty of Khândesh. who reigned from Dec. 19, 1566 to 1577-78.

187 Narnâla, in 21° 15′ N. and 77° 4′ E., on the southernmost range of the Sâtpûra hills, is one of the three hill fortresses of Berar, the other two being Gâwîl, the old fortress capital, in 21° 22′ N. and 77° 23′ E., also in the Sâtpûra hills, and Mâhûr, in 19° 50′N. and 77° 59′ E., to the south of the Penganga.

The fort of Narnâla is famed for its great strength throughout India, nay, throughout the whole inhabited world. It is built on a high and inaccessible hill surrounded by deep and well nigh impassable valleys. The sides of the hill are covered with dense forest which made passage all the more difficult, threaded by but one narrow winding path from the base of the summit of the hill, dark from the overhanging trees and full of rolling stones.

Until Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh appeared before Narnâla, the fortress had never been captured and no fortress had been seen like it in the world, except the fort of Gâwîl, which in strength and loftiness is superior to the generality of forts, and is the counterpart of Narnâla.

When Tufâl Khân found no place of rest or refuge on the face of the earth, he sent his son, with a number of his tribesmen and relatives, to Gâwîl, while he himself, with his treasures and all his movable property, took refuge in the mountains and, in great grief and vexation, made Narnâla his place of shelter and rest, and raised his standard against the invader.

Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh sent a force under some of his chief *amîrs*, such as the Khânzamân, Rustam Khân, Mâlî Khân, Bahrâm Khân and Bahâdur Khân, to besiege Gâwîl, and impressed on the officers the necessity for caution and patience. Then the Khânzamân was detached from this army and ordered to rejoin the king at headquarters, Bahrâm Khân being appointed commander of the force for Gâwil, while the king in person proceeded to besiege Narnâla and set all in order for the siege.

The *amîrs* and the troops were posted in the stations allotted to them around the fort and began to push forward the trenches. They also set themselves to cut down the forest and to make smooth the stony portions of the hill.

The wise *vazîr*, Asad Khân,[188] who had at this time entered the royal service, and was a valiant and experienced soldier, specially skilled in siege works and artillery, devoted all his attention to the capture of this fortress and toiled much to carry the siege guns near to the defence; and Sayyid Murtazâ, who was in command of all the *silâhdârs* made such efforts to ensure the success of the siege as caused him to be the recipient of renewed favours from the king, so that he was advanced to the position of *Sar-i-Naubat* and subsequently to that of *Amîr-ul-Umarâ.* Since there was little love between Changîz Khân and Sayyid Murtazâ, the latter's good services bore little fruit in the former's life-time, and the king, in deference to his minister's prejudices, showed Sayyid Murtazâ but little outward favour, but the day that Changîz Khân died, Sayyid Murtazâ was made *Sar-i-Naubat*, as will shortly be related.

At this time, while the siege was in progress, news was received by the king that Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's army had attacked the troops of Ahmâdnagar on the borders of the Kandhar district, and that the royal troops, unable to withstand the invaders, had suffered a defeat. The king was much annoyed by this news and ordered that the force which had been left to besiege Mâhûr should hasten to the support of the defeated army, and, acting in concert with it, should resist the advance of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh's troops.

At the same time Haidar Sultân who had been in command of the army of Kandhâr, was recalled to headquarters and Mîrzâ Yâdgâr, the Sayyid, was appointed to the command of that army. The *amîrs* set out from Mâhûr and joined the defeated army in Kandhâr. At this time the army of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh was encamped at the village of Tamrî and the distance between the armies was no more than two *gâû*.[189] When the army of Golconda heard that the army of Kandhâr had been reinforced, they marched from Tamrî and did not halt until they reached Kaulâs.

[188] Asad Khân, a Georgian, had formerly been in the service of Gujarât. He and Sikandar Rûmî Khân, son of Habashî Rûmî Khân, commanded the artillery at the siege of Narnâla.—F ii, 267

[189] The *gâu* is an ancient measure of distance, the lengths attributed to which vary greatly. Sayyid 'Alî seems to use it for a distance of about four miles.

At this time orders reached them from Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, directing them to leave Kaulâs and join him for some other expedition, leaving a small force in Kaulâs. The army of Kandhâr, seizing this opportunity, marched on Kaulâs and reached it on Muharram 9.[190] There they defeated the Qutb Shâhî troops and plundered and wasted Kaulâs and all the surrounding country and then returned to Kandhâr.

The king and his army remained in camp before Narnâla for nearly a year,[191] fighting daily and clearing the jungle and improving the approaches to the fortress. They levelled knolls and filled up the hollows and dragged the siege guns by means of elephants and bullocks close to the walls of the fortress. They so battered the walls with artillery that they breached them in many places, and ever and again a body of the defenders would sally forth and fight valiantly with the besiegers.

While all this fighting was in progress, Changîz Khân, mindful of the saying "War is fraud", bethought him of a device and caused Khvâja Muhammad Lârî to write a letter to Tufâl Khân representing himself to be a merchant with horses and merchandise for sale, and asking for admission to the fort. The wretched Tufâl Khân gave him the required pass and thus admitted the enemy into his house. Changîz Khân gave Khvâja Muhammad Lârî a quantity of goods and supplied him with written assurances, sealed with the royal seal, for the *nâikwârîs* of the fort, promising them places, rewards and other marks of the royal favour if they would forsake Tufâl Khân and transfer their allegiance to Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh.[192]

The minister's wise device succeeded where force of arms had failed, and the Khvâja, in the guise of a merchant, entered the fort.

Outwardly he was a merchant and behaved as such, but secretly he was engaged in seducing the *nâiks* from their allegiance and by means of money, gifts, and promises of the royal favour succeeded in corrupting most of them and was enabled to inform Changiz Khân that he had won the *nâiks* over. Spies, however, informed Tufâl Khân of the pretended merchant's actual employment, and Tufâl Khân imprisoned the Khvâja and arrested several of the *nâikwarîs* whom he distrusted. Some of the *nâikwarîs* made their escape over the wall and joined the royal army, and these events caused the greatest confusion among the Bераris, and Tufâl Khân's army was thoroughly disheartened. At the same time Asad Khân destroyed most of the bastions and the *enceinte* of the fort with his guns, and this added to the despair and perplexity of the garrison. They filled the breaches with straw, rubbish, skins and packsaddles, and resisted the besiegers feebly and confusedly, but fate laughed at their efforts.

(*To be continued.*)

190 May 11, 1573

191 Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh grew very weary of the siege of Narnâla and, on hearing of the birth in Ahmadnagar, in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) of his son Husain, was on the point of raising the siege and returning to Ahmadnagar. His vile favourite, the boy Husain, afterwards entitled Sâhib Khân, with whom he had recently become acquainted, urged him in the same direction. Changîz Khân's stratagem came just in time to save the situation.

192 Firishta says that "a merchant named Afghân," that is to say, probably, an Afghân merchant, arrived in Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh's camp at this time with horses and other merchandise from Lâhor. He represented that he had brought these in fulfilment of an order from Tufâl Khân and begged that he might be allowed to take them into the fortress. Changîz Khân granted him the required permission on the condition that after disposing of his merchandise he gave up trade and entered the service of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh. The condition was accepted and the merchant entered the fort. With him Changîz Khân sent an agent, disguised as a merchant and well supplied with money wherewith to bribe Tufâl Khân's officers. This agent was probably Khvâja Muhammad Lârî.—F. ii, 267.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

By SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A.

(*Continued from* p. 260.)

The Sabnis and the Karkhananis.

The Sabnis was in charge of the accounts in general and the muster-roll in particular. The Karkhananis was mainly responsible for commissariat work. The Kanujabta, of the year 1 of the coronation era, thus enumerates the official duties of these officers.

The Sabnis should be in charge of the cash and treasury as well as the accounts. Below the seal on each order, the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval. The daily account of these two departments should be drawn up under the supervision of both; the cash should be indicated on the account by the Sabnis, and below the Havaldar's seal the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval.

If any order is to be issued from the fort to the District (under its jurisdiction) it should be issued by the Sabnis. The Havaldar should put his seal (on it), and below the seal the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval.

The Muster-Roll of the men should be taken by the Sabnis. It should be verified by a clerk of the Karkhananis. In this manner was the work of the cash and the treasury departments allotted.

If any order is made upon the district for either cash or clothes, it should be issued under the seal of the Sabnis, with the Karkhananis' sign of approval. Besides this, all orders and requisitions should be made by the Karkhananis. Any tax (when necessary to meet the needs of the fort) should be levied by the Sabnis, and the Karkhananis should under the seal put his sign of approval.

All accounts whether of his own or of the Karkhananis' department should be explained by the Sabnis, whether to the Havaldar or to the District officer or to the central government. The Karkhananis should sit near the Sabnis but all interrogations about their accounts should be made to the Sabnis.

All correspondence with the government or the District officers, or the sardars, or the Subhedars or other Killedars should be written by the Sabnis. The Sabnis should put his sign on them. After the Subhedars have sealed it, the Karkhananis should enter it into the daily ledger. He should not put his sign. But the letter should not be despatched without being recorded in the daily ledger.

All inspection and estimate of revenue of the province (under the jurisdiction of the fort) should be made by the Sabnis. It (the estimate) should be entered into the accounts by the Karkhananis. The Kowl and order about the revenue should be issued by the Sabnis. After the Havaldar has put his seal on the papers the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval.

All accounts of income and expenditure, either in weight or in approximate value in the stores (of commodities), should be daily made by the Karkhananis. They should be explained by the Karkhananis. After the Havaldar has put his seal (on the accounts) the Sabnis should put his sign of approval. The Karkhananis should write all orders of expenditure upon the granary. After the Havaldar has sealed (them) the Sabnis should put his sign of approval.

The distribution of stores, whether according to weight or according to approximate value, should be made by the Karkhananis. The Sabnis' Karkun should be present on the occasion for verification.

The daily account of the expenditure in kind should be written by the Karkhananis and after he has specified the total and the Havaldar has put his seal, the Sabnis should put his sign of approval.

All orders for goods or commodities upon the province (under the jurisdiction of the fort) should be issued by the Karkhananis. The Sabnis should levy contribution (when necessary). He should put his sign of approval after the Havaldar has sealed the paper.

The Karkhananis should take charge of female slaves, boy-servants, horses or cattle that may come. The Sabnis should put his sign of approval below the seal. If any loss occurs, the Karkhananis should write about it. The Sabnis should put his sign below the seal.

The Karkhananis should supervise the work when a building is constructed. The Sabnis should inspect the work. Cash and clothes should be distributed among the Karkhananis' men when occasion arises. It should have the approval of the Karkhananis. The distribution of grain should be made by the Karkhananis with the approval of the Sabnis.

All accounts of the naval stores should be written by the Karkhananis' Karkuns. The work should be exacted by him under the supervision of the Sabnis.[109]

Treason still attempted.

Thus did the three officers co-operate and act as a check upon one another. Not a single fort of Shivaji could therefore be betrayed to his enemies. But all these precautions could not put an absolute check on treason and corruption. When Shivaji was absent in the camp of Jayasingh the entire charge of the fort of Rajgad had for the time being fallen on Keso Narayan Sabnis, as there was no Havaldar. Keso Narayan Sabnis, on that occasion, misappropriated a large sum from public funds.[110] In 1663 Shivaji had to postpone an expedition to Konkan as disquieting information of a rebellion came from Sinhagad. In a letter dated the 2nd of April 1663, Shivaji writes to Moro Trimal Peshwa and Abaji Sondev that he was thinking of marching against Namdar Khan in Konkan. But news arrived from Sinhagad that some revolt had lately taken place in the fort. He had therefore to give up his project of marching into Konkan at that time. The two officers, however, were requested to march at once to Sinhagad with their troops and militia and take charge of the fort. They were further required to find out the rebels and report their names to the king.[111]

Stores and reserve funds for forts.

Shivaji generally stored grain and provisions in large quantities in his forts, for consumption during a siege. Towards the close of his career (in the year 1671-72) he decided to have a reserve fund to meet the extraordinary needs of the forts while undergoing sieges. A paper under his seal drawn in the year Sanisanne, says that the Rajshri Saheb has decided to raise money from each Mahal in his province and Watan. This money should form a (reserve) fund, and should be spent only when war with the Mughals should commence, and the Mughals should lay siege to forts, and money should be urgently required but should not be available from any other source. Otherwise this money should not be spent for any other government work. So has the Saheb decided and it has been settled that a sum of one lakh and twenty five thousand Hons should constitute the reserve fund (and should be raised from the following Mahals and personages at the following rate) :—

Kudal	20,000
Rajapur	20,000
Kolen..	20,000

109 Mawji and Parasnis—*Sanads & Letters*, pp. 130—132.

110 Rajwade, *M. I. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 7.

111 *Ibid.* p 4.

Dhabhol	15,000
Puna	16,000
Nagogi Govind	10,000
Jawli	5,000
Kalyan	5,000
Bhivandi	5,000
Indapur	5,000
Supa	2,000
Krishnaji Bhaskar	5,000
	1,25,000

It has been decided that the sum of one lakh and twenty-five thousand Hons (thus raised) should be set aside as a reserve fund.[112]

Grant for repairs.

In the same year Shivaji granted a further sum of one lakh and seventy-five thousand Hons for repairing his principal forts. He observes that the works men grew discontented as they did not get their wages in time. A considerable sum was on that account set aside for building and repair works alone The sum of a hundred and seventy-five thousand was thus allotted[113]: —

Sinhagad	10,000
Sindhudurg	10,000
Vijayadurg	10,000
Suvarnadurg	10,000
Pratapgad	10,000
Purandhar	10,000
Rajgad	10,000
Prachandgad	5,000
Prasiddhagad	5,000
Vishalgad	5,000
Mahipatgad	5,000
Sudhagad	5,000
Lohagad	5,000
Sabalgad	5,000
Shrivardhangad and Manranjan	5,000
Korigad	3,000
Sarasgad	2,000
Mahidhargad	2,000
Manohargad	1,000
Miscellaneous	7,000
	1,75,000

Arms of defence.

What arms of defence were supplied to these forts, we do not know. Shivaji had an artillery department, and Orme[114] tells us that "He had previously purchased eighty pieces of cannons, and lead, sufficient for all his match-locks from the French Director at Surat." We find mention of match-lock-men and archers in Sabhasad's pages; we have there an account of at least one

112 Rajwade, *M.I.S*, Vol. VIII, pp. 16-17. 113 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
114 Orme, p. 38.

dashing sally by Murar Baji Prabhu, when Diler Khan laid siege to Purandhar, but we never find the Marathas opening an artillery fire on the besieging enemy. Scott Waring says that "(Shivaji's) artillery was very contemptible and he seems seldom to have used it but against the island of Gingerah."[115] But Shivaji's soldiers, in common with the Muhammadans of the Deccan, hurled a curious, but none the less effective, missile against their enemy while labouring up the steep sides of their inaccessible strongholds. Fryer says: "on the tops of the mountains, several fortresses of Seva Gi's, only defensible by nature, needing no other Artillery but stones, which they tumble down upon their foes, carrying as certain destruction as bullets where they alight.[116] Huge pieces of stones were for this purpose heaped at convenient stations, and the Maratha soldiers rolled them down upon, their enemy below. This, however, could hardly check the progress of a determined foe and when this preliminary defence failed, the Marathas sallied out, and sword in hand rushed upon the besiegers. The Marathas, however, did not always depend upon their valour, and gold was often used with very good results, when steel failed.

Remuneration of the officers.

The Havaldar of a fort usually enjoyed a remuneration of 25 Hons a year. Nagojs Bhonsle was appointed Mudradhari of Fort Utlur in 1680 on a salary of 150 Hons per year, out of which he had to pay 25 Hons to two servants attached to his office. Krishnaji Surevanshi was appointed, in the same year, Sarnobat of the abovementioned fort on an annual salary of 100 Hons. The Havaldar in charge of the buildings in the Fort, got the same pay as the Mudradhari and his Mazmudar was paid at the rate of 36 Hons per year. Four Tat Sarnobats were sent by Shivaji to take charge of the ramparts of Kot Utlur and they were engaged on 4 Hons and 8 Kaveripak Hons (12 in all) a year. Along with them had been despatched seven Bargirs on a yearly pay of 9 Hons (3 ordinary Hons and 6 Kaveri Pak) per head. In a document, dated the 26th July 1677, we find that Timaji Narayan, a clerk, was appointed as an extra hand for the office work in Fort Balgudanur on a monthly allowance of three Hons.[117] Besides the usual remuneration, each officer received, according to his rank and the importance of his charge, an additional allowance for palanquin, torch bearers personal attendants, sunshades and pages.[118]

The Ramoshies and the Parwaris who kept watch, perhaps lived outside the ramparts and got very small remuneration.

Infantry and cavalry.

The Peshwa army consisted mainly of cavalry. The infantry was recruited mainly from Hindustan and made but a poor impression on an English soldier, Tone. Shivaji's military genius, however, had early perceived the necessity of light infantry and light cavalry in a guerilla war and hill campaign. His Mawles and Hetkarishare become famous in the military annals of India. Selected after personal examination by Shivaji himself, each man was trained into an excellent soldier, not by drilling on the parade ground, but by the surer method of service in an actual war. "Shivaji had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust." [119] The result was that not only their weapons but the men who wielded them, also gained in efficiency.

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[115] Scott Waring, p. 102.

[116] Fryer, p. 123.

[117] For original documents, see *Rajwade, M.I.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 28-31.

[118] Chitnis, p. 80.

[119] Manucci

Infantry officers.

Shivaji's infantry was carefully divided into regiments, divisions and brigades. The smallest unit consisted of 9 men and the officer commanding it was called the Naik. The Havaldar of the infantry had five such units under him. Over two or three Havaldars was placed a Jumladar. The officer commanding ten Jumlas was styled a Hazari, and the Sarnobat of the infantry had seven Hazaris under him. The Jumladar had an annual salary of one hundred Hons and his Sabnis got forty. The Hazari got five hundred Hons per year and his Sabnis, salary varied from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five Hons.[120] Chitnis informs us that at the time of a marriage or any other ceremony of similar importance in his family, the officer could expect a requisite grant.

The Cavalry officers.

The cavalry was divided into two classes, *viz.*, the Bargirs and the Shiledars. The Bargirs were equipped with horse and arms by the state, while the Shiledar brought his own horse and sometimes came with a body of troopers armed and equipped at his own expense. The Bargir belonged to the Paga proper while the Shiledar held a comparatively inferior position. " The strength of the Paga," says Sabhasad, " was rendered superior (to that of the Shiledar). The Shiledars were placed under the jurisdiction of the Paga. To none was left independence enough for rebelling. To every horse in the Paga was appointed a trooper (Bargir); over twenty-five such Bargir was appointed an expert Maratha Havaldar.

Five Havals formed a Jumla. The Jumladar had a salary of five hundred Hons and a palanquin; and his Mazumdar had a salary of one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five Hons. For every twenty-five horses were appointed a water-carrier and a farrier. A Hazari was a commander of ten such Jumlas. To this office was attached a salary of one thousand Hons, a Mazumdar, a Maratha Karbhari and a Prabhu Kayastha Jamenis ; for them was allotted a sum of five hundred Hons. Salary and palanquin were given to each officer according to this scale. Accounts of income and expenditure were made up in the presence of all the four. Five such Hazaris were placed under a Panch Hazari. To him was given a salary of two thousand Hons. A Mazumdar, a Karbhari, and a Jamenis were likewise attached to his office. These Panch Hazaris were under the command of the Sarnobat. The administration of the Paga was of the same kind. Similarly the different brigadiers of the Shiledars also were placed under the command of the Sarnobat.[121]

Muhammadan Regiment.

It may be noticed here that Shivaji enlisted in his army not only Hindus but Muhammadans also. A body of seven hundred Pathans offered their service to the Maratha King, and Shivaji enlisted them, it is said, in opposition to the majority of his officers. Shivaji pointed out that a king was a king first and a Hindu or a Muhammadan afterwards, and was supported in his wise resolution by an old officer Gomaji Naik Pansambal.[122]

Intelligence Department.

Shivaji knew quite well that an army, however efficient, could not be expected to operate with success in an enemy country, unless served by an efficient Intelligence Department. Shivaji organised a body of excellent spies, the chief of whom was Bahirji Naik Jadhava. Shivaji was so well served by these intelligence officers that he owed many of his most brilliant successes mainly to the information collected by them. On one occasion, Shivaji's army was saved from utter destruction by Bahirji's knowledge of unfrequented hill tracks.[123]

120 Sabhasad, p. 30.

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

122 *Ibid*, p. 93.

123 Grant Duff, pp. 181-182.

Arms and equipment.

Shivaji could never expect to reach the numerical strength of his enmeies. But he had detected the defects of the heavily armed Muhammadan soldiery and relied on speed for success against them. He, therefore, never allowed his soldiers to be encumbered with heavy arms or costly camp equipage. Dressed in tight fitting breeches, cotton jackets and turbans,[124] armed mainly with swords both long and short, spears and lances, bows and arrows and breech-loading guns and match-locks, depending mainly on the spoils of war for their subsistence, Shivaji's soldiers were ready to march at a moment's notice. They were so quick both in mobilising and demobilising, that the enemies of Shivaji could hardly expect to get any information of his projects before their actual execution.

Shivaji's body guards.

Though the ordinary soldier was poorly dressed, Shivaji indulged in great expenditure in arming and equipping his body-guards. This regiment was divided into units of 20, 30, 40, 60 and 100 men. They were equipped at state expense and were given richly embroidered turbans and jackets of broad cloth, gold and silver earrings and wristlets. Their sword-sheaths, guns and spears had silver rings, and we can guess what a brilliant sight they offered when marching by the king's palanquin.[125]

Feudal levies.

Besides the regular forces, Shivaji could, in times of emergency, call up the feudal forces of the Maratha watandars. In a Kowlnama published in the Tritiya Sammelan Vritta of the *Bharat Itihas Sansodhak Mandal*, two watandars, Mal Patil and Bagi Patil of Birvadi, offered to serve Shivaji when need arose, like the Mawle Deshmukhs, with ten of their attendants. For their subsistence the watandars expected six Rukas or half an anna per head per diem and they offered to serve in the army as long as the occasion demanded.[126]

Unlike the later Peshwas, Shivaji never depended much upon these feudal levies, nor did he prefer the mercenary Shiledars, who in certain respects resembled the condottieri of mediæval Europe, to the Bargirs of Paga. It is quite possible that when his power was established, Shivaji no longer summoned those feudal forces.

Remuneration and pension.

Shivaji paid his soldiers either in cash or by Varat on the District Governments. He was entirely opposed to payment by Jagir. But when any of his soldiers happened to be a cultivator as well, the rent payable by him was deducted from his salary. But their pay was never allowed to fall in arrears as in the Peshwa days. As Shivaji was strictly punctual in his payments, it was not necessary for him to offer very high wages. "For the lower officers and men the pay varied from Rs. 9 to 3 for the infantry, and Rs. 20 to 6 in the cavalry, according to the higher or lower rank of the soldier or trooper."[127] Officers and privates of Shivaji's army were liberally rewarded for distinguished service in war. Wounded soldiers got a special allowance according to the nature of their wounds. Widows and orphans of soldiers who fell in active service were liberally pensioned by the state, and the latter, if major, were enlisted in the royal army. In any case they could expect to enter Shivaji's army whenever they attained majority; in the meantime they were sure of a suitable maintenance.[128] Sabhasad describes how Shivaji assembled all his soldiers, after the destruction of Afzal's army and rewarded them in the usual manner. "The sons of the combatants who had fallen

[124] Grant Duff, pp. 181–182. [125] Sabhasad, p. 58.

[126] (२) जे वख्तीं साहेबांस मसलतीचें काम पडेल ते वख्ती जैसे मावलेदेसमुख आपले लोक घेउनु मसलतीस साहेबापासीं येतहिती ते च हर निसवतीनें जे वख्ती मसलतीचे काम साहेबास पडेल ते वख्ती आपण दाहा लोक बराबरी घेउनु साहेबांचे सेवेसी येउनू दररोज रोजमुरा बहल अडसेरी रुके सादर नफरे येउनु सलता जो वरी असेल तोंवरी साहेब काम करुन.

[127] Ranade, *R.M.P.*, p. 123. [128] Sabhasad, p. 25.

in the action were taken into his service. He directed that the widows of those who had no son should be maintained by (a pension of) half their (husbands) pay. The wounded were given rewards of two hundred, one hundred, twenty-five or fifty Hons per man, according to the nature of their wounds. Warriors of renown and commanders of brigades were given horses and elephants in reward. Some were sumptuously rewarded with (ornaments like) bracelets, necklaces, crests, medallions, earrings and crests of pearls. Such were the presents conferred on men. Some were rewarded with grants of Mokasa in villages."[129] This practice of rewarding soldiers for meritorious service, and maintaining their widows and orphans by adequate pensions was continued throughout the Peshwa period.

The Maratha Camp during the Peshwa period and Shivaji's regulations.

The Maratha Camp during the Peshwa period presented a disreputable spectacle. "Camp," says Elphinstone, "presents to a European the idea of long lines of white tents in the trimmest order. To a Maratha it presents an assemblage of every sort of covering of every shape and colour, spreading for miles in all directions, over hill and dale, mixed up with tents, flags, trees and buildings. In Jonse's "History" march means one or more columns of troops and ordnance moving along roads, perhaps between two hedges : in the Maratha history, horse, foot and dragoons inundating the face of the earth for many miles on every side, here and there a few horse with a flag and a drum, mixed with a loose and straggling mass of camels, elephants, bullocks, nautch girls, fakeers, and buffoons ; troops and followers, lancemen and match-lockmen, bunyans and mootsuddies."[130] Broughton gives a no less gruesome picture of Sindhia's camp. Wine was publicly sold and public women accompanied the army to the prejudice of discipline and order.[131] This was unthinkable in Shivaji's time. No one was allowed to keep in the camp a female slave or a dancing girl, and violation of this rule was punished with death. Shivaji, a lover of discipline, and method had drawn up for his army a set of wise regulations. These have been summed up by Sabhasad in the following manner :—

"The army should come to cantonment in the home dominions during the rainy season. There should be kept stored grains, fodder, medicines, houses for men, and stables for horses, thatched with grass. As soon as the Dasara is over, the army should march out of their quarters. At the time of their departure, an inventory should be made, of the belongings of all the men, great or small, in the army, and they should start on the expedition.
For eight months the forces should subsist (on their spoils) in the foreign territories. They should levy contributions. There should be no women, female slaves, or dancing girls in the army. He who keeps them should be beheaded. In enemy territories, women and children should not be captured. Males, if found, should be captured. Cows should not be taken. Bullocks should be requisitioned for transport purpose only. Brahmans should not be molested. Where contributions have been laid, a Brahman should not be taken as a surety. No one should commit adultery. (बद अमल.) For eight months, they hould be on expedition on foreign countries. On the way back to the barracks in the month of Vaisakh, the whole army should be searched at the frontier of the home dominions. The former inventory of their belongings should be produced. Whatever may be in excess, should be valued and deducted from the soldiers' salary. Things of very great

[129] भांडते लोक जे पडले होते त्यांचा लोकांस चालविले. पुत्र नाहीं त्याच्या बायकांस निमे वेतन करून चालवावें असें केलें जखमी जाहले त्यांस दोनशें होन व शंभर होन पन्नास होन दर आसामीस जखम पाहून दिधले. मोठमोठी लोक धारकरी जमले होते त्यांस बक्षीस हत्ती घोडे दिधले हस्तकंडी कंठमाला तुरें पदकें चौकडे मोत्यांचे तुरे कित्येकांस बक्षीस फार दिधले ऐसे देणे लोकांस दिधलें.

[130] Elphinstone to Grant Duff quoted in Colebrook's *Life of Elphinstone*, Vol. II, p. 137.

[131] Broughton's *Letters written in a Mahratta C*

value, if any, should be sent to the royal treasury. If any one secretly kept anything, and the Sardar came to know (of it), the Sardar should punish him. After the return of the army to their camp, an account should be made, and all the Sardars should come to see the Raja, with gold, silver, jewels. clothes, and other commodities. There all the accounts should be explained and the things should be delivered to His Majesty. If any surplus should be found due to the contingents, it should be asked for in cash from His Majesty. Then they should return to the barracks. Saranjam should be given to the men who had worked hard in the late campaign. If any one had been guilty of violating the rules or of cowardice, an enquiry should be made and the truth ascertained with the consent of many, and (the offender) should be punished with dismissal. Investigation should be quickly made. For four months they should remain in the barracks, and on the Dasara day, they should wait on the Raja. (Then) they should march out to the country, selected for the expedition, by the order of the Raja. Such were the rules of the army.[132]

These regulations strictly enforced.

These regulations were not designed merely to figure in the statute book but were strictly enforced. While passing through the kingdom of Golconda, on his way to Tanjore, Shivaji ordered his soldiers not to harass the people in any way; whatever they wanted was obtained by peaceful purchase, and any breach of law was severely punished. Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji on this occasion made examples of a few offenders to intimidate others, and his severity had the desired effect. But the spirit of the times was not favourable to strict discipline, and although Shivaji's spies seldom failed to bring to his notice all cases of violence and fraud,[133] yet it was impossible for him to put a stop to military excesses.

Bhate Sajjangad *va* Samartha Ramdas— रल हंजरत राजमान्य राजेश्री दत्ताजीपंत वाकेनिवीस प्रति राजश्री शिवाजी राजे दंडवत उपरि कसबे चाफल येथें रामदास गोसावी आहेत श्रीचे देवालय केलें आहे यात्रा भरते व स्वेंदा हि मोहद्यावे चालता तरी तेथें कटकींचे सिपाही लोक व बाजे लोक राहतातीं व देवाची मर्यादा चालवीत नाहींत यात्रास लोक येतात त्यास तसवीस देताती—यात्राकरू लोकांसी दिवाण बले कलागती करितात म्हणोन, कलो आलें.

In a letter dated the 8th September 1671 we read how a Maratha soldier had attacked the Sabnis of his regiment with a naked sword.[134] On the 23rd July of the next year Shivaji wrote to Dattaji Pant Waknvais that the soldiers gave trouble to the pilgrims of the Chaphal fair. At Chaphal lived Ramdas, Shivaji's spiritual guide. He was revered throughout Maharashtra as a great saint and an incarnation of the monkey-god Maruti. If soldiers did not behave properly in the precincts of Ramdas temple, we may easily imagine to what extremes their insolence carried them at safer places. Shivaji however could not achieve the impossible. His countrymen had before them the example of the Bijapur army where discipline was conspicuous by its absence. Shivaji placed before them a high ideal, but an ideal cannot always be forced on an unwilling people at the point of the sword. None the less the great Maratha leader never failed to harangue his soldiers about their duties and responsibilities.

In the year 1676 he came to learn that the regiment encamped at Chiplun had given great trouble to the people of the neighbourhood. The troops were short of provision, and took by force what they wanted. Shivaji therefore issued a circular to the Jumladars, Havaldars and Karkuns of the army, reminding them that it was their duty to store

132 Sabhasad, pp.

133 He had numberless informers about his troops; so that if they kept back any money or goods from account, he forced them to give them up—Scott, *Hist. of the Deccan*, Vol. 11, p. 55.

134 Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 20.

sufficient provision in time. "If grain, bread, grass and vegetables are forcibly taken away from the peasant, they will desert the locality. Some of them will die of starvation and your presence will be more unwelcome than that of the Mughals." "Do not give the Rayat the least trouble," continues Shivaji, "you have no need to stray out of your camping places. Money has been given to you from the Government treasury. Whatever any soldier may want, either grain, or vegetables or fodder for the animals, should be purchased from the market. Violence should not be offered to any one on any account." This remarkable document illustrates Shivaji's anxiety for the welfare of his people and the good name of his soldiers. The last portion of the letter shows how the minutest details of army administration did not escape his notice. He admonishes his officers to tak special precaution against fire. Soldiers were not to smoke or cook near haystackse and lamps were to be put out before the men went to bed, lest mice should drag away the burning wicks and set fire to the stacks. "If the haystacks are burnt, the necessary hay cannot be procured even if the Kunbies are decapitated and the Karkuns harassed. The horses will die of hunger and the cavalry will be ruined."[135] Shivaji knew everything about his army, its needs and requirements. He was anxious to secure the welfare of his people and he tried his best to protect them from the violence of his soldiers. We should judge him by what he attempted and not by what he achieved, although his achievements were by no means small.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NÎZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 268.)

LXXXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF NARNÂLA, AFTER ONE YEAR'S SIEGE AND OF THE CAPTURE OF TUFÂL KHÂN, AFTER HE HAD FLED IN FEAR OF HIS LIFE.

When the king was informed, on the 29th of Zî-l-Hijjah, A. H. 981 (April 22, A. D. 1574) that the very foundation of the fortress of Narnâla had been destroyed by the artillery under the direction of Asad Khân, he ordered that the army should, early in the month of Muharram, A. H. 982 (April, A. D. 1574), storm the fort simultaneously on all sides. The army obeyed this order with the greatest alacrity and attacked the fort with great valour and determination. The garrison, seeing themselves thus attacked on all sides, utterly lost heart and gave up the fight, but Tufâl Khân rallied them with the hope of rich rewards in the event of success and once more led them to the defences, fighting himself in the ranks. They followed him and poured a hot fire of musketry and showers of stones on the attacking force. The Nizâm Shâhî troops, however, pressed on and drove the enemy from the first or outer gate of the fort and occupied the gate. Thence they attacked the second gate, which they took, and in this manner they pressed on until they had captured three or four gates one within the other, and thus arrived at the inmost gate, in the wall of the fort itself. They attacked this vigorously, while Tufâl Khān in person defended it. Suddenly the shouts of a body of the victorious army who had entered the fort by one of the breaches, were heard within the fort. Tufâl Khân now gave up all for lost and, leaving all his goods and wealth, fled, and left the fort by another gate, on the Burhânpûr road. The victors now entered the fort and slew large numbers of the defenders. Those who were not at once slain

[135] Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23-25.

threw down their arms and begged for mercy. The king graciously spared the lives of this remnant, but all their goods and their cattle became the spoil of the victorious army. The king then turned his attention to the dwellers in that fort and encouraged them to hope for his favour.

The revenue officers then made search for Tufâl Khân's treasures. The cash, the jewels, the rich stuffs, the merchandise, the horses and the elephants which had belonged to Tufâl Khân as Governor of Berar became the property of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, and all that had belonged to his army and to the inhabitants of the forts was distributed among the victorious army. The king then ordered a force of picked men, under Sayyid Husain Jarjânî, the *Sar-i-Naubat* of Changîz Khân, to pursue the wretched Tufâl Khân lest he should effect his escape. After great exertions they found the wretch in one of the villages of Berar and seized him, and brought him in a litter to the king. Sayyid Husain was received with much honour and the title of Tufâl Khân was bestowed upon him.

The same day orders were issued that the *amîrs* and troops in Kandhâr should march to the assistance of 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh. These orders were carried out and this army advanced as far as Udgîr. But now Khvâja Ziyâ-ud-dîn Muhammad, entitled Amîn Khân, envoy to Bîjâpûr, who had, by command of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh come to the royal court and was now returning to Bîjâpûr, met this army at Udgîr and conveyed to them the royal command that they should await the return of the army from Berar. The *amîrs* and the troops therefore halted at Udgîr and awaited the return of the king with his army.

When Shamshîr-ul-Mulk, the son of Tufâl Khân, and the garrison of Gâwîl heard of the fall of Narnâla and the imprisonment of Tufâl Khân, they were overcome with dread and sent a messenger to the king to ask that their lives might be spared. The royal army then took possession of Gâwîl, and Changîz Khân, by the royal command seized Shamshîr-ul-Mulk and his officers, while the civil officers made out schedules of all the 'Imâd Shâhî and the Tufâl Khânî treasure in Gâwîl, a schedule of which the schedule of Qârûn's treasure might well have been a rough draft, and submitted it to the king. The governors of provinces and the commandants of other forts and posts in the kingdom of Berar having heard of the capture and the disgrace of Tufâl Khân, came to the court of the king of the Dakan with swords and shrouds hung round their necks and gave up the keys of their forts and of their treasure chests. They then submitted themselves entirely to the Nizâm Shâhî kingdom.

'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh was by no means pleased with the conquest of Berar, the capture of its fortresses and the imprisonment of Tufâl Khân and his sons by Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh and heard the news with much perturbation and dissatisfaction, and Khvâja Ziyâ-ud-dîn Muhammad Amîr Khân, the Ahmadnagar envoy at the court of Bijâpûr, was at the instigation of Mustafâ Khân, and of the friends of his own brother, I'tibâr Khân, who was the envoy from Bîjâpûr to the court of Ahmâdnagar, put to death. The circumstances of this affair are as follows: Although 'Âlî 'Âdil Shâh, urged thereto by the necessities of the time, had consented to the conquest of Berar by Ahmadnagar and had even detached two or three officers of rank with a force of several thousand horse, in order that they might, as has been mentioned, assist in the operations to be undertaken, he was yet most unwilling to allow the kingdom of Ahmadnagar to grow more powerful, and had told I'tibâr Khân, who was his envoy at the court of Ahmâdnagar, that whenever it appeared that Tufâl Khân was reduced to extremities and that the army of Ahmadnagar was about to conquer Berar, he was to report the state of affairs to Bîjâpûr at once. I'tibâr Khân not only failed to carry out this order, but sent to his master dispatches in accordance with the interest of Ahmadnagar and thus played him false until the conquest of Berar was a *fait accompli*. Although Amîn Khân had

made great efforts to secure the freedom of Muṣṭafâ Khân and had succeeded so well that he had not only obtained his release from the fort of Panâla, but had caused him to be promoted to the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ.* Muṣṭafâ Khân, forgetting the maxim that 'for favour nothing should be returned but favour,' persuaded 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh that I'tibâr Khân's negligence and disobedience were due to the instigation of his brother, Amîn Khân, and so enraged him that he ordered the execution of Amîn Khân. Muṣṭafâ Khân at length received the punishment due to his misdeeds, and was slain, in his eightieth year, by a man named Amîn Khân.[193]

After the conquest of Berar, Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh apportioned its towns and *parganas* in *jâgîr* to the great *amîrs* who had signalised themselves by bravery in the campaign, such as Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân, Rustam Khân, Chandhâ Khân, Bâhî Khân, Mîrzâ Qulî Khân, Shîr Khân Barrâqî, Maqṣûd Âqâ and others, appointing Khaṭṭâṭ Khân Kâshi commander in chief over them. Bahrâm Khân Gîlânî, was appointed commandant of Gâwîl and Sayyid 'Âlî Ẓahîr-ul-Mulk, commandant of Narnâla.

The king with his army then set forth to conquer the kingdom of Bîdar.

When Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh heard of the conquest of Berar and of the advance of the army of Aḥmadnagar towards Bîdar, he was much alarmed and considered within himself that after the complete subjugation of the kingdom of Berar with its twenty thousand fine cavalry and its numerous and strong forts both in the plains and in the hills, the capture of the fortress of Bîdar, in spite of its reputation for strength, would seem to be a small matter to the army of Aḥmâdnagar, and that the army might, after its capture, march on Telingâna (which God, he prayed, forbid !) when it would be extremely difficult for him to withstand them. He therefore openly courted the friendship of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and sent the Sayyid, Mîr Zainal, to the royal camp to conclude a treaty of peace. He secretly, however, sent a message to Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, Sulṭân of Khândesh, saying that although Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh had, after putting forth great efforts, possessed himself of Berar, yet the hearts of the subjects and *zamîndârs* of that country could not already be thoroughly reconciled to the dominion of Aḥmadnagar, and that Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh had now marched towards Bîdar and had left the vast kingdom of Berar without a responsible ruler. He proposed therefore, that Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh should invade Berar and with his help, conquer it without difficulty, when he would gladly hand over the country to him.

Mîr Zainal arrived at the royal camp, and Changîz Khân, in order not to offend 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, had him lodged privately in Jamshîd Khân's quarters, and introduced him secretly to the king. His requests were granted and he received permission to depart after having successfully carried out his mission.

When the royal army reached Mâhûr the king heard that disturbances had broken out in Berar, and that Mîrzâ Qulî Khân had risen in rebellion and had, at the head of a band of ruffians, slain Khaṭṭâṭ Khân. It seems that Mîrzâ Qulî Khân and his gang had gone to the quarters of Khaṭṭâṭ Khân at midday, the time when everybody takes a *siesta*, had slain the

[193] Shâh Abû-l-Hasan had been dismissed in 1573 from the post of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* of the Bîjâpûr state, having been held responsible for the bursting of a big gun at the siege of Torkul, and the Sayyid, Muṣṭafâ Khân Ardistânî had been appointed in his place. Muṣṭafâ Khân was eventually strangled by one Muḥammad Amîn acting under the orders of Kishvar Khân, his offence being that many of the officers of the army wished to replace him in the position of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* at a crisis in the affairs of Bîjâpûr—F. ii. 80, 96.

doorkeeper who opposed their entrance and had then entered and slain Khaṭṭâṭ Khân himself. Mîrzâ Qulî Khân then made off towards Burhânpûr and before the rest of the *amîrs* had heard what had happened, or could start in pursuit, Bânû Khân, with a force of valiant men had started in pursuit of him and had overtaken him and attacked him. The fight was long and fierce, but at last, by God's blessing, the rebels were defeated, and many were slain. Mîrza Qulî Khân and a few of his companion fled and with much difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, succeeded in making their escape.

The king, with a view to quieting these disturbances, appointed Khurshîd Khân, the *Sar-i-naubat*, commander-in-chief of Berar, and proceeded on his way without a halt until he reached Udgîr. Here the *amîrs* who were encamped at this place and were awaiting the arrival of the royal army, were admitted to the presence and received marks of the royal favour. Here also Changîz Khân, the *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, fell seriously ill, and, as the rainy season was now approaching, the royal army encamped at Udgîr for some time.

While the army was encamped at Udgîr, Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh sent Sayyid Shâh Mîr Ṭabâtiba,[194] one of the most learned and eloquent men of the age, to the royal court in order that he might obtain the confirmation of the treaties of peace and alliance existing between the two kingdoms, and obtain fresh treaties to the advantage of both parties.

When the king heard of the arrival of Shâh Mîr he ordered that the envoy should be accommodated just without the camp, and await orders. After this the king went out hunting with Changîz Khân and others of the chief *amîrs*, such as the Khânzamân, Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân and Bahri Khân seated on the *chîta* carts, and as he came forth from the camp, Mîr Shâh Mîr appeared before him, paid his respects, and delivered the message with which he was charged. The Mîr, having received a favourable answer, then returned to his master.

It was now that the king heard that Mîrzâ Qulî one of the bravest officers of the army, having rebelled, and having at midday, which is the time when all take rest, attacked Khaṭṭâṭ Khân's quarters with a gang of ruffians, slaying the doorkeeper who opposed his entrance, and afterwards slaying Khaṭṭâṭ Khân himself, had come forth and opposed Bânû Khân, who, with a body of valiant men, had come to attack him. A sharp fight took place in the streets and bazars and the rebels were driven forth into the open plain and were at length defeated, some being slain, and the rest taking flight. Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, who had been led astray by Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, and had also received help from 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, was now blinded to his true interests by his desire to possess Berar and was minded, in accordance with the dictates of his own evil fortune, to violate his treaties with Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, to his own ruin and destruction, as will afterwards appear.[195]

Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh having thus cast covetous eyes on Berar, sent Zain-ud-dîn, his commander-in-chief, with a large army, into that country with orders to expel the Niẓâm Shâhî army and annex the country to Khândesh. Zain-ud-dîn, with an army of nearly 20,000 horse, invaded Berar and stretched forth his hands to vex the Niẓâm Shâhî officers there. The *amîrs* of Berar, when they heard of the approach of the large army of Burhânpûr, all left their outlying *parganas* and assembled at Elichpûr in order that they might, after taking counsel with Khurshîd Khân, the commander-in-chief, offer a united resistance to invaders. The only exception was Chaghatâi Khan who, standing fast in his own country, as soon as there was any cause for anxiety, sacrificed his own *jâgîr*.

[194] Firishta styles this envoy Shâh Mîrzâ Isfahânî, ii. 269, 270, 337.

[195] According to Firishta (ii. 268), Muḥammad Shâh Fârûqî II did not openly announce his intention of annexing Berar, but invaded it ostensibly in support of a foster-brother of Burhân 'Imâd Shâh, whom he represented to be his real brother—F ii. 268.

After the *amîrs* had assembled in Elichpûr, K͟hurshîd K͟hân, finding himself unable to withstand the numerous army of Burhânpûr, withdrew to Gâwîl and was besieged in that fortress. The *amîrs* and chief officers perforce withdrew from the neighbourhood of Gâwîl and marched against a corps of the army of Burhânpûr which was besieging Narnâla. The two armies met before Narnâla and a fierce battle ensued in which the *amîrs* of Berar, who were under no responsible commander-in-chief, were defeated and lost all their baggage. They then retreated with a view to joining the royal army, but were pursued by the army of Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, which came up with them on the banks of the Parandî river and again attacked them with great determination. The army of Aḥmadnagar, though it fought with great bravery and several times repulsed the enemy, was unable, without a responsible head as it was, to withstand successfully a force which so largely outnumbered it, and the army of Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh was at length victorious. Maqsûd Āqâ, the *Sar-i-naubat*, and most of the usually victorious army, were so overcome with panic and confusion, that they were drowned in the river, and the few who escaped and with great difficulty, reached the opposite bank, made their way to the royal camp in Udgîr.

The king, on hearing of Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh's action, regarded the reconquest and pacification of Berar as more important than any other business which was before him and at once marched towards Berar. He placed all the Foreign troops, with several of the *amîrs*, in the advanced guard under the command of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and followed this force towards Berar with the main body of the army, marching with great speed until he entered Berar.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ, with the force under his command, reached the town of Bâlâpûr one morning and encamped there. When Sayyid Zain-ud-dîn heard of the arrival of the royal army in Berar, he became alarmed and, realizing that it would be folly on his part to remain in Berar, he set out for K͟hândesh.[196]

On the following day at sunrise the main body of the royal army arrived at Bâlâpûr, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, with the advanced guard, set out in pursuit of the enemy who, in their terror, fled in all haste to Burhânpûr, halting nowhere by the way. When the king heard of the flight of the enemy, he thought it well that there should be no delay in the matter of taking vengeance on the forsworn Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, and marched. without halting, to the banks of the Taptî.

When Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh heard of the approach of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh he would tarry no longer at Burhânpûr but, setting his country and his goods, his crown and his throne, against his life, he fled with a few of his most intimate courtiers and took refuge in the fortress of Asîr. The royal army then crossed the river and entered Burhânpûr, which was a very paradise with its houris and its mansions, and sacked and burned the city. The king remained for days in the city, enjoying himself, while his army plundered rich and poor, and took possession of the crown and throne of Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, and of the goods of his army, and also of all hoards and treasures, whether open or concealed. All collected taxes were given to the army. The army received so much gold, jewels, precious stuffs, valuable merchandise, so many horses and elephants, and all manner of goods, that they could not gather and transport them. Among the plunder was a vast pit full of grain from which the whole of the royal elephants and horses were fed, while such large quantities were given to the *amîrs* for the use of their horses and troops that they were enabled, after satisfying all wants, to sell much of it; and the supply was not even then exhausted. The rest of the plunder was on the same scale.

196 According to Firishta, the army of Aḥmadnagar marched by way of Rohankheḍ. Muḥammad Shâh Farûqî II had not himself invaded Berar, but was halting on the frontier, awaiting events. On the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar he fled to Asîrgaṛh—F. ii. 269.

After the sacking of the city of Burhânpûr the royal army marched from the city to besiege Asîrgaṛh,[197] Changîz Khân being in command of the advanced guard. When Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh heard of the approach of the army of Aḥmadnagar, he sent Sayyid Zain-ud-dîn, who was *vakîl* of the kingdom of Khândesh, with a large army and several elephants, to oppose its advance, and the army of Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh and the advanced guard of the army of Aḥmadnagar met between Burhânpûr and Asîr. A fierce battle ensued in which the advantage lay at first with the army of Burhânpûr, and the advanced guard of the royal army was on the point of suffering a defeat. As soon as the king heard of the insolent persistence of the enemy, his wrath burst into flame, and calling for his horse he mounted it and dashed off towards the field without taking time even to arm himself properly. The *amîrs*, who were in attendance on him, tried to dissuade him from going personally into the fight, saying that that was the business of themselves and of the troops under them. With some difficulty they prevailed on him to stay where he was and send a force to the aid of the advanced guard. At that moment news was received that Changîz Khân had attacked the enemy with great dash and determination, and had defeated and dispersed them, slaying many and taking many prisoners, and capturing also several elephants. The king was much rejoiced by this news and pressed on with the main body of the army towards Asîr. The army of Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, which was encamped around the fortress, was smitten with terror and fled, leaving the whole of their camp equippage, baggage, goods, and chattels in the hands of the victors. The royal army pursued them to the borders of the dominions of the emperor Akbar, slaying all whom they overtook. Much spoil fell into their hands and they laid waste the whole country about Asîr and Burhânpûr.

When the royal pavilion was set up over against the fortress of Asîr, commands were issued that the siege should be begun, and the army surrounded the fortress.

The fortress of Asîr is situated on a very lofty hill and is so strong that it has baffled the attempts of many to take it. The rock on which the fort is built is so high and smooth, and has been so scarped that the ascent of it is impossible, and the fort can be approached only by a very rough and difficult road cut in the rock, while its walls and bastions are beyond the reach of artillery. From the day of its foundation to this time it had never been captured and had never been surrendered.

The royal army, having now surrounded the fortress, closed all roads of ingress and egress to the besieged. Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, who had been induced by Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh to break his faith, now saw that his conduct would have no other result than the ruin of his country and the dispersal of his subjects, and therefore set himself to beseech the king for pardon and forgiveness. He sent the Khânkhânân, who had formerly been a servant of the court of Aḥmadnagar and whose great power as *vakîl* of that kingdom has already been mentioned, as an envoy to the court of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh to pray for pardon for his faults and transgressions and to promise payment of nine lakhs of *Muẓaffarî* rupees as *na'l-bâhâ* [198] to be paid whenever the royal army should retire from before Asîr and arrive at Burhânpûr. Changîz Khân and the rest of the *amîrs* and

[197] Firishta's version of this event is as follows :—Changîz Khân, who had heard much of the fortress of Asîrgaṛh, was desirous of inspecting it and, with the permission of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, set out to do so with an escort of 2,000 horse. Muḥammad Shâh Fârûqî sent against him a force of seven or eight thousand horse, and ordered the *amîrs* who accompanied it to surround Changîz Khân's force and put him to death —F. ii. 269.

[198] *Na'l-bahâ* is money paid to an invading army to induce it to abstain from plunder and devastation. Firishta says that the indemnity amounted to 1,000,000 *Muzaffaris*, viz :—600,000 to Murtaẓ Niẓâm Shâh himself and 400,000 to Changîz Khân —F. ii. 269.

great officers of state then appeared before the king and interceded for Mîrân Muhammad Shâh and the king graciously accepted their advice and pardoned him, and the army moved from before Asîr and set out on its return journey. When the army had crossed the river of Burhânpûr (the Tâptî) and encamped on the southern bank of the river, Mîrân Muhammad Shâh kept his promise and sent the stipulated sum to the royal treasury. The promise had been to pay eight *lakhs* of *Muzaffarî* rupees to the royal treasury and one *lakh* to Changîz Khân. When the money came Changîz Khân refused to accept his share, but at length, in accordance with the royal command, he accepted it and distributed it among the troops. Then the royal army marched from the bank of the river and encamped at the town of Bâlâpûr. Here Sayyid Shâh Mîr[199] arrived as an envoy from Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh with royal and costly gifts and having been admitted to an audience by means of Changîz Khân and other *amîrs*, he undertook in his master's name that whenever the army should march against Âlî Âdil Shâh, 20,000 *hûns* should be paid to them at each stage by the Sultan of Golconda. The chief men of Vijayanagar also promised that they would contribute seven lakhs of *hûns* to the royal army as *na'l-bahâ*.

(*To be continued.*)

FOLK-TALES OF THE CAR NICOBARESE.

COLLECTED BY THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD.

(*Continued from p.* 253.)

XIV.—THE STORY OF ÖT-NYA-HUM-KU.

Once upon a time there was a man called Öt-nya-hum-ku. He was a wonderful magician (tö-mi-lüö-nö). He knew all the thoughts of other people; and when he went out in the rain he did not get wet.

Once he was sent by his wife to cut down and bring home some *pandanus* (or bread-fruit), whilst she got the necessary firewood and water ready for cooking the same.

The man went off into the jungle to cut down the *pandanus* fruit. He climbed the tree, and chopped, and chopped, and chopped. But he could not manage it; for though he chopped the branch right through, the fruit did not fall, but the branch was joined on again as before. He kept at it all day, but had to go home in the afternoon empty-handed, without his load of *pandanus* fruit.

His wife was very angry with him when he got home, because she felt she had been made ridiculous by gathering and chopping firewood and drawing water, when there was nothing to cook. She was also tired with having had to wait for him so long.

So, after some altercation, his wife herself went along with him that very evening; and both of them started out for the garden to cut down and bring home the *pandanus* fruit. The man went up into the tree this time to show his wife how things stood. He severed the branch of the *pandanus* at one blow of his *dah* (or chopper); but it became glued on again

When his wife saw what happened, she said: "Certainly this man is indeed a magician!"

So the woman herself then went up into the tree, and chopped down their load of *pandanus*. They then went back, put the pot on the fire, and cooked the chopped-up *pandanus* in it.

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199 Shâh Mîrzâ Iṣfahânî. This appears to have been his second mission to the court of Ahmadnagar—F. ii. 269, 270, 337.

Another time there was a wild-pig hunt, and many were following the baying of their hounds. Now Ö̤t-nya-hum-ku happened to be the only man who had a *dah* with him (the others having taken spears or bows and arrows). So it fell to him to clear the way where the jungle was dense and difficult. But no sooner had he chopped through a bough and passed on, than the lopped-off bough joined itself on again to the tree. So the others could not get along ; there was no way for them to go ; whilst he got on a long way ahead. After a bit, the others gave it up and went home ; and he was left alone to get all the profits of their chase.

After a while, he got ill and died ; and his body was hung up in a tree ; but after some days he came to life again.[32]

Again, in his old age, he died ; but before his death he said to those around him, " When I am dead this time, bury me ; but I shall only remain dead three days. So look out for the hole down through the ground to where I lie, and dig me up. If you do so, I shall live on ; but if you do not hearken to what I say, I shall die outright and return no more."

But the people were unwilling to dig him up, for they were overpowered by the stench ; so the magician at last died outright.

XV.—THE WICKED SABBATH-BREAKER.

(*Literally. " The man who was disobedient on the day of rest".*)

There was once a man who paid no attention to the restrictions of the " rest-days ;" but went into the jungle on " a rest-day."

The whole night long people had been making "devil-scarers." [33] They had also been singing the *ma-a-fai* songs and dancing the *ma-a-fai* dances,[34] and spearing "devils." Then, in the morning of the following day, the evil spirits which had been caught by the witch-doctors (*to-mī-lūo-no*) were sent away over the waters on a raft ; and the people " rested " the whole day.

Now this man had some plantains in his garden in the jungle, and one bunch was getting ripe, and he was anxious to see how it was going on. So he stole off privately to look at them ; for he wished to cut them down. When he reached the place, he got over the fence into the garden, and chopped down the plantains ; but no sooner had he done this, than he was metamorphosed into a road, at the very place where he had cut down the plantains.

Now he was one of those who had been putting up the "devil-scarers" and dancing the *ma-a-fai*[34] dances during the night ; so his face had been daubed (as usual with such worshippers) with red paint ; and in consequence of his face having daubs of red paint on it, the road into which he was turned had also streaks or patches of red in it.

His comrades sought for him for many a day, but could not find him, for he was now no longer a man but a road, because he could not resist the temptation to eat plantains whenever he found any red and ripe ones. And that road too is red, because when he was still a man, he had had his face daubed with red paint.

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[32] Tree-burial is no longer practised in Car Nicobar, though the customs of the inhabitants of the islands of Chowra and Teressa are much the same as tree-burials, the bodies being left in the jungle in the half of a canoe which has been sawn in two.

[33] These in Car Nicobar are merely bamboos decked with bunches of leaves, and then erected, though in Nankauri carved figures of crocodiles, etc., are made for this purpose.

[34] The *ma-a-fai* are the novices for the witch doctorate, and the songs and dances, in which they must partake every night for the year of their novitiate, do not differ widely from the secular songs and dances.

Now those roads do nothing else to-day than wait until the plantains get ripe and red; and then at once they begin to eat them up.

This was the disobedient man, who went into the jungle on a "rest-day."

XVI.—WILD PIGS.

Formerly wild pigs were very numerous in the island; and once it happened that when a man was travelling alone in the jungle, and without a spear, he unfortunately came across a herd of them. The pigs rushed at him, and ripped him up; and so he died.

As soon as the man's elder brother heard the news, he determined to avenge the man's death by a wholesale slaughter of the wild pigs. So he spent one whole day and night in sharpening his blade (*dah*). Then he tied it on some boughs; and it went right through them at one blow.

Still he was not satisfied, and went on sharpening his *dah*. Then as he sat, he turned the blade upwards, and was examining it, when a fly happened to settle down upon it, and was at once cut in two. "Ah! yes!" says he, "now it will do."

Then he went into the jungle, and made out of a bamboo a long handle for his blade, which he fixed securely cross-wise (as a scythe-blade is fixed). Then he got up into a big tree and began to call the beasts, crying out rhythmically, "Fierce wild pigs! Fierce wild pigs!"

A drove of them soon came hurrying along, and got up on the top of one another's backs in their eagerness to get at the man; and they could just manage to touch him. Meanwhile he kept giving stabs with his *dah* into the paunches of the beasts. Flop! flop! flop! and one after another the wild pigs dropped down dead.

Then he repeated the performance, again calling the wild pigs and stabbing them when they came; and so a second herd perished.

A third time he was slaughtering the wild pigs, when the "devil" (or spirit) who owned the pigs, said to him: "Stop! that's enough! I cannot stand this."

"Oh! no," said the man, "We will have another go." Then, after he had slaughtered the third herd, the man came down from the tree and carried the pigs home to his house There he made a fire and began to singe the carcases; for this is often the only cooking the meat gets. But when he turned any carcase over to do the other side, the bristles sprang up again on the side which he had just singed, though he had done it so thoroughly as to have sufficiently cooked the meat.

As this was repeatedly the case, the man gave up the job, and was about to go up into his house, when the "devil" (or spirit) who was determined to take vengeance for the slaughter ot his pigs, said to the man, "How would you like a snake?"

"Oh!" said the man, "I would swim out into the deep sea." "Then, how would you like a shark?" asked the "devil." "In that case I should be done for," said the man.

Whilst he was still at the bottom of the stairs, a snake bit him; he went up the ladder, and instantaneously dropped over dead, as he stepped across the threshold.

XVII.—THE DISCOVERY OF CHOWRA.

Long long ago, the ancients who lived here did not know that there was any other country in the world besides this island; for it is situated in the middle of the ocean.

Now it happened that some people once made a toy canoe from the spathe of the cocoa-nut. They finished it off very carefully, and fixed sails for it. And after they had done this, they put into it a cargo of small yams; and then they floated off the canoe in the direction of Chowra.

The canoe was some months on its journey; but at last it reached Chowra. Some one found it and carried it off.

As soon as the foreigners who live at Chowra saw it, they said: "Perhaps there is some small country over yonder, and this small canoe has been made by those people and laden with yams. Come, let us (in our turn) lade it with a tiny cooking-pot and some *kui-lōi*.[35]

So the tiny canoe was sent off again, this time in the direction of our country; and it duly arrived with its cargo of a small cooking-pot and some *kui-lōi*; and the people of these parts found it and carried off the cargo.

"What can we make of this? Perhaps it would do to boil water in, to cook our food," said they, as they examined the cooking-pot. So they put some water into it and it did not leak. They then put it on the fire and heated the water; the pot did not crack or leak. Then they put some food into it and cooked it.

Then they remarked one to another: "Perhaps there will be some big ones too, where this little cooking-pot came from; so let us go in our canoes and find out; for we are badly in want of something to cook our food in."

So, after some months, the people here again sent off the toy canoe, and took their own canoes and followed it; and in due course came to Chowra. But they were just missing the way and going on to Luröö,[36] when the people of Chowra saw them, and beckoned to them to come ashore there. So they went ashore there, and purchased big cooking-pots as their cargo for the return journey.

From that time onwards, the peoples of Car Nicobar and Chowra have been great friends, or especially associated together; and we regularly take goods there, wherewith to buy our cooking pots.

The above was the very first trip ever made to Chowra.

XVIII.—THE STORY OF THE MAN KILFEŪT.

There was once a man who went out, as others had done, in his canoe to a ship, to barter nuts for bread, etc. He arrived at the wrong time, just as the ship was making preparations to depart; and before he was aware of it, he had got left behind on the ship, and had to remain there; for all his comrades had gone, and had taken all the canoes with them.

His friends afterwards sought for him in vain; but his parents for long still expected him to turn up; but as months and years passed by, they began to feel, "He is surely dead."

Meanwhile, Kilfeūt was being carried away to the land of strange foreigners, where he remained a long time, supporting himself by fishing from a boat. He was successful as a fisherman and got comfortably off, and had plenty of money to spend. He also stayed long enough there in the foreigners' land to get married, and to have two children, a boy and a girl, who indeed were now grown fairly big.

One day, however, he got very anxious to get back here to his native land; and he saw a boat which he dragged down into the water. He got together food for himself when he should be out in the open sea, and fresh water for drinking, and some clothing too; and then he was off, leaving his wife and children behind.

He rowed out for some distance and then hoisted up the sails, and made for this island. It was difficult work, as he was the only one to row or to mind the sails; but after many days he was successful in getting here.

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35 A concoction of yams, plantain and cocoanut, made and sold to-day by the people of Chowra.

36 Probably the old name of Ta-rā-sa, the next island southwards.

It was about midnight when he arrived and beached his boat, and went up into his house. He found that his parents were keeping the ossuary feast on his behalf,[37] for the people all concluded that he was dead.

He went up to the place and watched the dancing. Then he went to the pens where the pigs were, and he felt their ears, and he said to himself : "These pigs are marked with my own mark."

Then, as he was beginning to get thirsty, he went to cut down some nuts from his own cocoanut trees. Some people who were passing by the foot of the tree where he was cutting, said : "Ho ! there ! who are you that cuts down nuts that are *tabu* for the dead ?" "What dead man?" asked he. And the people replied, "Kilfeūt." "Why, am I not myself Kilfeūt," said he. And as soon as the people heard this, they rejoiced ; and all were glad that he had come back home again.

XIX.—THE PANIC-STRICKEN MAN.

There was once a man of Lapati[38] who got into a terrible fright His name was Chit-tōt-rōt. The people of Lapati had gone, as they do every year in the hot weather, to Chowra, in their canoes ; and Chit-tōt-rōt had gone along with his neighbours.

It was only after they reached Chowra that this man became beside himself for fear : for then he heard that the people of Chowra would sometimes kill their guests (or companions and friends). In his panic, he got up in the middle of the night and dragged out a little canoe into the sea ; and himself alone in it, he began to paddle his way for the "Little One."[39] Fortunately, the weather was very calm or he would have perished.

When he got there, he left the canoe and went up into the island, and managed to get some food for himself by killing birds with stones. These birds he cut open and gutted, and then put them on the stones out in the sun to dry : and when they were thoroughly dried, he ate them ; for he was not able to make a fire.

After a few days, his friends came that way on their return journey home. Fortunately, they came quite close to the island in their course. The man beckoned to them, and they came in ; and he got into the boat with his friends, and so came back safely to this land.

XX.—STORY OF THE MEN WHO WENT TO A DISTANT LAND.

Long long ago, some men of Car Nicobar went to the other Nicobar Islands to cut and gather nuts.[40]

They were for a few months in Camorta ;[41] and when they wanted to come back here, they were not able to do so on account of the strong winds and rain. They attempted it, however, and were drifted to a small island.[42]

They were there for a considerable time and had a great deal of sickness. As some got better, others sickened and died : and eventually there were only three survivors.

When they got back here to their own country, they told the friends of their dead comrades, their parents and their children, that the others had died.

So all the people of the place made offerings as propitiations ; and their children, parents and wives were very sad. The people too, chopped up their racing canoes ; and the whole village killed pigs, by spearing them, as a propitiation to the dead. They invited the people of other villages also ; and they all ate of the offerings of the dead.

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37 Literally, "were eating his pigs." See *ante*, note 21, on p. 239.

38 A large village on the east coast of Car Nicobar, regarded as the first settlement in the island.

39 Batti-Malv, see *ante*, note 11, on p. 236.

40 This story is probably historic. The men were most likely induced to leave Car Nicobar by Burmese or Indian traders : if so, the incident must have happened within the last fifty years. It is, however, established in the minds of the people as a story of old time.

41 The fairly large island lying to the north of Nankauri harbour.

42 Probably Tillanchong.

BOOK-NOTICE.

The Lakshmidevi Temple at Dodda Gaddavalli. Mysore Archæological Series. Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore. No. III. By R. Narasimhachar, M.A., Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1919. Quarto, pp. viii, 8. ates, xiv.

This is the third of Mr. Narasimhachar's valuable memoirs on individual temples in Mysore Territory It describes a typical temple in the Hoysala style, as found in Mysore, and luckily it is an early example. As Mr. Narasimhachar says, his first monograph described a temple of three cells, the second one of one cell, and the third monograph describes one of four cells—a rare form, of which this is the only instance in Mysore. Pages v to viii contain a very valuable list of Hoysala buildings ranging from c. 1047 A.D. to c. 1292, and of Dravidian buildings from c. 800 to c. 1733 Altogether we have a valuable brochure in every sense.

The name of the founder of the temple interests me personally. It is Kullahana Rāhuta, and the name perhaps explains that of a very different worthy of the 17th century, known to the early English merchants as Babaraut. He was a genial uffi an, dwelling at various places along the West Coast and carrying on a lucrative trade as arch-pirate and trader on a large scale, and he was quite as ready to enter into a friendly deal, profitable to himself, as to gain wealth by barefaced sea piracy. I observe that Kullahana Rāhuta, or Kullan-rāhut as the alternative form would be, was a *mahāvaḍḍavyavahāsi*, a great merchant, according to his inscription. In my edition of Peter Mundy's *Travels* (1608-1667, Vol. II, p 316), I have written Babaraut's name as Bābā Rāwat. Perhaps I should have written in Bābā Rāhut.

R. C. Temple.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

22. The Company's premises at Conimere.

7 November 1682. *Letter from John Willcox and Council at Conimere* [*Kanyimedu*] *to William Gyfford and Council at Fort St. George.* . . . . . Wee humbly request that the boat must be sent to us as soon as possible and that you would be pleased to send us some Palmiros [palmyra timber], [t]here being none here ready cut to build us a house, for wee have been miserably put to our shifts for a being. Our Tent stood us in some stead til the wind and the rain grew to[o] strong for us, and then wee were faint [fain] to leave that and retrive [retire] ourselves to a small Mosquit [mosque], but that proved soe unsavory a Sanctuary that wee were not able to stay above one night in it for the noisome damps and Smells that came from the dead bodies that were buried there had almost choaked us. From thence in the wind and raine, wee were forced to seek for new quarters as at last wee faint for [were fain] to drive into an old Jentue [Hindu] house which proved too leaky to afford us a good Shelter; and this has been our manner of riveing since wee came hither. Our Tent, within a day or two, according to our promise, wee must return to the Fort, which makes us a little the more bould to imp[o]rtune your Charity and beg the loan of the Fort Tent for the Present. . . . (*Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682, Vol. II, p. 115.)

R. C. T.

23. A new method of decorticating flax.

7 April 1685. *Letter from John Willcox and Council at Conimere* [*Kanyimedu*] *to Wm. Gyfford and Council at Fort St. George.* Weer have been upon all manner of tryalls for the well curing and dressing of Flax, and hope we have hitt upon the righ t att la, for tying it up in Small bundles we [lay itt in] running water: we have some that has thus layen for above this ten days, and find itt still keeps its strength, is more plyant and becomes much softer, which is the way that must prepare and make it fitt for dressing, for we find by experience, withcut the Flax is well cured and softened, the cloth that is made of it will never turn white. Our Merchants have promised to provide two bales of it. We now send you the fine piece that was upon the loom.—(*Records of Fort St. George: Letters to Fort St. George*, 1684-85, III, 70.)

R. C. T.

MARSH ARABS OF LOWER MESOPOTAMIA.

From photos. taken between 'Amara and Hawaiza, July 1918.

Fig. 1.



Marsh Arab with a pole in his hand standing erect in the bow of a *danak* or cargo canoe.

Fig. 2.



Marsh Arab with a pole in his hand standing erect in the bow of a *danak* or cargo canoe.

Fig. 4.



Marsh Arab country—open water and beds of tall reeds.

Fig 3.



Party of Marsh Arabs in a *mash-hūf*. In foreground a riverain Arab sitting in the large boat in which the authors travelled.

Fig. 5.



Marsh Arab country—open water and beds of tall reeds.

PHOTO. BY P. A. BUXTON

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THE MARSH ARABS OF LOWER MESOPOTAMIA.

By P. A. BUXTON, M.A., FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
AND V. H. W. DOWSON, DIRECTORATE OF AGRICULTURE, MESOPOTAMIA.

Introductory Note.

[The following Notes are published because very little is known about Marsh Arabs. The authors have confined themselves to known facts and also to those that have come within their cognizance. The notes are fragmentary, but may be found to possess value as a foundation for further study—.[1]Ed.]

The Marsh Arab Country.

THE area in which the Marsh Arabs live is on either bank of the river Tigris between 'Amâra and Baṣra. The area of Marsh is perhaps about five thousand square miles, and it is probable that the Tigris divides this area more or less into two equal portions. The marsh on the left bank of the river is roughly triangular in shape, and its eastern part, in the neighbourhood of Hawaiza, lies in Persian territory. It was in this region that Hubbard saw the Marsh Arabs, to whom he makes a passing reference. On the right bank of the river, the marshes extend south of a line joining 'Amâra to Nasarîyeh and combine with the Hamar Lake, a triangular area of reed beds and open water in the delta of the Euphrates, lying between Sooq Ash Shoyookh, Qarna, and Baṣra. Thus the northern limit of the home of the Marsh Arab of this region is in the neighbourhood of 31° 75′ N. Lat., the southern, 30° 50′ N. Lat., the western 46° 25′ E. Long., the eastern 48° 0′ E. Long.

The whole of this country is utterly flat, save for occasional mounds, which are presumably the sites of ancient towns : these mounds, though low, are conspicuous, and are sometimes occupied by Marsh Arab villages. The district is covered for the most part by great expanses of reeds, or rushes, or open water. Between a point near 'Amâra and a point near Hawaiza, there stretches a continuous bed of reed and rush for eighty miles, and in many places there are expanses of open water from the centre of which no land can be seen. 'Amâra is about twenty-four feet above sea level, Nasirîyeh nine, Qarna nine, and Baṣra seven.

The depth of much of the marshes is about four or five feet, so that it is possible to punt the black Arab canoe (Ar. *mash-ḥuf*, pl. *mash-a-ḥîf*). In places, the water is much deeper, and at one place where we tested it, namely at Tel Dhahab, thirty miles south-west of 'Amâra, the depth was nearly twenty feet.

Owing to the huge expanse of marsh, the depth of water in it does not vary greatly, although the rivers discharge enormous quantities of water into it during the spring floods, and comparatively little in autumn when the river is low ; but, because the country is so flat, the area under water varies considerably, a drop of a few inches in the surface level of the water being sufficient to leave dry a considerable area of land around the edge of the marsh. It is possible that the area of permanent marsh is not much more than three-quarters of that of the flood-time marsh. This marsh-border land which is subject to these periodic inundations is that which grows most of the rice and great millet of the country, and that of it which is not put under crops generally bears an inferior growth of bulrushes,

[1] The authors are indebted to the courtesy of Major R. K. Marrs, C.I.E., who has been Political Officer, 'Amâra Division and elsewhere in 'Iraq since 1915, for reading their manuscript and for making valuable suggestions.

more particularly *Typha latifolia* (Ar. *bardi*). This land dries up by July. The other common marsh plant is the reed, *Phragmites karka* Trin. (Ar. *qasab*, pronounced *gasab*), which cannot withstand desiccation so well as the bulrushes, and is consequently confined to the area of permanent marsh. The surface of the water in many places is covered with a dense growth or scum of floating water plants.

There is no timber of any kind throughout the marsh country, and wood is used for hardly any other purpose than for the construction of the canoe and its paddle. There is no clay, and water-pots are bought in the towns.

Birds.

Birds are rare in the marshes in summer. Of those which are eaten by the Marsh Arabs are the Gallinule or Purple Coot (*Porphyrio poliocephala*, Ar. *Barhân*): the Purple Heron (*Ardea purpurea*, Ar. *Erkhêauwi*), the Goliath Heron (*Ardea goliath*, Ar. *Ahmirâr*), and the Pigmy Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax pygmaeus*, Ar. *Elêchi*). The Darter (*Plotus rufus*, Ar. *Warda* or *Warida*) is resident, but we do not know that it is eaten. In winter the marshes are visited by myriads of duck (Ar. *Bash*) and geese (Ar. *Baṭ*), and more than a dozen species of duck are common.[2] *Harra* is the general name for teal, widgeon and other small duck. A Marsh Arab was met who appeared to distinguish at any rate most of these, and to be able to pick out from a number of fowl which had been shot an appropriate duck for each drake. There are few European sportsmen who could pass such a test.

The Marsh Arab catches duck in two ways, in a net, and with a gun. The net has a mouth from ten to fifteen feet in diameter and tapers to its tail about fifty feet away. The mouth is held open above the water by means of reeds, and the ducks are attracted by paddy scattered on the surface of the water just inside the mouth. The paddy is renewed daily for a few days until the birds have gained confidence, and then, when there are many of them inside, the mouth is caused to fall into the water by a man (concealed some distance, away in the reed beds), who pulls a string attached to a prop. When the gun is used, a man swims slowly and silently, concealing himself behind a bundle of reeds, which he pushes along the surface of the water in front of him, until he approaches close to a flock of birds feeding on the mud. He then discharges at it his ancient muzzle-loader, which has been filled with a charge of black powder and bits of iron, brick, wire, lead, or old copper pots : if lucky, he will kill perhaps twenty or more birds with the one shot.

Ducks find a ready sale at ʿAmâra and Baṣra, but in the markets at these places most of these we have seen for sale have been alive, either domesticated or wild, caught by the net, and we remember only once eating duck when living with the rich, rice-cultivating Arabs of the edges of the marshes. It seems probable, therefore, that most of the birds killed in this way are eaten by the Marsh Arabs themselves. We also know that they eat the eggs of the Gallinule, and presumably of other water fowl also.

Mammals.

The only mammal which is hunted is the otter (Ar. *Chalab al mai*, *i.e.*, "Water-dog," pl. *Chaláb al mai*). It is comparatively common, and is speared at night, by the light of the moon, by men who lie up for them. The skins are in consequence much gashed, but find a ready sale to Turkish and British officers. In 1918, at ʿAmâra, a pound was asked for a skin, but we bought five skins for seven shillings and six pence. Major Marrs reports that the otter is sometimes domesticated by the Marsh Arabs, and will faithfully follow its master whereever he goes.

[2] In correct Arabic duck are called *Baṭ* and wild geese *Waz al bara*.

Wild pigs (Ar. *Khanzîr*, pl. *Khanazîr*) sleep on the dry mounds, wallow in the shallow marshes, feed on the succulent reeds, and swim rapidly and readily away into deep water when disturbed. They are numerous, attain fairly large size, but do not seem to be hunted.

The only domestic animal possessed by the Marsh Arab is the Water Buffalo (*Bos bubalus*, Linn., Ar. *Jâmus*, pl. *Dowâb*), and in it his wealth chiefly consists. These animals are black, with the tip of the tail white, and occasionally a little white on the head, especially in the calf or *Tuffal*: the eye is blue, or brown, or black, and the horns straight, not curled like those of the Delhi Water Buffalo. The female gives a larger quantity of milk than a cow, and of greater richness (average fats 7 per cent.). This milk is used to make the clarified butter (the *ghi* of India) known to the Arabs as *dihin*: this is used by all the inhabitants of the 'Iraq, except the Jews, for cooking, and for pouring over the evening meal of boiled rice. The demand for this article is therefore considerable and constant. Buffalo are milked once only in the twenty-four hours, after sun-down. The only food of these beasts is the herbage of the marshes and marsh edges, and consists, during most of the year, almost exclusively of reeds and bulrushes, though during the coldest part of the year this is supplemented by coarse grazing over and between the rice fields round the edges of the marsh.

Liver flukes were found in some buffalo slaughtered at 'Amâra in 1918, but it is not known if this parasite be common. Military cows, fed on the edge of the marshes at 'Ambâri near Qarmat 'Ali in the autumn of 1919, became infected.

Reptiles and Amphibians.

The reptilian and amphibian fauna of the marshes is not unimportant. A species of *Clemmys* (Ar. *Raqqa*, pl. *Ruquq*) appears to be widely distributed. *Trionyx* (Ar. *Rafash*, pl. *Rafush*) occurs on the Euphrates and in the Hamar Lake. It is celebrated for its ferocity and for the fact that it occasionally emasculates swimmers. A British soldier at Nasirîyeh fell a victim to this unfortunate predilection. Its presence in the water acts as some deterrent to those wishing to swim, though Marsh Arabs will swim in any water on occasion.

The Frogs, *Rana* and *Hyla* (Ar. *Aqrûqa*, pl. *Aqrûq*, pronounced *Agrûga*, *Agrûg*, an excellent example of onomatopœa), both occur in the marshes.

It is interesting that, though all meat except that of birds and fishes is too expensive for Marsh Arabs to eat, yet there is no evidence that they eat the flesh of any of these reptiles and amphibians. The Qoran nowhere condemns such flesh, but Arabs appear horrified at the idea of eating a tortoise. Food which is abhorrent but not forbidden (*Mamnu'a*) is called *Makruh*. Having captured a tortoise one day and safely brought it home, our hopes of mock-turtle soup were shattered by our cook refusing to soil his hands with the "foul" beast. But it is not impossible that Marsh Arabs do eat this flesh and do not advertise the fact. In this connection it may be mentioned that once, when we had killed and skinned a wild cat, the meat was collected carefully by an Arab and handed over to his wife in his hut. Afterwards, during a discussion with the shaikh of the district, this same old cultivator, who happened to be present, was as loud as anyone in condemning the disgusting practice of eating cat's meat.

Fish.

We know little of the food fishes of the Marsh Arabs. Cyprinid (Carp family) fish are common and are eaten in large numbers. One of the commonest is known as *Batût*. Siluridae (Mudfish) are common, but we do not know if they be eaten by Marsh Arabs. They are unclean for Shia Muhammadans, but, though the dwellers in the marshes are nominally Shia, yet they are extremely lax in religious matters.

The method of catching fish is by means of a spear, often of three prongs, though equally often of five. No more than the latter number of prongs are found employed Each prong has a head barbed on each side, and this head, manufactured in the bigger towns on the edge of the marsh country, is fastened with twine to a long, bamboo shaft. The bamboo is imported from India, and, since it is expensive (five rupees, about seven shillings and six pence), it is often replaced by the inferior, because weaker and less springy, dried reed. If the spearer of fish be standing on the land at the edge of the water, he usually attaches to the basal end of the fish-spear a thin rope in order to regain possession of the instrument after casting: but when fishing takes place from a boat, no such attachment is necessary. The favourite time for fishing is at night While the canoe glides noiselessly and without ripples, one of the occupants stands at the prow with spear ready poised, and just behind him stands another holding aloft a bunch of burning reeds to attract the fish. The spear is thrown at a point just in front of the ripple made by the moving fish. A successful thrust pins the fish at the back of the gills. Fish which weighed thirty pounds have been seen speared, and we have also seen a Marsh Arab, who was wading through a shallow marsh, throw his spear at a coot as it flapped over the surface of the water, and decapitate it.

Reeds and Rushes.

The two plants of outstanding importance in the marshes are the reeds and the bulrushes. Reeds are found widely distributed over the marshes. and are, perhaps, found in greater quantities on the left than on the right bank of the Tigris. On the Hammar Lake, their place is taken by the bulrushes. Reeds grow under favourable conditions to a height of twenty feet above the surface of the water, and so thickly that a canoe cannot be forced through them. They are in flower in midsummer, and from that time onwards are cut, dried, split, and woven into mats, generally about six feet by twelve, though the measurements vary. These mats are stored until a great pile of them has accumulated, and then rafts of them are constructed. The foundation of the rafts consists of bundles of unsplit reeds tied together with green bulrushes ; and on top of this framework, which may be as much as a hundred feet long and twenty feet broad, are piled the mats to a height of about fifteen feet. These rafts are pulled up the effluents of the Tigris to 'Amâra or floated down the river to Qalat Salih, Qarna, Nasirîyeh, Sooq Ash Shoyookh, and Baṣra to be sold. Each mat cost in 1919 about two rupees (*i.e.*, about three shillings and ten pence) when bought retail in the market. The mats are chiefly used in the construction of the reed hut (Ar. *Sarîfa*, pl. *Sarâi-îf*. In correct Arabic, *Ṣagâra*, pl. *Ṣafâgîr*), used by all the rice Arabs, and by most of the poorest townsmen and many of the poorest wheat and barley Arabs. The mats are supported on arches made of bundles of unsplit reeds tied together and stuck in the ground. Six mats are sufficient for the small house of the ordinary cultivator, but a very large number is required for the biggest reception huts of the richrice shaikhs. The *madhai-îf* (from the sing. *madhîf*) may be eighty feet long twenty feet wide and twelve feet high. Mats take the place of carpets in the poorer houses and supplement them in the richer.

The Marsh Arabs themselves live in the simplest of huts. They may have only a few bundles of unsplit reeds, bound together with green rushes, propped up against each other, to form a sort of shelter from the sun and the cold, or they may have a slightly better dwelling composed of a single piece of reed matting propped up on one side with a reed. The side which touches the ground along its whole length faces the sun in summer and the wind in winter. It is indeed a wretched hovel, but very portable. Small parties of the poorest people sometimes break down a number of reeds in a reed-bed and camp on these for a few days. like birds in a nest.

All the encampments of Marsh Arabs which we have seen have been well supplied with canoes; these are long, narrow, shallow, light, wooden, bitumen-covered, boats. Such a boat is known as a *mash-hûf*. Occasionally amongst them, but drawn up on to the bank to dry, could be seen outside a particularly small and squalid hut, the *chalabîa* (pl. *chalabiát*). This is a cylindrical raft of reeds, eight to ten feet long. and tied tightly at the ends, so that it assumes a cigar-shape. It is widely used amongst Marsh Arabs, but, after a comparatively short time in the water, it needs drying on the river bank, because the reeds, when thoroughly wet, lose their buoyancy. A bundle of reeds, less cunningly made than the true *Chalabîa*, is often used by others than the true Marsh Arab simply for crossing the Tigris.

Bulrushes are of use to the Marsh Arab chiefly as fodder for his buffalo, but are also useful for binding together bundles of reeds, for fuel, and for keeping out the wind from the huts. They are floated down to the brick-kilns of Basra, where they form almost the only fuel for brick-making in the district. They are used also for the same purpose in all the towns on the edge of the marshes.

The March Arabs Themselves.

The name of the Marsh Arabs in Arabic is *Ma'dân*. It is not uncommon for the real, desert Arabs of eastern Arabia to call the Arab of Mesopotamia disparagingly *Ma'dâni*, and for the Mesopotamian Arab, who has but recently come to live in the land of the two rivers, to use that name in describing one of his fellow countrymen whose ancestors immigrated at an earlier period: but the word as generally used has come to mean a dweller in the marshes. As these people are the least civilised of the people of 'Iraq, the word is often used in the sense of "boor" or "rustic," in the same way as in India the word "*jangli*" is employed.

It should be understood clearly that it is only the inhabitants of the actual marshes and not the rice-cultivating Arabs of the marsh edges who are referred to in these notes as "Marsh Arabs". The rice cultivators in the district which we are considering chiefly belong to the great Albu Muḥammad, Ázairij, Soow'âd, Bani Ásad. and 'Amaira tribes, and are quite distinct from the real Marsh Arabs. This distinction, however, is considered by Major Marrs to be occupational rather than ethnological, and he regards the buffalo-owners as offshoots of the five tribes of rice cultivators just mentioned. The buffalo-owners, whom we designate as "Marsh Arabs," are in turn divided into sub-tribes. The best known is the Fartus; others are the Shaghamba, Albu Nawafil, Albu Ghannam, Bait Nasralla, and the Bait Fatla.

The Marsh Arabs are by no means self-supporting. Not only the few luxuries which they enjoy, but even the very necessities of life must be obtained from the surrounding country-side. Their rice (Ar. *shilib*=paddy; *timan*=rice) and their great millet (*Sorghum vulgare*, Pers., Ar. *idhra*) are obtained as payment for working in the fields of these crops at harvest, and the little barley which they consume is sometimes obtained in a similar manner, though more often it is bought in the markets of the small towns on the edges of the marshes. Their black canoes (Ar. *mashahîf*) and their rifles (Ar. *tufka*, pl. *tufuk*) and their ammunition (Ar. *fishka*=a cartridge, pl. *fishak*) are purchased from the Sabaeans (Ar. *Sabi*, pl. *Sabi'on*), a few of whom are to be found in most of the small towns surrounding the marshes (*e.g.*, Halfia, Nazil Muḥammad, Nazil 'Araibi, 'Azair, Majar), and who are to be found in larger numbers in 'Amâra, Sooq Ash Shoyookh, Qalat Sâlih, and Qarna. The Marsh Arabs also buy in these small towns their clothes (Ar. *hadum*), for they possess no goats, sheep, nor camels, nor do they cultivate any textile crop, nor, indeed, any crop at all, and they

have not learnt how to make clothing out of the hides of their buffalo. Their copper cooking pots (Ar. *qidar*, pl. *qodur*, pronounced *jidar, jodur*), their curved daggers (Ar. *khanjar*, pl. *Khanajir*), and their tobacco (Ar. *toton*) also have to be obtained in these small markets. Thus it will be understood that all the Marsh Arabs acknowledge the over-lordship of the rich, rice-cultivating shaikhs who live upon the borders of the marshes. In the neighbourhood of Hawaiza, Shaikh Khaz'al of Moḥammara exacts tribute from the Marsh Arabs there, and, on the left bank of the Tigris, the Albu Muḥammad Shaikhs, Muḥammad all 'Araibi, and Ozmân al Yasîr collect tribute from the Marsh Arabs nearest to them. On the right bank the Marsh Arabs are forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the two 'Azairij Shaikhs, Salmân and Shawai, and of the Albu Muḥammad Shaikh, Fâlih as Saihûd. The amount of the tribute exacted would appear to depend not only on the number of buffalo that are possessed by the marsh dwellers, but also very largely on the strength and influence of the shaikh demanding it. For the purpose of arranging blood-money (Ar. *faṣal*), Marsh Arabs are regarded as belonging to the Albu Muḥammad tribe.

The wealth of the Marsh Arabs lies in their reeds and their buffalo and to a lesser extent in the wild fowl and fish which they catch; if they desire it, they can always get work in harvesting the summer grains in the land of the surrounding cultivating Arabs. Their standard of living, however, is very low indeed, and a "wealthy" Marsh Arab by ordinary western standards lives in a wretchedly poor fashion.

The language of the Marsh Arabs is a dialect of Arabic, very little different from that spoken all over the more settled country districts of the 'Iraq. Flowery Arabic and elaborate compliment is not heard. "*Kaf*" is always pronounced "*Chaf*," except in the masculine possessive particle termination. Thus "dog" is not "*Kalab*", but "*Chalab*", but "your dog", if the person addressed be a male, is "*Chalabak*". "*Jim*", "*Ghain*", and "*Ain*" are properly pronounced, but "*Qaf*" tends to be pronounced like "*Jim*" or like "*Gaf*." Thus "*Qala*", "a castle", is called "*Jala*", and "*Agrûqa*", "a frog" is called "Ar. *Agrûga*." Reading and writing are unknown.

The features of the Marsh Arabs are quite unlike those of the typical Arab. Their faces are rather round, also their eyes; their noses are big and wide, but not markedly hooked; their mouths are big; their foreheads are high; their hair is black, and neither lank nor curly, but generally tousled; their teeth even and white; and their skin the colour of very milky coffee. There is no difference between the colour of their faces and that of the rest of their bodies, because the latter are hardly more protected from the sun than the former, owing to the scantiness of the clothing worn. Their bodies are strong and shapely. The women are somewhat, though not much, fairer-skinned than the men, and are not unhandsome. Both sexes age rapidly. These people are not particularly tall. Fat individuals are not met with, though the small children are often pot-bellied.

The Marsh Arabs are known widely for their cunning and thievish habits. In this connection, the most notorious tribe is the Fartus, and any robbery or misdemeanour within twenty miles of their country is generally attributed to them. It should be observed, however, that there is much confusion in the minds of the townspeople between the real Marsh Arabs and the Rice-cultivating Arabs, and that the latter are not slow to cast the blame for their own malpractices upon other communities. For the same reason it may be doubted if all the stories of the dangerous temper and ferocity of the Marsh Arabs are really to be attributed to them. However, Major Marrs has tried cases in which the ferocity and fearlessness of the Marsh Arabs could not be denied. He has seen cases in which women's

hands have been cut off at the wrist. Though expert thieves, Marsh Arabs are simple people, and are very frequently swindled by the more astute townspeople when they visit the markets to buy clothes and other necessities. We remember, too, having seen a certain Jew milk contractor, who sold his milk to the Amara Military Dairy by the imperial pound, purchasing the milk from a tribe of Marsh Arabs. The Jew bought the milk by the pound, but the pound measure in this case was of four pounds capacity. Like the *Beduîn*, Marsh Arabs are lazy, or at least, prefer the contemplative occupation of watching their buffalo graze to more arduous manual labour. They seem quite happy lounging on the edge of the water with their animals, and swimming from feeding ground to feeding ground with the same readiness as the water buffalo themselves. The stroke employed in swimming is a rather splashy double-overarm. We have not observed any other stroke used. It is seldom that the Marsh Arabs are seen by those whose work does not lead them to their neighbourhood, for they prefer their impregnable marshes to the towns and villages, and only come to the latter when forced to do so by the necessity of purchasing their stores, or in order to dispose of their reeds or clarified butter. Occasionally, the traveller down the Tigris may see them at those places where the great marshes come in close to the river, or they may be observed piloting their great, unwieldly rafts down to Basra, but they are generally hidden from sight in the depths of the reeds. Whatever the faults of the Marsh Arabs may be, they are not unpleasant people to have dealings with. They are cheerful, enjoy a joke, even a very simple one, and are as hospitable as their poverty allows them.

Even were the Marsh Arabs not prevented by poverty from wearing elaborate clothing, their semi-aquatic habit would render this inconvenient. The men wear a woollen cloak (Ar. *Bishta*, pl. *Bishit*) of a caramel colour, this being the colour of the wool of the commonest sheep of the surrounding dry land, and each cloak of the roughest kind costs from five to ten rupees. A string surrounds the abdomen, and under this is tucked one corner of the cloak, which is worn chiefly supported on the shoulders. The small boys wear only the string, which, though scarcely fulfilling the function of clothes, yet serves a useful purpose in preventing them from eating too much, because it tends to cut an unduly distended abdomen. Only one substantial meal a day is eaten, and since this is consumed with extreme celerity, because each individual eats from a common dish, such a device is an excellent precaution against excessive engorgement. An elder of the tribe may wear a coloured or a white handkerchief (Ar. *Ishma'gh*) on his head, tied on by a corner of itself or by any piece of rag, but others wear no head covering, and if they find the sun too hot, they pull up over their heads a corner of their cloaks. The dress of the women differs little in kind from, though it is inferior in quality to, that of the rice-cultivating Arabs. It consists of a cotton shirt or night-gown (Ar. *Thôb*, pl. *Thiâb*) reaching to the ankles and made out of Manchester piece-goods, and a woollen cloak similar to that of the men. On their heads they wear a black cotton head-handkerchief (Ar. *Shâl*, pl. *Shailân*), kept in place by a wisp of black cotton stuff. The *Shâl* is so worn that it covers not only the head but also the neck and throat. The face is exposed. The very small girls wear no clothes, but at about the age of five they begin to wear the *Thôb*, or, at least, have it handy to be assumed when required. The *Thôb* of the little girls is generally a rich magenta in colour, but that of the women is most frequently black, dark blue or cinnamon, sometimes with an inconspicuous pattern. Though the climate is extremely hot in the 'Iraq during the long summer, the short winter is nearly as cold as that of England ; yet the clothing of the Marsh Arabs

undergoes no change throughout the year. Even when the thermometer stands at 40° F., small Marsh Arabs can be seen without clothes, and older ones are still protected only by the same clothes which they wear in summer. One is forced to conclude that weak children die early, and only the most robust survive.

Masculine adornment confines itself to tattooing (Ar. *Washm*) with indigo (Ar. *Nîli*) and to plaiting of the hair. The amount and the design of the tattooing appears to depend upon individual preference and not upon tribal custom: it usually consists of a few spots or a short line or two in front of the ears and a rather more complicated pattern on the upper surface of the wrists and on the outside of the leg above the ankles. Occasionally, also there may be a spot, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, of indigo on the chin or forehead. The hair is plaited into two plaits (Ar. *Jadaila*, pl. *Jadail*) which hang in front on either side of the head. Their ends are kept fastened with a piece of rag or twine, or left unfastened. *Henna* is not used. The women generally are tattooed rather more than the men, and it is the rule to see handsome features marred with two or three spots of indigo. The women usually divide their hair into a number of small plaits, and attach to the end of each coloured wooden beads, coins, or charms. These wooden beads exactly resemble those usually employed on an *abacus Pythagoricus* (counting machine), and are most frequently coloured red or yellow. It is most usual to see about half a dozen hanging on either side of the head. When coins are worn, they are attached to the ends of the rows of wooden beads. The favourite coins employed are the rupee, the rial (the Maria Theresa dollar) and the two-kran piece. The first is the standard of currency in 'Iraq, and is worth at the present time (January 1921) about one shilling and six pence; the second is Arabian currency and is worth about three shillings; and the last is Persian currency and is worth about one shilling. Glass jewellery of Austrian manufacture, especially talismans on which are inscribed Qoranic texts, often replace or supplement the coins. The whole of this adornment which is worn about the ear is known as *Shaiyála*, pl. *Shaiyalát*. Rarely is seen a nose-ring, made of brass, silver, or copper wire, generally supporting a cheap turquoise. The ring is passed through the right or left *ala nasi*, never through the *septum*; we have seen both *alae* so adorned. The nose-ring is much more common amongst the rice-cultivating Arabs than amongst the marsh dwellers. The women occasionally wear cheap finger-rings (Ar. *Maḥbas*, pl. *Maḥâbis*).

The food of Marsh Arabs is very simple. The chief meal of the day is eaten at sundown and consists of boiled rice over which is poured hot clarified butter. There may be added fish or fowl. The early morning and the midday meals consist of unleavened bread (Ar. *Khobaz*) made of great millet. It is baked in thick, flat loaves on an iron plate over a fire of reeds or buffalo dung. They cook fish by splitting it open and propping it on a reed; they heat it with burning reeds held in the hand. Barley bread is seldom eaten and wheaten bread not at all. Water is the only drink of most Marsh Arabs: there are but few of the more wealthy individuals who can ever afford the luxury of tea or coffee. We have heard of certain of the marsh plants being eaten as a sort of salad, but were not able to identify them. The central and subaqueous part of the stem of the young reed is sweet and succulent and sometimes is eaten.

The only definite case of disease amongst Marsh Arabs which has come under our notice is that of one old man who was suffering from hæmorrhoids, but other diseases amongst them are to be expected. Major S. R. Christophers, C.I.E., I.M.S., has examined the spleens of children at 'Azair (Ezra's Tomb), Qarna, and at various villages on the

southern bank of the Hammar Lake and has found Malaria present, and *Anopheles stephensi* is known to occur on the Tigris south of 'Azair and on the Euphrates east of Nasirîyeh, so that a well-known malaria carrier is present in a part, at any rate, of the Marsh Arabs' country. *Anopheles pulcherrimus* has been found in the heart of the marshes, but is not known to be a malaria carrier in the 'Iraq. At some places in the midst of the reeds, mosquitoes are so numerous that heaps of damp reeds are lighted in order that the smoke may keep them away to some extent. *Schistosomum haematobium* is known to occur in the neighbourhood of Basra and Qarna, and Captain H. E. Shortt, I.M.S., has demonstrated the presence of *bilharziasis* (*Schistosomiasis*) in boatmen living in the former place, so that it is likely that the Marsh Arabs are also infected. During the summer the very small children living in the Marsh Arab villages may be seen to have their eyes infested with flies, but we are not able to state definitely that ophthalmia occurs

The Marsh Arab sare Shia Muhammadans, but they are by no means scrupulous in religious observance. Few can recite the Fâtiha or the Ikhlâs, nor are there cleared spaces for worship. Ceremonial ablution appears to be practised but seldom, so that beyond being circumcised and being able to pronounce the testification they are Muhammadans in little but name.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A.

(*Continued from* p. 277.)

Maratha and Bijapur armies compared.

In spite of his defects, the Maratha soldier was a fine fellow. Of short stature and light build, though he was, man for man, inferior to the tall and stout Mughal and Deccani Musselman. But his courage, hardihood, wonderful energy, presence of mind and agility, more than compensated for that slight inferiority.

Demoralised by the harassing tactics of their illusive adversary, the Bijapuris and the Mughals at last failed to meet him even in the open field on equal terms. Fryer's comparison of the two armies well illustrates the merits and demerits of the contending forces as they struck an intelligent foreign observer. Says the Doctor, "Seva Gi's men thereby being fitter for any Martial Exploit having been accustomed to Fare Hard, Journy Fast, and take little Pleasure. But the other will miss of a Booty rather than a Dinner; must mount in state and have their Arms carried before them, and their Women not far behind them, with the Masters of Mirth and Jollity: will rather expect than pursue a Foe; but then they stand it out better; for Seva Gi's Men care not much for a pitched Field, though they are good at Surprizing and Ransacking; yet agree in this, that they are both of stirring Spirits."[136] It is remarkable that the same love of luxury and comfort characterised the Maratha officers at Panipat. While Shivaji did not allow "Whores and dancing wenches in his army," the Maratha army at Panipat was encumbered with a large number of women. Broughton says of [Daulat Rao Sindhia's soldiers that "such as think that life is bestowed for superior enjoyments, and have a taste for more

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136 Fryer, p. 175.

spirited modes of whiling it away, retire, at the approach of evening, to the arrack shop, or the tent of the prostitute ; and revel through the night in a state of low debauchery, which could hardly be envied by the keenest votary of Comus and his beastly crew."[137] Shivaji's successors had for reasons best known to them suffered these salutary regulations to disappear and their result was disastrous for their army and themselves. The Maratha soldiers declined in morals, and in the discipline and alertness that made them so formidable under Shivaji's leadership.

Shivaji's navy

Soon after his conquest of Konkan, Shivaji found it necessary to organise a navy, strong enough to check the raids of the Siddi's fleet on his coasts. His fleet consisted mainly of Gallivats and Ghurabs as well as many river crafts of various descriptions. Sabhasad[138] tells us that no less than four hundred Ghurabs, Tarandis, Tarves, Gallivats, Shibads and Pagars were built, and organised into two squadrons of 100 vessels. Each squadron was placed under the supreme command of an Admiral, Dariya Sarang, a Muhammadan officer, and May Naik, a Bhandari. Dariya Sarang was by no means the only Muhammadan officer in Shivaji's fleet. Another prominent Muhammadan Admiral, Daulat Khan by name, entered Shivaji's service a few years later. The fleet was in all probability manned mainly by the Kolis and other seafaring tribes of the Malabar coast. What was their uniform, or whether they had any we do not know. At Malwan, the principal naval fort of Shivaji, there is a statue of the Maratha hero with the peculiar Koli hat on his head.[139] It will not therefore be unlikely to suppose that the sailors of Shivaji's fleet generally wore a similar headgear.

Strength of the fleet.

Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji's fleet not only harassed the indigenous sea powers of the south, but also plundered the ships and possessions of such European powers as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. That Shivaji's navy was a menace to these traders is quite true, but he was not so fortunate in his naval as in his military organisation. He could hardly hold his own against the Siddi's in the sea and the numerical strength of his fleet has in all probability been highly exaggerated by his son's court historian. Robert Orme informs us that "The fleet of Shivaji had by this time [1675] been increased to fifty seven sails of which fifteen were grabs, the rest gallivats all crowded with men."[140] Fryer saw on his way to "Serapatan to the South of Dan de Rajapore, a Strong Castle of Seva Gi's defended a deep bay, where rode his Navy, consisting of 30 small Ships and Vessels, the Admiral wearing a White Flag aloft."[141] Professor Jadunath Sarkar[142] points out "that the English reports never put their number above 160, and usually as 60 only." In all probability, Shivaji's men-of-war did not exceed 200 in number, but he had a very large mercantile navy. On land Shivaji depended more on the quality than on the number of his men; on the sea, however, his fleet was decidedly inferior to that of the English in efficiency though not in size. The President of the Surat factory was of opinion that "one good English ship would destroy a hundred of them without running herself into great danger."[143] This weakness was mainly due to the lack of good artillery as well as the want of a naval tradition.

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137 Broughton, p. 21.

138 Sabhasad, p. 68.

139 See *Itihas Sangraha*.

140 Orme, p. 53.

141 Fryer, p. 145.

142 Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 336.

143 (F. R. Surat. 86, 26 No.) quoted in Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 339.

Gallivats and Ghurabs described.

The main strength of the Maratha fleet consisted in the Gallivats and the Ghurabs, vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast. The Ghurabs and the Gallivats of the Angrias' fleet have been thus described by Robert Orme[144]. "The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three; those of three are about 300 tons of burthen; but the others are not more than 150: they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulkhead which terminates the forecastle: as this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interruption. On the main deck under the forecastle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point forwards through the port holds cut in the bulk head, and fire over the prow; the cannon of the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding 70 tons: they have two masts, of which the mizen is very slight. the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made for lightness of bamboos split, and these only carry petteraroes fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel; but those of the largest size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders: they have forty or fifty stout oars and may be rowed four miles an hour." It is not difficult to understand why such clumsy vessels, manned by inexperienced sailors, should not be able to contend with the English on their peculiar element on equal terms. But we should note that Shivaji's sailors had on more than one occasion attacked Portuguese men of war with success.

Other vessels.

Of the other vessels mentioned by Sabhasad, the Tarande was a sailing vessel of large dmensions, the Shivar was a flat-bottomed two masted craft without any deck, and the Pagar was only a well smoothed canoe. Most probably some of these crafts belonged to the mercantile navy. It may not be out of place to note here that Shivaji had a strong mercantile navy that plied between his ports and the coast towns of Arabia. Unlike many of his contemporaries, the great Maratha had realised that a strong naval power without a strong mercantile navy was an impossibility.

Collection of export and import.

Besides doing police work, against the Siddi's pirate fleet, Shivaji's navy was also employed in taking possession of foreign vessels wrecked on his coast and collecting duties from trading ships. In Shivaji's time it was considered the duty of the state to regulate prices of articles.[145] This was done mainly by regulating export and import duties. We have seen how, in the Peshwa period, every ship sailing through the territorial waters had to take a pass from the Admiral of the fleet. Whether such a custom prevailed in Shivaii's time also we do not know.

144 *War in Indostan*, I. 401-402.

145 Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 21-23.

The naval spirit roused by Shivaji, however, did not die with him. The Angrias maintained the naval reputation of Maharashtra, till the destruction of their fleet by the combined efforts of the Peshwas and the English. The Peshwas also had a fairly strong fleet for defending the western coast. The mercantile spirit of the Maratha traders also found a greater scope with the extension of the Maratha Empire and the Maratha influence. In Shivaji's time merchantmen plied between Arabia and the Malabar coast, during the Peshwa period the Maratha traders actually settled in Arabian coast towns like Muscat [116]. Their trading vessels visited China in the East and England in the West. The naval policy of Shivaji therefore bore ample fruit, though long after the Maratha Alfred had passed away.

Conclusion.

CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Judicial System.

Shivaji's judicial system need not detain us long. This particular branch of administration was not affected by the rise of the Peshwas, except that in Shivaji's time the Majalasis were perhaps more frequently assembled than in the Peshwa period. The village panchayet tried all cases; the Balutas were summoned to give evidence; trial by ordeal was more frequent than we can now imagine and an appeal always lay to the chief Nyayadhish at the metropolis. I have dealt with this system at some length elsewhere and it will be my duty to take note here only of some additional information. In Mahajars of Shivaji's period, we read of two functionaries, Sabha Naik who presided over the Majalasis and the Mahaprasnik who interrogated the parties [117]. It is not however clear whether these officers were duly elected. It is quite possible that a well-respected old citizen would be informally acknowledged as the President of the Majalasi merely as a matter of courtesy, and perhaps a young and energetic member of the court would voluntarily undertake to interrogate the parties, to relieve his older colleagues of that trouble. On the judgment paper the judges not only put their signature, but also such signs as that of Nangar, Tagri, Ghana and Katyar, according to their profession or station of life.

As peculiar ordeal.

It may not be out of place here to take note of a peculiar ordeal described in the Shri Shivaji Pratap. In a case of alleged adultery, the judges put a big cauldron full of oil on a big fire. When the oil began to boil, they took two drops of blood one each from the veins of the man and the woman, and dropped them into the boiling liquid. But lo ! the two drops would not mingle and the woman was honourably acquitted. We do not find any mention of such an ordeal anywhere else, and for all we know this peculiar test might have had its origin in the fertile brain of the gossiping author of Shri Shivaji Pratap. Moreover, the alleged trial is said to have taken place before Shivaji's time.

Education.

Unlike the present rulers of Mahrastra, Shivaji had no organised Education Department. He granted suitable pensions to deserving scholars, and the duty of testing their merit was entrusted to the Pandit Rav. This system of Dakshana grant has survived Shivaji and the Peshwas. The Bombay Government have allotted a specified sum for Dakshna fellowships in several colleges of that presidency.

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116 Sen, *The Administrative System of the Peshwas* (unpublished).

117 Rajwade, *M.I.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 62, 180, 216, 317, 330.

In his religious policy Shivaji was above all tolerant. While his European contemporaries were burning heretics, Shivaji had extorted from Khafikhan an unwilling compliment for his toleration of Muhammadanism. Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji made adequate grants not only for Hindu temples and holy places, but also for tombs of Muhammadan saints and for mosques. Dr. Dellon, the French traveller who visited the Malabar coast towards the close of Shivaji's reign, also testified to the liberal religious policy of the great Maratha ruler. Shivaji's religious policy suited the needs of his people and was to a certain extent the product of his age.

Shivaji's indebtedness to others.

We have seen that the civil and the military regulations of Shivaji were framed mainly to meet the needs of his times, and in this respect they were eminently successful. Engaged in a life-long war against his Muhammadan neighbours, Shivaji could not give his people that peace and tranquillity so necessary for the growth of commerce and industry. But he reformed the revenue system of his kingdom, organised a careful survey of his lands, and substituted a fairly enlightened and efficient government for the tyranny of semi-independent Revenue officers. He organised an army that shattered the foundation of the Mughal Empire in the South. He was the father of the Maratha navy, and the mercantile policy inaugurated by him had a very bright future. Born in 1627 he died at the age of 53 only, and during his short reign of 30 years he not only founded a kingdom but created a nation. Yet we cannot admit that Shivaji was the most original of Indian rulers. For his Revenue policy he was indebted to Malik Ambar. Some of his military regulations were copied from the Adilshahi code, and the system of branding horses in the cavalry was known in Hindustan even in Allauddin Khilji's time. Shivaji however enforced strict method where formerly there was a lack of it. The slightest irregularity did not escape his keen eyes, and in personal attention to the minute details of government, he was, perhaps, not inferior to his great Mughal rival. We find him framing regulations about the proper style of official letters; we find him deliberating about the necessity of punctual payment of masons. He urges his cavalry officers to beware of the careless use of fire in the camp. They are warned to be more careful about storing hay and fodder for their animals. To the governor of a fort he issues instructions for regulating the price of salt and nuts; and we cannot but wonder when we find the same man starting a literary movement, destined afterwards to change the nature of his mother-tongue. He employed a number of scholars to find out Sanskrit synonyms for current Persian words—and the *Raj Vyavahar Kosh* was compiled in consequence.

It has often been asked why so many of Shivaji's institutions failed to survive him, Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar attributes his failure to build up an enduring state mainly to caste rivalry. The caste system is not new to India and whatever may be its effect on the Maratha state it cannot be said that the fate of Shivaji's civil and military institutions was much affected by it. The great bane of the country had been feudalism or the Jagir system and this flourished in spite of caste rivalry. Shivaji tried his best to abolish feudalism, but the great defect of his government was that it was an autocracy. Its success depended on the man at the helm. Sambhaji was an incompetent ruler and it did not take him long to undo his father's work. Rajaram had the wisdom to appreciate his father's institutions, but circumstances were against him. Driven from his paternal home and besieged in the fort of Jinji, he had to conciliate his allies in all possible ways.

His officers offered to conquer principalities in enemy possession on the sole condition that they should be allowed to hold their conquest in Jagir. Thus Rajaram helped to revive feudalism, and once it was revived Shivaji's institutions were doomed to extinction. In the turmoil of war every law was held in abeyance, and when a new order dawned, after the struggle for existence was over, Shivaji's institutions had become a memory.

LIFE SKETCH OF LALESHWARI—A GREAT HERMITESS OF KASHMIR.[1]

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL.

KASHMIR by its geographical position, indicates in tho best sense of the term, the head, nay, the brain, of India. It has been prolific not only in producing great kings, whose sway extended throughout the length and breadth of India and Central Asia, and great philosophers, grammarians, historians, astronomers and poets, who shone like luminaries in the firmament, but also in producing women of extraordinary talents and rare gifts. Yesovati, Sugandah, Didha and Kuta adorned the throne of the country and held it secure with great wisdom, playing their game most successfully against powerful enemies.

Laleshwari, Rupabhaváni and Jaman Ded were ascetics of the most sublime and exalted order with a halo of divineness about them. Laleshwari, more popularly called by the homely and simple name of Lal Ded (Mother Lal), was one of those master spirits, who come at periodic intervals into this world and deliver a message of truth and peace. exhorting the humanity to follow higher ideals of life and shun the frivolities of mortal earthly existence. She was an apostle of sweetness and light and a follower of the Shaiva philosophy. She is remembered with divine adoration by both Hindus and Muhammadans in Kashmir, and many stories of miracles, said to have been worked by her, are current among them. The ascetic Rupabhaváni acknowledged her as her grand preceptress—*Lal náma Lal parma guram.* She was born about the middle of the 14th century of Christian era in the time of Sultán Alá-ud-din, the third Muhammadan king of Kashmir, who succeeded to the throne in 1347 A. D. Her parents lived at Pándrenthan (the ancient Puránadhishthána, the old capital) four miles to the south-east of Srinagar.

There is a curious legend about her birth. It is said that prior to her birth as Laleshwari she was born somewhere in Kashmir and was married to a man living at Pàndrenthan. There she gave birth to a son.

The priest of this family was one Sidh Sri Kanth. This man, by the way, descended in the direct line of pupils from Vasa Gupta, who flourished in the first half of the ninth century of Christian era in the time of king Avántivarma, and laid the foundation of Shaivism as a system of religion in Kashmir. Sidh Sri Kanth's living descendant in the line of pupils at present is P. Mokund Rázdán, a learned Sanskrit scholar residing near the Raghu Náth temple at Srinagar.

On the eleventh day of her confinement Sidh Sri Kanth came to perform the *kahanethar* or cleansing ceremony. She enquired of him "What relationship has the new born baby with me?" Sidh said "What a strange question! Why, he is your son." She said "No." "What then is he?" he asked. She replied: "I am just now to die and

1 [Many of the "Sayings" attributed to Laleshwari in this article may be usefully compared, both as to text and translation, with Grierson and Barnett's *Lalla Vakhyani*, Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XVII, 1920.—ED.]

shall be reborn as a filly at the Marháma village with such and such marks. If you care to have the answer to your query, you may come to me at Marháma after one year from now and I shall give you the answer.'' The woman died just after uttering these words. Sidh, in order to satisfy this curiosity, went after one year to Marháma and searched for the filly. He found her and put the old question to her. She told him "Well, I would give you the answer, but I am to die just now, and am to be reborn as a pup with such and such marks at Bijbehára, and if you care to get the answer you may come to me at Bijbehára after six months from now and I shall give you the answer." After she had finished this talk a tiger jumped out of a bush and devoured the filly. Sidh's curiosity increased at this occurrence and after six months he went to Bijbehára. There he searched for the puppy and did find it. He put the same question to it, and it told him as before that it was to die just then and was to be reborn as such and such at such and such place, and he might come there to receive the answer. No sooner had it said this than a man riding on his pony passed by and the puppy came under the pony's hoofs and was killed. In this way Sidh was dismissed by her without having the answer he required until she took six rebirths in different places, and being thus baffled he gave up the idea of making further attempts to satisfy his curiosity. He then went to Wastarvan (a hill near Avantipura 15 miles from Srinagar) to perform penances.

In the same family at Pándrenthan in which Laleshwari had died on the eleventh day of her confinement, she took her seventh rebirth. When she was twelve years of age her marriage was arranged by the son of Sidh in a Pandit family surnamed Nicha Bat, living at the Drangabal Mohalla at Pámpur (the ancient Padmapura founded in 812-849 A.D. by Padma, Minister of King Ajatapida).

It may be stated here, by the way, that at Pámpur there is now no one of the Nicha Bat pedigree living, but at Srinagar (Chundapur Mohalla) there is one man named Shiva Bat, at present employed as an Assistant in the Sericulture Department, who is of this lineage. His ancestors lived at Pámpur. His *gotra* is Swámina Shándle.

The boy with whom Lal Ded was engaged had his father living, but had lost his mother, and his father had married a second wife. The date for the wedding was fixed. Just one day previous to that on which the wedding was to come off, Sidh returned from Wastarvan and he, being the priest of the girl's father, presided over the ceremony. While the ceremony was being performed, the bride whispered to Sidh: "That baby who was born to me and you were pursuing me in my several rebirths, anxious to know what relationship he bore to me, is this very boy who is the bridegroom here.'' Sidh recollected the matter and was much astonished.

However the marriage ceremony was finished. The bride was named Padmávati by her father-in-law. But the boy and Padmávati never lived together as husband and wife. The step-mother-in-law used to treat Padmávati very badly. The latter is held up as a model for patience, virtue and submissiveness by womankind. She bore the ill-treatment without grumbling. When giving her the daily meal, the mother-in-law used to put a stone in her plate over which a little food was spread, so that it might appear to those who chanced to see it that a brimful plate of food was given to the daughter-in-law. Padmávati never complained of it, nor made it known to anybody for twelve years, giving back the stone secretly to her mother-in-law, after doing with her scanty meal. After twelve years it got about in this way. A sheep had been slaughtered to perform the ceremony of *grahashánti* in her father-in-law's house. One of the female neighbours met her while she was going to the river to fetch water, who told her in a jocular sort of way that she was to get a good feast that evening. Thereupon it escaped from her mouth "*Hud máritan kinah kath noshi nalvat tsalih nah záh*"—meaning that whether they killed

a big sheep or a small one it was all the same, the daughter-in-law always had the stone in her plate. Her father-in-law, who happened to be on the other side of the wall where she was standing with her neighbour friend, overheard this, and he wanted to find out if what the daughter-in-law said was right. When that evening his wife gave Padmávati her plate of food he suddenly went over and snatched it away from her hand and actually found the stone underneath a thin layer of rice. He got very angry with his wife for her cruel treatment towards the daughter-in-law. His wife thought that Padmávati must have informed him of this, as there could be no other person who knew about it. Oh, such audacity and such contumatiousness on the part of a daughter-in-law designed to bring on trouble to her mother-in-law! So she fretted and harboured more hatred than ever towards Padmávati and constantly spoke ill of her to her son in order to prejudice his mind against his wife. She span thread as fine as the fibres of the lotus stalk, yet her step mother-in-law would scold her for having spun it coarsely. At last she brought this chapter of her life to a close by quitting her home. Fired as she was with divine love, she tore away her clothes and began to roam about naked. Just prior to her tearing away her clothes her *lal* or abdomen increased in size, so that her pubic region became pendulous answering the purpose of the loin cloth. Thenceforward she was called Lal, because of her pendulous pubes.

Lal Ded became the disciple of Sidh and learnt Yoga from him, but in course of time she far excelled him in practising it. Sidh's house was at the Nambalbal Mohalla at Pámpur. There was a cave there in which he used to perform the worship of God. This cave does not exist now. The *ghat* at which he used to bathe is called Sidh-Yár, and since then a sanctity is attached to it. It is among others a *tirtha* at which the pilgrims to Amar Náth bathe.

Lal Ded propounded the Yoga philosophy and also high moral truths in Kashmiri verse. These are called *Lal Wákhi* or Sayings of Lal and are, apart from being the utterances of a holy woman, expressive of grand and lofty thoughts, and spiritual laws—short, apt, sweet, thrilling, life-giving and pregnant with the greatest moral principles—aye, simply pearls and diamonds and "gems of the purest ray serene" of the Kashmiri literature. They are current coins of quotation, a volume being packed in a single saying. They touch the Kashmiri's ear as well as the chord of his heart and are freely quoted by him as maxims on appropriate occasions in conversation, having moulded the national mind and set up a national ideal. As the Kashmiri language has undergone much change since she composed them and as they treat of abstruse knowledge of Yoga, they are difficult to be understood by the common people. One or two instances will suffice to show how deep and sublime is the philosophy contained in them. Over one hundred years ago there lived a saint named Mirza Kák at Hángalgund, twelve miles towards the south-east of Achibal. He once went to visit the shrine of Jwála Mukhi at Khrew and on his return, when nearing Pámpur his disciples asked him to explain the meaning of the following saying of Lal Ded :—

Woth rainyá artsun sakhar
Athi al pal wakhur heth
Yudwani zának parma-pad akhiur
He shikhar khe shikhar heth.

Arise, O Lady, make preparations for worship,
Keeping liquor, meat and bread with thee;
If thou knowest the highest Eternal Syllable (Brahm),
Take and eat them in company with Tantric worshippers.

He explained it at great length for several hours. His disciples wondered at the superb and ennobling thought contained in this saying and still wondered in their minds how Lal Ded would have explained it had she been living. Mirza Kák knew by inspiration the desire of his disciples. He then, together with his disciples, went and squatted at the Lal Trág, halting there that night. At midnight a woman suddenly appeared before them. Mirza Kák bowed before her and made her sit after paying due reverence to her. She, of her own accord, began to explain the meaning of the above saying. What she expounded was by far deeper than that explained by Mirza Kák. After she finished she went away and disappeared. Mirza Kák's disciples were amazed to see and hear all this He told them that she was Lal Ded herself and had come to explain the meaning of the saying that he had explained during the day time, which they had desired in their minds to hear from Lal Ded herself.

About 60 years ago a learned Pandit, named Prakásh Kukilu, wrote a commentary on the following four sayings in Sanskrit prose :—

Sahazas shám tah dam no gatshe
Yatshih práwak múkhi dwár
Salilas lawan zan milit tih gatshe
Totih chhui durlab Sahazah vetsár.

Akui umkár yus nábi dáre
Kumbai brahmándas sum gáre
Akui mantar yus tsetas kare
Tas sás mantar kyáh kare.

Abiyási sa vikási laiwatú
Gagnas sagan miyúl samutsratá
Shani gul tah anámai matú
Yuhui upadesh chhui bhattá.

Wák mánas kul akul ná ate
Tshupi mudrih ati ná pravesh
Rozan Shiv Shakht ná ate
Mutsiya kúnh tah sui upadesh.

God does not want meditations and austerities:
Through love alone canst thou get the abode of Bliss.
Thou mayst be lost like salt in water.
Still it is difficult for thee to know God.

One who keeps in mind one single *umkár*.
Considers self as much as the universe:
One who remembers one single *mantra*.
What can thousand *mantras* do to him ?

When by repeated practice (of Yoga) the visible objects go to absorption.
When the qualified universe gets merged within the ether.
Then remains none but the Supreme Being.
This is, O Brahman, the true doctrine.

Tell thy mind that there is no highness or lowness there ;
There is no entry there by either silence or mystic attitude ;
Neither Shiva nor Shakhti remain there.
If any one remains that is the true doctrine.

There were countless sayings of Lal Ded, but, as time went on, they were gradually one by one forgotten and lost. About 200 years ago, P. Básker Rázdán, grandfather of P. Manas Rázdán, a celebrated hermit of Kashmir, collected Sixty Sayings, which he translated into Sanskrit verse. They have recently been published by the Research Department of the State.

Another collection of 109 sayings (including the 60 collected by P. Básker Rázdán) was made by P. Lakshman Kák, another saint, who lived about 50 years ago. He wrote a commentary on Vedántic lines on them in Sanskrit prose. A copy of this collection was obtained by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Lionel D. Barnett which they have translated into English. This has recently been published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Their publication will, no doubt, prove of much importance to philologists, scholars of ancient learning and others. I have been fortunate to secure a collection of over 200 sayings of Lal Ded and am going to publish them shortly.

As is usual with spiritual geniuses, Lal Ded used to lead people from observation to reflection, making easy remonstrances at hypocrisy and mere show of religious ceremonies and formalities. Some instances are given below :—

(1) One day Sidh, her spiritual Guru, was bathing in the river. At the same place, a little above him up-stream, Lal Ded began to scrub the outer sides of an earthen pot full of dirt. Sidh told her in a scorn at her flagrant simplicity that the pot could never be purified by cleaning only from outside. "How then could your body become pure by bathing," was the ready retort, "so long as the inside of the body was not at the same time purified ?" A Persian poet expresses this truth in the following couplet :—

Jáma chi kuni kabúd u nili va siyáh
Did sáf kuno qabá hamin posh u kuláh.
Why dost thou dye thy garment blue and black ?
Purify thy heart, wearing thy usual garment and cap.

While going about, Lal Ded was followed by a number of children, who used to shout mockingly at her, as is usual with youngsters when they see a strange person. But her spirit was ever unperturbed. One day she was passing by a shop of a cloth merchant followed by a crowd of noisy children. The cloth merchant was angry with them for teasing the hermitess and dispersed them. Lal Ded went up to his shop and asked him to give her a piece of longcloth. He at once brought out a piece and presented it to her. She told him to cut it exactly into two halves, so that they might be of equal weight. He did so, balancing the two pieces in a scale. She then put one piece on one shoulder and the other on the other shoulder, and went away. Now a person passing by would salute her and she made a knot in the piece of cloth on her left shoulder. Another person would shout disrespectfully to her and she would make a knot in the piece on her right shoulder. In this way during her peregrinations, many people met her, who either saluted or spoke disrespectfully to her, and she made knots respectively in the two pieces of cloth. In the evening she came back to the same cloth merchant and returned the cloth to him asking him to reweigh the two halves to see if either of them had lost or gained weight by the knots made. They were put in a scale and, of course, they balanced equally. Lal Ded then smilingly told him, "Why were you angry with the boys who were calling names to me. Respect or disrespect cannot make any difference to me, as the knotss of either kind have made no difference to the cloth."

Gál garinum bol parinam
Dipnam tih yas yuth rotse
Sahazah kusamau púz karinam
Buh amálani kas kyáh motse.

Hâsabol parinam sásá
Meh mani wásâ khid ná hiye
Yudwani Shanker bakhts âsâ
Makuri sâsâ mal kyáh piye.

Yus ho málih hedem gelem maskharih arem
Suh ho mâlih manas kharem nah záh
Shiv panun yelih anugreh karem
Luka hund hedun meh karem kyáh.

Let them jeer or cheer me:
Let anybody say what he likes:
Let good persons worship me with flowers :
What can any one (of them) gain, I being pure ?

Let them jeer me a thousand times,
My mind shall never be pained.
If I am a lover of God,
How can ashes make a mirror dirty (on the contrary it will make it cleaner).

Anybody mocking or scoffing at me
Shall not be disliked by my heart.
When my Shiva favours me,
What can the ridicule of the people do to me?

This has been rendered into Persian verse as below :—

Mará gar álami buhtán bikhwánad
Dil ander kinahe o dar namánad
Agar man Haq paraste rást básham
Bar áyinah chi khâkister nishánad.

If the world talks ill of me,
My heart shall harbour no ill-will.
If I am a true worshipper of God,
Can ashes leave a stain on a mirror ?

(2) Lal Ded once entered a temple in which her spiritual *guru*, Sidh, was worshipping the idols. She wanted to show to him that God was present everywhere and was not limited to the temple. Sidh asked her what she had come for and she told him that she wanted to answer the call of nature, and being naked she came into the temple for privacy. He hastily led her out telling her that it was a place where idols were worshipped and it would be sacrilegious to do in it what she intended to. She asked him to show her a place where there were no idols. He led her to a place and there Lal Ded removed some earth under which idols were found. Then he led her to another place and there too she removed the earth and idols were found.[2] Then Lal Ded addressed to him :—

Diva watá diver watá
Heri bun chhuh ikawát
Púz kas karak hûta bhattá
Kar manas pavanas sangát.

[2] Bawa Nanak when at Mecca was once found lying down with his feet towards the Shrine. The people reproved him for thus showing disrespect towards the house of God. He told them he was tired and cculd not move and they might therefore turn his feet to the direction away from the house of God. They then turned his feet but Mecca also moved towards the same direction.

Soi shelá chhai patas tah pithas
Soi shelá chhai utam desh
Soi shelá chhai pheravanis gratas
Shiv chhui krûth tai tsen upadesh.

Idol is of stone, temple is of stone;
Above (temple) and below (idol) are one;
Which of them wilt thou worship, O foolish Pandit?
Cause thou the union of mind with soul.

The same stone is in the road and in the pedestal:
The same stone is the sacred place:
The same stone is the turning mill;
Shiva is difficult to be attained, take a hint for guidance (from thy *guru*).

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

24. Glasse = Hour.

Sloop *James*, 10th of May 1685.

Honoured Sir, This to acquaint your Honour of our Sad misfortune, for standing off to sea we Chance[d] to meett with fresh galls [gales] and great Sea and making Saile for to keep Company with the Rest of the fleet we sprung such a Leake that we are forced to keep pumping glasses and glasse [from hour to hour] which hath been the Cause of our putting Back again and fetched as far as Annor [Onore, Honâvar] where we Ri[dd att] an Anchor. I would desire to know your Honours further orders what we shall doe with the Veasell for what with a Carring [carrying] of sail and Ridding att an Anchor she will not bear up much onger without further Remedy. I rest your Honours very Humble and Obedient Servant to Command, William Dixon. (*Records of Fort St. George: Letters to Fort St. George*, 1684-85, III, 85.)

R. C. T.

25. A Wail from Bencoolen.

28 *September* 1685. *Letter from Benjamin Bloom and Council at York Fort* [*Bencoolen, Sumatra*] *to William Gyfford and Council at Fort St. George.* Wee shall now give your Honour &ca. An Account of our Woefull state and Condition which God grant better. Wee are by sickness all become Uncapable of helping one Another, and of the great number of people that came over not above thirty men well of them that Mr Ord left here, being Blacks and whites about 200, he taking about twenty souldiers and severall Black servants along with him. Of the English souldiers are dead here eleven; and of the Portequeeze not above four, of the Black workmen not Above fiveteen that is Capable of working. Of them are dead about forty and dayly die, for hee that falls, it is hard for him to rise. All our servants are sick and dead, and att this minute not A Cook to gett victualls ready for those that sitt att the Companys Table, and such have been our straites, that wee many times have fasted; the sick lye neglected, some cry for Remedies, but none to be had; those that could Eat have none to cook them Victualls, soe that I may say, the one Dies for Hunger, and the other for Remedies, soe that now we have not living Enough to bury the Dead, and if one is sick the other will not watch, for hee sayes better that one than two dies, soe that people dies and noe notice Taken thereof. (*Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George*, 1684-85, III, 215, 216.)

R. C. T.

26. A Recommendation.

20 *November* 1685. *Letter from Thomas Ley and Council at Hugly to William Gyfford and Council at Fort St. George.* Mr. Higginson wee can very ill spare, he being one of the most fittest men in India for the office he was in (and indeed any thing else). He has discharged his place with faithfullness and with all diligence in A curious [ingenious] method as your Honor &ca. will see by his workes; wee cannot say enough to his praise, but seeing it is your order, and his desire, Bengall not agreeing with his constitution, he takes his passage towards you on the *Shrewsbury*. Wee have promis'd him to signifie all his care and pains to our Right Honble. Masters and hope they will take into consideration and give him Encouragement According to his deserts for what he has done here. (*Records of Fort St. George: Letters to Fort St. George*, 1684-5 III, 234-235.)

R. C. T.

LIFE SKETCH OF LALESHWARI—A GREAT HERMITESS OF KASHMIR.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL.

(*Continued from* p. 308.)

(3) Shekh Nûr Din *alias* Nund Rishi (called by Hindus Sahazânand), a great Muhammadan saint, was a contemporary of Lal Ded. It is said that when he was born (1377 A.D.) he would not suck milk of his mother. Lal Ded went and cried to him "*Yina mandachhok nah tah chanah chhukha mandachhân?*" (Thou wert not ashamed of coming, why then art thou ashamed of sucking?) Thereupon he began to suck. She asked his mother what her name was. "Sudar" was the reply. Lal Ded remarked—"*Sudrasai chhih mukhta nerân*" (verily pearls come out of the Sudar *i.e.*, Ocean). When Shekh Nûr Din was grown up he, together with his disciple Bâbâ Nasar-ud-din, often held discourses with Lal Ded in Kashmiri verse which are clothed in mysticism. Her verses, however, show how superior she rose over both of them in religious wisdom. These are contained in the old Persian books called *Nûr Nâma* and *Rish Nâma*. One discourse is quoted below by way of an example :—

Bâbâ Nasir-ud-din—

Siryas hyuh nah prakâsh kune
Gangih hyuh nah tirth kânh
Bâyis hyuh nah bândav kune
Ranih hyuh nah sukh kânh.

Shekh Nûr Din—

Achhin hyuh nah prakâsh kune
Kuthen hyuh nah tirth kânh
Chandas hyuh nah bândav kune
Khanih hyuh nah sukh kânh.

Laleshwari—

Mayas hyuh nah prakâsh kune
Payas hyuh nah tirth kânh
Dayas hyuh nah bândav kune
Bayas hyuh nah sukh kânh.

There is no light like that of the sun;
There is no pilgrimage like Ganga;
There is no relation like a brother;
There is no ease like that of a wife.

There is no light like that of the eyes;
There is no pilgrimage like that of the knees;
There is no relation like one's pocket;
There is no ease like that of the cloak.

There is no light like that of the knowledge of God;
There is no pilgrimage like that of the search of God;
There is no relation compared to the Deity;
There is no ease like that got from the fear of God.

Many stories are current among the Kashmiris illustrative of the superhuman power of this hermitess. Some of them are narrated below :—

(1) Lal Ded used to go out early in the morning, crossing the river without her feet dipping into the water and sat at the ghâṭ of Zinpura village at the place where there is the shrine of Natta Keshva Bhairava, at present marked by a mulberry tree. There, after her ablution, she remained in communion with God. Her husband being suspicious of her, once went quietly after her to see where she had gone. He saw her going to, and sitting alone at, the above place. He never knew, nor he could read, her purpose. Leaving the house before the dawn and sitting alone on the river bank was, he thought, nothing short of madness. He got angry at this. When after meditation for some time, she returned with an earthen pot full of water on her head, he, in his rage, struck it with a stick. The pot broke into pieces. but the water was not spilt and remained perfectly still on her head. She then came into the house, filled all the empty pots with this water and yet it was not exhausted. Then she threw down the remainder of the water outside the house and a pond was formed of it. This pond exists even now and is called Lal Trâg.

(2) Lal Ded used to peregrinate in a nude condition and was constantly saying, 'He only is a man who fears God, and there are very few such men about." One day Shâh Hamadân *alias* Mir Sayyid Ali, after whom the famous mosque in Srinagar is called and who came in Kashmir in 1379 and stayed here up to 1384 A. D., met her at Khâmpur, 10 miles to the south-west of Srinagar on the Shopian road, and she at once ran away. This was a strange thing for Lal Ded to do, but it was soon explained. "I have seen a man," she said to the astonished *baniya*, into whose shop she had fled for refuge. The *baniya*, however, turned her out. Then Lal Ded rushed to a baker's shop and jumped into the oven, which at that time was fully heated for baking the bread. Hence the saying—" *Âyeyih wânis gayih kândaras.*" (She came to a *baniya* but went to a baker). When the baker saw this he fell down in a swoon thinking that, for certain, the king would hear of this and punish him. However, there was no need of fear, as Lal Ded presently appeared from the mouth of the oven, clad in clothes of gold, and hastened after Shâh Hamadân.

Lal Ded threw herself in the baker's oven purposely in order to show to Shâh Hamadân that passing through the ordeal set up by Timur, the famous king of Central Asia (1378 A.D.), was an easy job for persons advanced in occult powers. This king was in the habit of going frequently through his capital city to ascertain the condition of his subjects. One night, while he was wandering in the city in the disguise of a beggar, the shrieks of a lad from a house attracted him and he entered it, when he came to know that the child and his parents had tasted no food for two days on account of abject poverty. and the shrieks of the child were due to the pangs of hunger. The disguised beggar felt so deeply for the starving family that he left the house with a promise to return soon with any eatable thing he might get by begging, and he fulfilled his promise by returning soon with a little bread which he handed over to the boy who was crying. The beggar secretly left a purse of gold coins in the compound of the house, and before leaving raised his hands towards the sky, praying loudly that the Great Allah might change the poor family into a rich one. At daybreak the mistress of the house got startled to find the purse and was immensely happy. One of the coins she brought with a joyful heart before a neighbouring Sayyid to get it

changed. The wicked Sayyid enquired and came to know of her possessing a purse of gold coins. He not only deprived her of her purse, but charged her of having stolen it from him. The case came up before Timur who well knew the source from which the old woman had got the contested gold. The Sayyid and his numerous witnesses who were also Sayyids took solemn oaths before Timur that the woman had stolen the bung. He, of course, dismissed the case and restored the purse to the poor woman. Indignant at the brazen-facedness of the Sayyids, he announced that all Sayyids residing in his kingdom must prove their purity by passing through the ordeal of riding a hot iron-horse. This dreadful test alarmed the Sayyids and they strove to escape it by flight. Only Mir Sayyid Ali, who was a saint of high order, is said to have gone successfully through the ordeal. He then came from Hamadân (Persia) to Kashmir in 1379 A.D. On seeing Lal Ded coming out of a furnace of fire attired in clothes of gold his pride of riding a fire-horse was humbled, and he became a constant companion of hers.

(3) Once there was a performance of actors at Pâmpur, to witness which a large crowd of people had gathered. Lal Ded also, in her usual nude condition, went to see it. Her father-in-law called her back to her house and scolded her for her want of modesty and decency. She excused herself by saying that there was no human being there, to avoid whose look it might have been necessary to cover herself. He laughed cynically at this. But she asked him to look out from the window if what she said was true or not. He looked out and lo! he saw no human being, but only a number of fowls, sheep and goats collected there.

(4) Once Sidh was performing the austere penances of *chandráyun*; that is to say, he had kept a fast which was to continue for 40 days. Lal Ded came to his house and enquired from his wife what he was doing. She replied—"*Suh chhu karán zaf*" (he is doing meditation). Lal Ded cried out : "*Nah, Nanda Margih diuthas guris taf*" (no, his pony got a kick at Nanda Marg). Sidh overheard this and was ashamed, as his mind had really gone astray in the midst of meditation, thinking at that moment of his pony which he had sent for grazing to Nanda Marg.[3] Lal Ded then invited him to see how she was practising the penance. On the full-moon day she entered a well-cleaned room and standing up motionless, put an earthen pot underneath her feet and another on her head. As the moon waned her body diminished, until on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight the two pots joined each other. Sidh was daily observing this. When the two pots closed he raised the upper pot, and found something like quick-silver in it trembling and then put down the lid again. As the moon waned, her body also began to increase, and on the full-moon day she was again what she was before. Sidh was astonished at this, and told her that he had lifted up the upper pot when they had met and had seen something like mercury trembling in the lower pot. He asked her in wonderment what it was and why it was trembling. She answered, hinting at the insignificance of his own vaunted penances—"It was I that was trembling lest even this austere penance might be unacceptable

[3] A similar story is told of Bâwâ Nânak. He attended a prayer meeting at the request of a Muhammadan Sirdar. The congregation bent, knelt, and bowed while Bâwâ Nânak stood still. At the end he was asked why he did not join in the prayer and he remarked that the priest at whose bending, kneeling and bowing the congregation moved was all the while thinking of his own mare and therefore he was waiting till his mind turned towards God. The priest's mind had actually gone astray as stated by Bâwâ Nânak.

to God, for without His grace human acts have no merit."—*nisi Dominus, frustra.* Sidh then remarked.—

Gau tsátha guras khasthi
Sui war ditam Diva.

The disciple has gone up higher than her spiritual preceptor.
O God grant, that I may become like her.

(5) One day Lal Ded played blind man's buff with Shekh Nûr Din and Shâh Hamadân. She told them that if they failed to search her out, they should call her thrice by her name and she would reappear. They hid thamselves one by one, and Lal Ded found out each one of them. Afterwards Lal Ded hid herself and though they tried their best to seek her out they failed. Then they called her thrice by her name and she suddenly reappeared before them. They enquired from her where she had hidden herself and she told them she had merged herself with the five *tatvas* (elements), and it was impossible for them to seek her out.

(6) One day Shâh Hamadân, Shekh Nûr Din, Sidh and Lal Ded were sitting together discoursing on religious matters, when a cloud accompanied by a storm of wind gathered. Shâh Hamadân remarked that rain was coming. Shekh Nûr Din said, "No, a hail storm will occur." Sidh said, "No, snow will fall." Lal Ded rebuked them for making predictions, "*Fuqr ai tah makr kyáh*" (If asceticism, why then *makr* or hypocrisy). *Makr* in Kashmiri also means little round poppy-seed-like frosted snow. No sooner had she uttered these words than *makr* began to fall.

(7) Once Shâh Hamadân showed his occult powers to Lal Ded by placing a pot full of rice and water on his head, which at once got heated and the rice in it got boiled. Lal Ded, in order to humble his pride, showed him this power developed in herself to an immense degree. She took him to the river side, and dipping her hand in its water the whole river got heated and began to bubble.

Lal Ded died at an advanced age at Bijbehara, 28 miles to the south-east of Srinagar, just outside the Jama Masjid there, near its south-eastern corner. When she gave up her soul, it buoyed up like a flame of light in the air and then disappeared.

SIVÂJI'S RAID UPON SURAT IN 1664.

BY WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

Prefatory Note.

THE sack of Surat by the Marâthas in January, 1664, was an event of such importance that no apology need be offered for printing two first-hand unofficial accounts of it,[1] especially as the one is not easily accessible, in a reliable form, to Indian historical students, while the other has not appeared in English before. These two documents are therefore printed below, merely premising that the English official account, contained in a letter from the President and Council at Surat to the East India Company, dated 28th January 1664, will be found in Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. i (p. 24).

I.

The fullest and most graphic narrative, from the English side, is contained in a letter from the lately arrived chaplain, the Rev. John L'Escaliot, dated 26th January 1664. The letter, which was evidently addressed to some relative at Norwich, was communicated

[1] [The first of these was reprinted in this *Journal* as long ago as 1879 (*ante*, Vol. VIII, pp. 256 ff.), the copy then being taken from Wilkin's edition of Sir Thomas Browne's works. I am glad to have the opportunity, through Mr. Foster's help, of printing a more correct version of L'Escaliot's account.—ED.]

to L'Escaliot's friend, the celebrated Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Browne, who caused it to be copied into one of his note-books, now in the British Museum (*Sloane MSS.* No. 1861). This transcript was published in 1836 by Simon Wilkin in his edition of Browne's works[2]; and the portion relating to Sivâji's raid is here extracted, following, however, the *Sloane MS.*, as Wilkin's version contains several inaccuracies. It must be borne in mind that the *MS.* itself is only a copy, and occasional errors are to be expected.

> " Thus farr, deare Bro[ther], I had wrote on Tuesday, the 5 of January, about ten in the morning, when on a suddan a strong alarme was brought to our house from the towne, with news that Seva-Gee, Raya or principall governour (for such assume not the name of kings to themselves, but yet endeavour to bee as absolute, each in his province, as his sword can make him), was coming downe with an army of an uncertaine number upon Surat to pillage the citty; wich newes strooke no small consternation into the mindes of a weake and efeminate people, in soe much that on all hands there was nothing to bee seene but people flying for their lives and lamenting the loss of their estates. The richer sort, whose stocke of mony was large enough to purchase that favour at the hands of the Governour of the Castle, made that their sanctuary and abandoned their dwellings to a merciless foe ; wich thay might well enough have defended, with the rest of the towne. had thay had the heartes of men.
>
> The same day a post coms in and tells them that the army was come within tenne course or English miles and made all hast forward ; wich put the cowardly and unfaithfull Governour of the towne to send a servant to Sevagee to treat of some conditions of ransome. But Seva-Gee retaines the mesenger and marches forewards with all speed. and that night loged his camp about 5 miles English from the citty ; and the Governour perceiveing well that his mesenger returned not again and that Seva-Gee did not intend to treat at that distance, he craves admission into the Castle and obtaineth it, and soe deserted his towne.
>
> The citty of Surat is the only port on this side India wich belongs to the Mogol, and stands upon a river commodious enough to admitt vessells of 1000 tun 7 milles up ; at wich distance from the sea there stands a reasonable strong castle, well manned and haveing great store of good guns mounted for the securing of the river. At a convenient distance on the north, east, and south sides of this castle is the citty of Surrat, built of a large extent and very popelus, rich in marchandise, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol, but ill contrived into narrow lanes and without any forme ; and for buildings consists partly of brik (see the houses of the richer sort), partly of wood ; the maine

[2] Wilkin concluded that the letter was actually addressed to Browne, and his statement to that effect has been accepted by subsequent writers. This is wrong. L'Escaliot addresses his correspondent as 'deare bro.' and 'bro.' Wilkin boldly printed the first as 'deare Browne', though he did not venture to extend the second reference in the same manner. Clearly, however, 'brother' was intended, and we know that L'Escaliot was not related in this manner to any of the Browne family. Sir Thomas refers to him merely as ' my worthy loving freind '. After the chaplain's death, the Company made over his effect to a George L'Escaliot, and this may well have been the correspondent in question.

posts of wich sort only are timber, the rest is built of bambooes (as they call them) or caines, such as those youe make your angles [*i.e.*, fishing-rods] [of] at Norwich, but very large, and these being tyed togather with the cords made of coconutt rinde, and being dawbed over with dirt, are the walls of the whole house and floors of the upper story of their houses. Now the nomber of the poore exceedingly surmounting the nomber of those of some quality, there bamboo houses are increassed unmeasurably ; soe that in the greatter part of the towne scarc tow or three brick houses are to bee seen in a street, and in some part of the towne not one for many streets togather. Those houses wich are built of bricke are usually built strong, their walls of 2 or 2½ feete thicke and the roofes of them flat and covered with a plaster like plaster of Paris, wich makes most comodous places to take the evening aire in the hotter seasons.

The whole towne is unfortefied, either by art or nature. Its situation is upon a large plaine of many miles extent and their care hath beene soe little to secure it by art that thay have only made against the cheefe avenues of the towne some weake and ill built gates, and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch easiely pasable by a footman, wanting a wall or other defence on the innerside; the rest is left soe open that scarce any signe of a dich is perceiveable.

The people of the towne are either the marchants (and those of all nations almost, as Einglish, Dutch, Portugalls, Turkes, , Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Jewes, Indians of severall sorts, but principally Banians), or els Moores, the conquerers of the country, Hindues or the ancient inhabetants, or Persees, whoe are people fled out of Persia ages agoe and heere, and some miles up the country, settled in great numbers. The Banian is one whoe thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, least posibly they might bee the death of their father or relation ; and the Persee doth supperstitiously adore the fire as his god, and thinks it an unpardonable sin to throw watter upon it ; soe that if a house bee fired, or their clothes upon their backs burning, thay will, if thay can, hinder any man from quenching it. The Moores ar troubled with none of these superstitions, but yet through the unworthy covetuousness of the Governour of the towne thay had noe body to head them nor none unto whome to joyne themselves, and soe fled away for company ; whereas, if there had beene 500 men trayned and in a readyness, as by order from the King there ever should (whose pay the Governour puts into his owne pooket), the number to defend the citty would have amounted to some thousands. This was the condittion of the citty at the tyme of its invasion,

The invader Seva Gee is (as I have said) by extraction a Rayar or a Governour. of a small counttry on the coast southwards of Basine, and was formerly a tributary to the King of Vijapore, but being of an asspiring and ambitious minde, subtile, and withall a soldier, hee rebells against the King, and partly by fraude, partly by force, partly by corruption of the Kings governours of the Kings castles, seaseth many of them into his hands, and withall parte of a country for wich the King of Vijapore paid tribute to the Mogol. His insolencys were soe many, and his success soe great, that the King of Vijapore thought it high tyme to indevoer his supression, or els all would bee lost. Hee raises his armies, but is worsted soe every where by the rebell that hee is

forced to condittions, to release homage to Sevegee of those landes wich hee held of him, and for the rest Sevagee was to make good his possession against the Mogol as well as hee could.

After some tyme of forbearance the Mogol demands his tribute from him of Vijapore, whoe returns answer that hee had not posession of the tributary lands, but that thay were detayned from him by his rebbell, whoe was growne too stroong for him. Upon this the Mogol makes warr both upon the King of Vijapore and Sevagee, but as yet without any considerable success. Many attempts hath been made, but still frusterated, either by the cuning or vallour or mony of Sevagee; but now of late Kuttup Chawne,[3] an Umbraw who possessed [passed ?] by Surrat since I arrived, with 5000 men and 14 ellephants, and had 9000 men more wich marched another way towa[r]ds their randevouz, as wee hear hath taken from him a strong castle and [made ?] some impression into his country; to devert wich ware, it is probable he tooke this resolletion for invation of this country of Guzurat.

His person is discribed by them whoe have seen him to bee of meane stature, lower some what then I am, erect, and of an excellent proportion; active in excersise, and when ever hee speaks seemes to smile; a quicke and peercing eye, and whitter then any of his people. Hee is disstrustfull, seacret, subtile, cruell, perfidious, insulting over whomsoever he getts into his power, absolute in his commands and in his punishments more then severe, death or dismembering being the punishment of every offence; if nesessity require, venterous and desperate in execution of his resolves, as may appeare by this following instance.

The King [of] Vijapore[4] sends downe his unckell, a most accompleshed soldier, with 14,000 men into Sevagees country. The knowne vallour and experience of the man made Sevagee conclude that his best way was to assasinate him in his owne armye by a suddan surprise. This conduct of this attempt, how dangerous soever, would have been undertaken by many of his men, of whose conduct hee might have asured himselfe, but it seemes he would have the action wholly his owne. Hee therefore, with 400 as desperate as himselfe, enters the army, undiscovered comes to the Genaralls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard, the Genaralls sonn, wounds the father (whoe hardly escaped), seiseth on his daughter and carries her away prisoner, and forceth his way backe through the whole army and returnes safe without any considerable loss. And afterward in dispight of all the King of Vij[a]pore could doe, hee tooke Rajapore, a great port, plundered it, and seised our English marchants, Mr. Revington, Mr. Taylor, and digged up the English house for treasure, and kept the marchants in prison about eight months.

[3] Possibly Kutbuddin Khân, who took part in the subsequent campaign under Jai Singh.

[4] An error for 'the Mogul Emperor.' The writer is also wrong in making the attack on Shâista Khân precede the capture of Râjâpur.

Wedensday the 6 January, about 11 in the morning, Sevagee arrived neere a great garden without the towne about ¼ of a mile, and whilst hee was busied in pitching his tents sent his horsmen into the outward streets of the towne to fire the houses ; soe that in less then halfe an houer wee might behold from the tops of our house two great pilliers of smoke, the certaine signs of a great disolation, and soe thay continued burning that day and night. Thursday, Friday and Satturday still new fires raised, and every day neerer and neerer approching our quarter of the towne.

That the terror was great I know youe will eassly beleeve. And upon his first begining of his firing the remainder of the people fled as thicke as posible ; so that on Thursday the streets were almost empty, wich at other tymes are exceeding thicke with people ; and we the English in our house, the Duch in theirs, and some few marchants of Turky and Armenia, neighbours to our English house, possesed of a seraw or place of reception for straingers, were left by the Governour and his people to make what shift wee could to secure ourselves from the enemy. This might the English and Duch have done, leaveing the towne and goeing over the river to Swalley to our shipps, which were then riding in Swalley Hole ; but it was thought more like English men to make ourselves ready to defend our lives and goods to the uttermost than by a flight to leave mony, goods, house to merceless people, and were confirmd in a resolution that the Duch alsoe dete[r]mined the same ; though there was noe possibility of releiveing one another, the Duch house beeing on the other side of [the] towne, almost an English mile asunder.

In order therfore to our better defence, the President, Sir George Oxinden, a most worthy, discreet, couragious person, sent advice to our ships at Swalley of our condition, with his disires to the captains to spare him out of their ships what men thay could ; and wee in the meane tyme endeavored to fitt our house soe well as wee could, sending out for what quantety of provision of victualls, watter, and powder wee could gitt, of wich wee gott a competent store. Tow brass guns we procured that day from a marchant in towne of about 300 [weight] a peice, and with old ship carriages mountted them and made ports in our great gate for them to play out of to scoure a shorte pasage to our house. That afternoone wee sent aboard a ship in the river for guns, and had tow of about 600 [weight] per peice sent up in next morning with shott convenient. Some are set to melt lead and make bullets, others with chezels to cutt lead into slugs ; no hand idle, but all imployed to strengthen every place, as tyme would give leave, to the best advantage.

On Weddensday men arrive to the nomber of 40 odd and bring with them 2 brass guns more. Our 4 smaller guns are then carried up to the tope of the house and 3 of them planted to scoure 2 great streets ; the 4[th] was bent upon a rich churles house (Hogee Said Beeg [Hâji Zâhid Beg], of whom more by and by), because it was equally of hight, and being posesed by the enemy might have beene dangerous to our house. Coptaines are appointed, and every man quarterd and order taken for reliveeing one another upon necessity. A fresh recrute of men coming of about 20 more, wee than began to consider what houses neere us might bee most prejuditiall, and on one side wee tooke possesion

of [a] pagod or Banian idol temple, which was just under our house (wich haveing taken, wee were much more secured on that quarter), on the other a Moorish Meseete [*i.e.*, mosque], where severall people were harboured and had windowes into our outward yard, was thought good to bee cleared and shutt up ; wich was accordingly done by a party, [and] all the people sent to seeke some other place to harbour in.

Things being thuss rearonably well prepared, newes is brought us that Mr. Anthony Smith, a servant of the Companyes, one whoe hath beene Cheife in severall factoryes, was taken prisoner by Sevagee[s] soulderiers as he came ashore neere the Duch house and was comeing to the English ; an unfortunate accedent wich made us all much concerned, knowing Sevagee[s] cruelty, and indeed gave him over as quite lost. Hee obtiones leave some few houers after to send a note to the President, wherin hee aquants him with his condittion, that hee being brought before Sevagee hee was asked what hee was and such like questions, and att last by Sevagee told that hee was not come to doe any personall hurte to the English or other marchants, but only to revenge himselfe of Orom Zeb (the Great Mogol) because hee had invaded his counttry [and] had killd some of his relations, and that he would only have the English and Duch give him some treasure and hee would not medle with there houses; ells hee would doe them all mischeefe possible.

Mr. Smith disired him to sent a guard with him to the English house, least hee should finde any mollestation from his men, but hee answers as yet hee must not goe away, but comands him to bee carried to the rest of the marchants, where when hee came hee found the embassadour [5] from the great King of Ethiopia unto Orum Zeb prisoner and pinioned, with a great number of Banians and others in the same condition. Haveing set there some tyme, about halfe an hower, hee is seised upon by a cupple of black rogues and pinioned, in that extremety that hee hath brought away thee marks in his armes with him. This [is] what hee writt and part of what hee related when wee gott him againe

The President by the messenger (one of Sevagee[s] men, as wee imagined) returned answer that hee wounderd at him that, professing peace, hee should detaine an English man prisoner, and that if hee would send him home, and not to suffer his people to come soe neere his house as to give cause of suspition, hee would hurt none of his men : otherwayes hee was upon his owne defence.

Upon these tearmes wee were all Wedensday and untill Thursday about 2 at afternoon, when perceiveing tops of lances on the other side of a neighbour house and haveing called to the men to depart and not come soe neere us, but thay not stirring and intending (as wee concluded) to sett fier to the house on the quarter, whereby our house would have been in most emenient danger of being fiered alsoe, the President commanded 20 men, under the command of Mr. Gerrurd Aungier, brother to my Lord Aungier, to sally forth upon them, and another party of about soe many more to make good their retreate. They did soe, and when thay faed them judgd them to bee about 25 horsmen

5 For this embassy, see Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* (vol. III, p. 137), Manucci (vol. II, p. 109), Bernier (p. 134), and Valentyn (book IV, part II, p. 266).

well mounted. They discharged at them and wounded one man and one hor e, and the rest faced about and fled, but made a shift to carry of their wounded man, but the horss fell, haveing gone a litle way. What became of the wounded man wee cannot tell; but Mr. Smith saw him brought into the armey upon mens shoulders and shewed there to Sevagee. Tow of our men were hurt, one shott slightly into the legg with an arrow; the other, rashly parting from the rest and runing on before, was cutt deep over the shoulder, but (thainks to God) in a faire way of recovery.

On Wedensday afternoone a party of the enemy came downe to Hogee Said Begs house (hee then in the Castle: one of a prodigous estate) and brake open the undefended doores and ther continued all that night long and till next day that wee sallyed out upon theire men on the other quarter of our house. Thay appeared by tow or 3 at a tyme upon the tope of his house to spye what preperations wee made, but as yet [we] had noe order to fier upon them. Wee heard them all night long beating and breaking open chests and doores with great maules, but were not much concernd for him; for had the wretch had soe much heart as to have stood upon his gaurd, the 20 part of what thay tooke from him would have hiered soe many men as would have secured all the rest. When thay heard that wee wear abroad in the streets, thay imediatly in hast deserted the house and that (as it afterwards appeared) in such hast as to leave tow baggs of mony dropt downe behind them; yet with intention, as they told the people they mett (such poore wretches as had nothing to loose and knew not whether to flye) to returne next day and fier the house: but that was prevented.

On Friday morning the President sent unto the Castle to Hogee Said Beg to know whither hee would permitt him to take possesion of and secure a great company of warehouses of his adjoyneing to our house and wich would bee of great consequence to preserve both his goods and our house. Hee testified his willingness, and immediately from the tope of our house, by help of a ladder, wee entred it and haveing found [that] the enemie, haveing beene all Wedensday afternoon and night till past Thursday noone plundering the great house, had likewise entred and begun to plunder his first warehouse but were scard, soe that little hurt was done. They had tyme to carry nothing that is as yet knowne of, and only broken open certaine vessells of quickesilver which there lay spilt about the warehouse in great quantetye. Wee locked it up and put a gaurd in the roome next the street, wich through help of a belcoone secured by thicke plank tyed to the belcoone pillers, soe close on to another as noe more space was left but for a muskett to play out, was soe secured as no approoch could bee made againe to the doore of his great house or any passage to the warehouss but what must come under dainger of our shott.

In the afternoone on Friday Sevagee sends Mr. Smith as his messenger to our house with propositions and threats, haveing first made him oblige himselfe to returne, and withall obliging himselfe when hee did returne that hee would doe him noe hurt, whatsoever mesage hee should bring. His mesage was to send him 3 lacks of rupees (every lack is 100,000 and every rupee is worth *2s. 3d.*), or elss let his men freely to doe their pleasure to Hogee Said Begs house; if

not, threatening to come and force us, and vowed to kill every person in the house and to dig up the houses foundation. To this it was answerd by the messenger that came along with Mr. Smith that, as for his 2 propositions, he disired tyme to mak answer to them till the morrow, they being of soe great moment; and as for Mr. Smith, that hee would and did keep him by force and hee should not returne till than, when, if hee could consent to either proposition, hee would send him.

Mr. Smith being thuss returned to us, youe may bee sure each man was inquisetive to know news; whoe told us for their number they do give themselves out to bee 10,000 and thay were now at least a very considerable armey since the comming of tow Rayors with their men, whosse names hee knew not: that their horss were very good (and soe indeed those wich wee saw were): that when hee came away hee could not [but] guess, by the mony heaped up in tow great heapes before Sevagee his tent, than that hee had plundered 20 or 25 lack of rupees: that the day when hee came away in the morning there was brought in neere upon 300 porters, laden each with 2 baggs of rupees, and some hee guessed to be gold; that thay brought in 28 sere of large pearle, with many other jewells, great diamonds, rubies, and emeralds (40 sere make 37 pound weight), and these, with an increedable quantety of mony, they found at the house of the reputed richest marchant in the wourld (his name is Verge Vora, his estate haveing beene esteemed to bee 80 lack of rupees): that they were still, every hower while hee was there, bringing in loods of mony from his house His disire of mony is soe great that he spares noe barbour[ou]s cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners; whips them most cruely, threatens death, and often executeth it [if] thay doe not produce soe much as hee thinks they may or disires they should; at least cutts off one hand, sometymes both.

A very great many there were who, hearing of his comeing, went forth to him, thinking to fare the better, but found there fault to there cost; as one whoe came to our house for cure. Hee went forth to meete him and told him hee was come from about Agra with cloth and had brought 40 oxen loaded with it, and that hee came to present him with it all or elss what part hee should please to comand. Sevagee asked him if hee had noe mony. Hee answered that hee had not as yet sold any cloth since hee came to towne, and that hee had noe mony. The villaine made his right hand to bee cutt off imediatly and than bid him begone: hee had noe need of his cloth. The poore old man returns, findes his cloth burnt, and himselfe destetute of other harbor comes to the English house, where hee is dresed and fed.

But to proceed: Mr. Smith farther tells us that on Thursday their came a young fellow with some conditions from the Governour, wich pleased Sevagee not at all; soe that hee asked the fellow whether his maister, being now by him cooped up in his chamber, thought him a woman to accept such conditions. The fellow imediatly returns "and wee are not women: I have somewhat more to say to youe," drawes his dagger, and runs full at Sevagee[s] breast. A fellow that stood by with a sword redy drawne striks betweene him and Sevagee

and strikes his hand almost of, soe that [it] hung but by a pece of flesh. The fellow, haveing made his thurst at Sevagee with all his might, did not stoop but run his bloody stumpp against Sevagee[s] breast and with [such] force, [that] both Sevagee and hee fell togather. The blood being seen upon Sevagee, the noise run through the camp that hee was killed and the crye went "kill the prisoners"; whereupon some were miserably hacked. But Sevagee haveing quitted himselfe, and hee that stood by haveing cloven the fellows scull, comand was givein to stay the execution and to bring the prisoners before him; wich was imediatly done, and Sevagee, according as it come in his minde, caused them to cutt of this mans head, that mans right hand, both the hands of a 3[rd]. It comes to Mr. Smith[s] turne, and his right hand being comanded to be cutt of, hee cryed out in Indostan to Sevagee rather to cutt of his head; unto wich end his hatt was taken of, but Sevagee stopt execution, and soe (praised bee God) hee escaped. There were than about 4 heads and 24 hands cutt of.

After that Mr. Smith was come away and retayned by the President and they heard the answer, hee sends the embassador of Ethiopia, whome hee had sett free upon dillivery of 12 horses and some other things sent by his king to Oron Zeb, to tell the English that hee did intend to vissitt us and to raise the house and kill every man of us. The President resolutly answers that wee were redy for him and resolved not to stire: let him come when hee pleased, and since hee had (as hee saide) resolved to come, hee bid him come one pore [*pahar*] (that is about the tyme of a watch) sooner then hee intended. With this answer the ambassadour went his way, and wee heard no farther from him any more but in the terrible noise of the fier and the hideous smoke wich wee saw, but by Gods mercy came not soe neere us as to take hold of us (ever blesed be His name).

Thursday and Friday nights were the most tirrible nights for fier. On Friday, after hee had ransaked and dug up Verge Voros house, hee fiered it and a great vast number more towards the Dutch house; a fier soe great as turnd the night into day, as before the smoke in the day tyme had almost turnd day into night, rissing soe thicke as it darkned the sun like a great cloud. On Sunday morning about 10 a clocke (as thay tell us) hee went his way, and that night lay 6 courss of, and next day at noone was passed over Brooch river.[6]

There is a creedable information that hee hath shipt his treasure to carry into his owne country, and Sir George Oxenden hath sent a fregate to see if hee can light of them, wich God grant. Wee kept our wach still till Tuesday.

I had forgote to writt you the manner of their cutting of mens hands, wich was thuss. The person to suffer is pinioned as strreight as possibly thay can, and then, when the nod is given, a soldier come[s] with a whitle or blunt knife and throws the poore patient downe upon his face; than draws his hand backward

6 'Broach River' is of course the Narbada, but it seems hardly credible that Sivâji returned by such a roundabout route.

and setts his knee upon the prisoners backe and begins to hack and cutt on on side and other about the wrest. In the meane tyme the poore man roaret exceedingly, kicking and bitting the ground for very anguish. When the villiane perceves the bone to bee laid bare on all sides, hee setteth the wrest to his knee and gives it a snap, and proceeds till hee hath hacked the hand quite of; which done, thay force him to rise and make him run soe long till through paine and loss of blood hee falls downe. They then unpinion him and the blood stops."

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NÎZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from* p. 283.)

At this time one Husain Khân,[200] who had risen from the dregs of the people to rank and honour and was enrolled among the king's servants, and of whose affairs an account will be given hereafter, conspired with other of the courtiers to compass the downfall of Changîz Khân and by means of money bribes, and fair promises, gained over to his side a party who, with him, made it their business to slander Changîz Khân, and daily perverted and misrepresented to the king all his acts until they estranged the king from him. Among other things they said that the whole army regarded themselves as the servants of Changîz Khân and would never parade at court until Changîz Khân appeared. In order to prove this charge, they raised one of the curtains of the royal pavilion on the side to which the king faced,

200 Husain Khân was the vile favourite of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, and is better known by his later title of Sâhib Khân. He first attracted the king's attention at the siege of Narnâla. According to Firishta, Shâh Mîrzâ Isfahânî, the envoy of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh, was the prime mover in the plot against Changîz Khân. He had offered Changîz Khân a bribe of 200,000 *hûns* to dissuade his master from invading Bîdar. Changîz Khân refused the bribe saying that his master supplied all his wants and that his intention was to overthrow the king of Bîdar, who was a Sunnî, in order that there might be but three kings in the Dakan, all Shî'ahs, who would live in amity and unite to oppose any aggression from Delhi. Shâh Mîrzâ, being thus foiled, turned his attention to the favourite, and told Husain Khân that Changîz Khân intended to seize Berar for himself and to establish himself as independent ruler of the country. Husain Khân lent a ready ear to these suggestions, for the king had ordered Changîz Khân to punish him for some insolence of which he had been guilty and Changiz Khân had seen that the punishment was sufficiently severe. Husain Khân now repeated to the king Shâh Mîrzâ's accusation against Changîz Khân, but the king rebuked him and told him that he knew that he had a grudge against Changîz Khân, whereupon Husain Khân referred him to Shâh Mîrzâ himself. The king sent secretly for Shâh Mîrzâ and questioned him. The envoy repeated his accusation and Murtazâ, still loth to believe it, resolved to test Changîz Khân. He feigned to be weary of his sojourn in Berar and to be anxious to return to Ahmadnagar. Changîz Khân urged him to stay for six months more, in order that the newly conquered country might become accustomed to his rule, and then to return to his capital, leaving him in charge of the administration for a time. The king regarded this proposal as confirmation of Shâh Mîrzâ's charge and from that day his manner to Changîz Khân changed. Changîz Khân, observing the change, abstained from attending court, on the plea of sickness. This only increased the suspicion against him and his master sent to him Hakîm Muhammad Misrî, ostensibly to treat him, but really as the bearer of a poisoned draught. Changîz Khân took the draught and, as the poison was working, wrote a letter to his ungrateful master, protesting his fidelity and recommending to him some of the Foreign *amîrs* and his own contingent of Foreigners. After his death some letters from Shâh Mîrzâ, which proved his innocence, were found among his papers, and the king, on reading them, was overcome with grief and shame, and caused Shâh Mîrzâ to be expelled from his camp—F. ii. 267-278.

and enabled him to see the truth of the fact which they had stated. The king was at this time already becoming suspicious of his wise minister and this charge had a great effect on his mind. One of the matters which made the king suspicious of his minister, was the following. The king always took great care to inquire into the affairs of the soldiers of his army and frequently sent trusted messengers among them with this object, and, without the knowledge of Changîz Khân, would send them bags of gold with strict injunctions that these gifts were to be kept secret. As a consequence, every individual soldier who was in any need freely brought his wants to the notice of the king and profited by his profuse liberality. All this could not long be concealed, and Changîz Khân, who also inquired into the affairs of the soldiers, soon discovered it. He, having in view the necessity of protecting the royal treasury from unnecessary and extravagant expenditure, turned back many who came to court with a view to receiving gifts, and this appeared to the king to be an act of great harshness, for he regarded it as abominable that the needy should be turned away from his court. Thus the king's distrust of his minister, fomented by the conspirators, grew day by day, until matters reached such a pitch that Changîz Khân became apprehensive for his life, and, giving up all hope, threw himself on a bed of sickness and put far from him all ambition and all zeal in the royal service. All soon became aware of the change in the king's disposition towards his minister and each formed his opinion on it, all believing that it was the king's unprompted will that Changîz Khân should be disgraced. Changîz Khân's sickness now increased and his limbs swelled and suppurated. The skilful physical Ḥâkîm Muḥammad Miṣrî, who was famous for his knowledge of his art and was a trusted and intimate servant of the king, treated the patient and bled him, although his friends in their sympathy would have prevented it. But all was of no avail. The king now, hearing of the condition of Changîz Khân, set out to visit him in the sickness which he himself had caused, but the messenger of death was on the wing and made no delay in his journey, and before the king could reach his minister, Changîz Khân died [201] and his soul hastened to its home.

Changîz Khân was distinguished for wisdom and resourcefulness above all the *vazîrs* of his age. He was brave and highminded and in the short time during which he held the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* he raised the power of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom to its zenith, added a large kingdom like Berar, with all its forts and fortified posts, to the kingdom, treated with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh as inferiors, and had ever before him as an object, the conquest of the kingdom of Bîdar; but in the end death disappointed him of the completion of his design. At the same time that Changîz Khân died, Tufâl Khân died in the fort of Lohogaṛh and it was an extraordinary coincidence that the coffins of these two met on the banks of the Parandî as Tufâl Khân was being carried for sepulture to Elichpûr and Changîz Khân's body was being borne to Aḥmadnagar.

After the death of Changîz Khân the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* was bestowed on the physician as skilful as Plato (Ḥakîm Muḥammad Miṣrî) and Sayyid Murtaẓâ was appointed *Sar-i-naubat*. The royal army then returned to the capital, marching with such speed that they covered a distance of eighteen *gâû*, that is to say thirty-six leagues, in one stage. The king, on his return to Aḥmadnagar bestowed favours on the Sayyids, the *Maulavis*, the learned men, and the people and inhabitants generally, and now that he had leisure for his designs of conquest, he also paid attention to the wants of the army and to the learned. Maulânâ Ṣadr-ud-dîn Ṭâlaqânî was at this time admitted to the intimacy of the king and so progres.

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201 In the original MS. a blank is left here for the date. Firishta says (ii. 271) that Changîz Khân died in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-75) but does not mention the day or the month.

sed in the royal favour that in a short time there was none in the court more trusted or more intimate than he. The general opinion is that it was owing to his influence that Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh conceived a distaste for public business and for the society of the officers of state, as will be hereafter set forth.

Another who came into prominence at this time was the learned and accomplished Qâẓî Beg Ṭihrânî, who was appointed to the high post of *Vakīl.* Sayyid Murtaẓâ was promoted from the *sar-i-naubatī* of the left wing to the *sar-i-naubatī* of the right wing, and Ṣalâbat Khân, an account of whom will be given hereafter, was appointed to the *sar-i-naubatī* of the left wing. In a short time Sayyid Murtaẓâ was raised to the degree of *amîr,* or rather to that of *amîr-ul-umarâ,* and Ṣalâbat Khân was appointed to the *sar-i-naubatī* of the right wing.

At this time the king withdrew himself from public business, and carried his avoidance of it so far that he entirely shunned the company of men.

Another person who obtained promotion about this time was Ḥusain Khân, who at length became well known under the title of Ṣâḥib Khân. He was at first a seller of fowls, and was employed in this capacity about the royal kitchen when the king's kindly glance fell upon him, and Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh pitying his wretched state, raised him from the dust of disgrace to the height of honour, and his power and influence became so great that, like all mean and lowly born people so raised, he became tyrannical and oppressive and stretched forth his hands to the shedding of the blood and the unveiling of the honour of bond and free, and had even a design of sharing the kingdom, thus raising strife and disturbances which led to the ruin of the kingdom and the dispersal of its subjects, and in the course of which he perished.

In his early days of office as *vakîl,* Sayyid Qâẓî Beg managed the affairs of the kingdom with unlimited power, under commission from Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh giving him absolute authority to act in all matters in his name and purporting to transfer to him the king's responsibility to God for his dealings with his people.[202]

The king also commanded that a 'chain of justice' should be hung in the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra* and that a court of justice composed of several of the leading officers of state should sit daily in that building to hear such cases as should be brought before them. Sayyid Qâẓî Beg saw that this court of requests sat, as commanded by the king, and devoted his time to serving the interests of the king's subjects, whether small or great.

At this time Ghiyâṣ-ud-dîn Muḥammad, entitled I'tibâr Khân, who was the envoy at the court of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh from 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, displayed a forged order, purporting to be under the hand of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, to the effect that the king had bestowed upon I'tibâr Khân the jewelled waistbelt which had been received in the royal treasury from the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and that it should be given to him without delay. Qâẓî Beg and the rest of the great officers of state, regarding such a gift as in keeping with the king's generosity, yet agreed that some consideration was necessary before the belt was given to

[202] Firishta says that Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, on his return to Aḥmadnagar from Berar, assembled the principal Foreign *amîrs* and told them that he was not fit to rule, as he was incapable of discriminating between justice and injustice. He feared the judgment of God, and therefore proposed to retire from the world and attempt to atone by penance for the murder of Changîz Khân. He transferred the administration of his kingdom, with all the responsibility attached to it, to Sayyid Qâẓî Beg Yazdî; he took them all to witness that he was no longer responsible for the administration, and he cited them to bear witness for him to this effect at the last day. He authorized Qâẓî Beg, if he could not perform his duties alone, to associate to himself Amîn-ul-Mulk, Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, and Qâsim Beg. He then retired to the Baghdâd palace, where Sâḥib Khân was the only person admitted to his presence—F. ii. 271, 272.

I'tibâr Khân, but Mu'tabar Khân, who then held the office of *Dîvân,* submitted a petition to the king to the effect that I'tibâr Khân had produced what purported to be a royal order regarding this belt, but that as its value was so high that it was not considered that anybody save the king himself could worthily receive it, further orders were awaited. In reply to this the king wrote saying that he had no knowledge of any such order as that produced by I'tibâr Khân, but that as I'tibâr Khân had founded his hopes on the royal generosity, the belt should be delivered to him without delay and that he should not be accused of forgery. Mu'tabar Khân did not obey the royal command that this matter should be kept secret, but published all the circumstances, so that I'tibâr Khân's forgery became known to all.

When the king heard of Murtazâ Khân's disobedience he degraded him from the post of *dîvân* and imprisoned him, at the same time sending the belt to I'tibâr Khân. It would, in short, be impossible to recount all Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh's acts of generosity and munificence.

Another officer who, after the return from Berar, attained the rank of *amîr* was Asad Khân, who had performed eminent services in the capture of the various fortresses of Berar, especially Narnâla, and had served the artillery extremely well. After attaining to the rank of *amîr*, he daily advanced in the royal favour until he ultimately became *vakîl* and *pîshvâ.*

At this time news was received by the king that a person in Berar named Fîrûz Shâh giving himself out to be of the 'Imâd Shâhî family, had risen in rebellion, collected the scattered remnants of Tufâl Khân's army and defeated the officers who held Berar on behalf of the king, so that most of the *zamîndârs* had forsworn their allegiance to Ahmadnagar. The king appointed Sayyid Murtazâ, who had then attained the rank of *amîr* and was governor and *jâgîrdâr* of Bîr, to the governorship of Berar, with the rank of *amîr-ul-umarâ* investing him with a special robe of honour.

Sayyid Murtazâ marched towards Berar, and when he reached Jâlnâpûr, Jamshîd Khân, with troops under his command, joined him, and the *amîrs* of Berar, as he approached that country, joined him. Sayyid Murtazâ, with his large army, advanced into Berar and halted not until he reached the town of Bâlâpûr. When Fîrûz Shâh heard of the advance of the army he, realizing that he could not withstand it, fled before it, pursued daily by Sayyid Murtazâ and his troops, who were only one day's march behind him. At last, weary of ceaseless wandering, he threw himself into the fort of Âmner Charbî.[203]

While Fîrûz Shâh was thus throwing Berar into confusion, bands of misguided Gond rose in rebellion and laid waste several of the border villages. Sayyid Murtazâ therefore sent Mîrzâ Yâdgâr, Chandhâ Khân, and some other officers to besiege Âmner Charbî, while he, with rest of the army, marched against the rebellious Gonds with the object of laying waste Gondwâra. He destroyed several of the villages and parganas of Gondwâra and carried fire and sword through that country, while the *amîrs* who had been left to besiege the fort, succeeded in capturing it and slew Fîrûz Shâh. Sayyid Murtazâ, having completed the devastation of Gondwâra and utterly subdued the rebels, returned to Ahmadnagar and had the honour of being received by the king.

203 This is Âmner on the Tâptî, in 21° 32′ N. and 76° 51′ E. known as Âmner-Jalpî from a neighbouring *pargana* town, the two *parganas* being always mentioned together. The 'Gonds' here mentioned are the Korkus of the Melghât, in northern Berar, and 'Gondwâra' is their country, the Melghât. They are always called Gonds by Muhammadan writers, an error made by the British officials appointed to administer Berar on its assignment in 1853, and for some years afterwards. They differ from the Gonds both in race and language.

Shortly after this it was reported to the king that the emperor Akbar, with an innumerable army, had entered Mâlwa and was there engaged in fishing in the Narbada.[204] The king, as a precautionary measure, secretly made over Muzaffar Husain Mîrzâ Bâiqarâ,[205] who was then at Ahmadnagar, to Asad Khân and sent with him to the borders of Berar, a large number of officers, with their troops in order that they might be prepared to resist any invasion of his dominions. Orders were also issued to Sayyid Murtazâ, directing him to march with the army of Berar to the frontier and to co-operate with Asad Khân in resisting any invader.

Asad Khân with Muzaffar Husain Mîrzâ and the rest of the officers set out for the borders of Berar, and Sayyid Murtazâ, in obedience to the orders which he had received, assembled the army of Berar and marched towards the frontier in order to be ready to oppose the emperor Akbar. The two armies met on the bank of the Purandî[206] which is the boundary between Burhânpûr and Berar, and encamped there. The *amîrs* now decided that the presence of Muzaffar Husain Mîrzâ in their camp was undesirable, and they therefore made him over to Bahrî Khân and sent him to the town of Daryâpûr in Berar.

When Mîrân Muhammad Shâh[207], Sultan of Burhânpûr, heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar, he sent most of his *amîrs*, with their troops, to its support, and the armies met on the banks of the Purandî, the army of Burhânpûr remaining encamped on the north bank while Sayyid Murtazâ and Asad Khân remained on the south bank. The main body of the royal army now moved from the capital and marched to Daulatâbâd[208] where the royal pavilion was pitched on the bank of the *Qutluqiyyah* tank. Sayyid Murtazâ and Asad Khân kept daily watch on the frontier at the Purandî river, but engaged daily in hunting, while prepared at all times for battle.

Akbar's spies continually reported to him these movements and he, surprised and perturbed at this preparedness, took counsel with his *amîrs* and the officers of his army, saying that the Nizâm Shâhî army had taken the field before him and was now ostensibly engaged in hunting without displaying any fear or alarm, and inquiring whether any of his counsellors were in favour of war. All agreed that it would not be wise to fight, for if they should defeat the army of Ahmadnagar they would have performed no great feat, while if, on the other hand, they should be defeated they would have to endure the shame of it for ever. This advice commended itself to Akbar, and he retreated. Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, acting on the principle that peace was a good thing, sent Vafâ Khân to the court of Akbar with rich and costly gifts and thus opened peaceful negotiations.

Asad Khân and Sayyid Murtazâ then retired from the frontier and joined the royal camp at Daulatâbâd where they had an audience of the king, and the royal army then returned to Ahmadnagar. Sayyid Murtazâ and his officers were dismissed with much honour to Berar.

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204 This report was not quite correct. On Sep. 16, 1576, Akbar set out from Agra on his annual pilgrimage to Ajmer, arriving there on Sep. 27. He marched in person as far as Dipâlpûr (22° 51′ N. and 75° 33′ E.) in the *sarkâr* of Ujjain, and on Feb. 27, 1577, dispatched a force under Qutb-ud-dîn Khân to Khândesh, where Râja 'Alî Khân, who had just succeeded Muhammad Shâh II. had withheld tribute, relying on help from Ahmadnagar. Râja 'Alî Khân made his submission and the force returned. Akbar having satisfied himself that all was quiet in the Dakan, returned to Fathpûr Sikrî, arriving there on May, 9, 1577.

205 Muzaffar Husain, one of the rebellious 'Mîrzâs,' Akbar's distant cousins, had been taken by his mother to the Dakan after Akbar had defeated the Mîrzâs in Gujarât.

206 There is no river of this name, and the Tâptî, not the Pûrna Nadî, is the boundary between Berar and Khândesh.

207 This should be Râja 'Alî Khân, who had now succeeded his brother Muhammad.

208 According to Firishta (ii. 272) Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh marched to Daulatâbâd with a force so inadequate that his advisers protested, and begged him to await reinforcements.

The Qutluqiyyah tank was a tank constructed by Qutlugh Khân, governor of Daulatâbâd for several years under Muhammad Tughluq (A.D. 1325-1351).

LXXXII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REBELLION OF MUẔAFFAR ḤUSAIN MÎRZÂ IN BERAR, AND OF ITS SUPPRESSION.

After Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mîrzâ had been sent, as seemed good to the *amîrs*, to the town of Daryâpûr, ambitious designs began to shape themselves in his heart and, with a party whom he had attracted to himself, he fled one dark night to the borders of Gujarât. Here he was joined by large numbers of men who had served in the armies of his father and his uncle, which were now scattered over the face of the land, but assembled around him on hearing that he was once more free. He thus, in a very short time, had command of five or six thousand good horse, Mug͟hals and others, and marched with great pomp towards Berar. On the way thither he turned aside to the country of Mîrzâ Yâdgâr and captured several elephants and horses from his *jâgîr*. This exploit greatly increased his reputation and prestige and his approach caused great alarm among the *amîrs* of Berar, who assembled round Sayyid Murtaẕâ and busied themselves in making preparations for war. He, with his large army, marched to meet him. Muẕaffar maintained a correspondence in which the latter professed himself the friend, and even the servant of the former, but this was a mere blind and Sayyid Murtaẕâ never relaxed for one moment his preparations for battle, and was ever watching his opportunity. The armies met near the village of Anjangâon.[209] Some of the troops of Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mîrzâ, who had been seduced from their allegiance by Sayyid Murtaẕâ, had undertaken to desert and oppose their master in the fight, and as soon as the armies were drawn up, these troops, without attempting to strike a blow for him, marched across the field and joined Sayyid Murtaẕâ. This occurrence completely cowed the rest of the Mîrzâ's troops, and they broke and fled, pursued by the army of Berar, who slew large numbers of them and captured many more. Muẕaffar Ḥusain Mîrzâ escaped from the field with much difficulty and fled to Burhânpûr, where he took refuge, but Mîrân Muḥammad Shâh, the ruler of Burhanpûr, as soon as he heard of his arrival, seized him and imprisoned him and shortly afterwards sent him to Jalâl-ud-dîn Muhammad Akbar, his old enemy, by whom he was imprisoned for life in one of the fortresses of Hindûstân.[210] The army of Berar returned from this expedition with much spoil, taking their prisoners with them. On their return the expedition was reported to the king and with the report went the prisoners and the heads of the slain. The *amîrs* then dispersed to their *jâgîrs*. The king was much elated by the joyful news of the result of this affair and bestowed robes of honour and other favours and honours on Sayyid Murtaẕâ and all the *amîrs* who had participated in the victory.

LXXXIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL MASSACRE ORDERED BY MURTAẔA NIẔAM SHAH.

A.D. 1577. In this year Murtaẕâ Niẕâm Shâh issued orders for a general massacre in his capital.[211] It is a matter for great surprise that such an order should have been issued by a king so merciful and so forgiving, and therefore accounts of the reasons which led to its issue display many discrepancies. Some of these accounts will, however, be related here.

In this year an order for a general massacre in the capital was issued by the king to Qâẕî Beg and the other officers of state. All the wise men of the time were astonished at this order, and each, as it liked him, endeavoured to find a reason to which he could attribute its issue, for such open and flagrant tyranny and injustice by a king who had hitherto been noted for his regard for human life, his good nature, and his clemency, appeared to be most strange and incomprehensible. Many reasons and grounds were assigned to the order by popular report and rumour, and I shall now mention a few of the less unreasonable.

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209 In 21° 10′ N. and 77° 22′ E.

210 This is not quite correct. It was Râja 'Alî K͟hân of K͟hândesh who captured Muẕaffar Husain Mirzâ and handed him over to Akbar. The Mîrzâ did not pass the rest of his life in prison, though he was constantly in trouble.

211 Firishta does not mention this massacre.

Some believed that at that time the king was wont to go nightly in disguise through the streets and bazars of the city while he declined to see the officers in state by day, and that a rumour became the common talk of the city, and it is supposed by some that the king heard some of the lower classes discussing this matter between themselves one night, and, being annoyed by the rumour, issued an order for a general massacre of the lower classes: but a wise man will readily perceive the insufficiency of this reason, for it is inconceivable that a religious king who, as will have been seen from the account already given and as will be evident from what shall be related hereafter, was most scrupulous in executing justice and in observing the commands of the sacred law, should, regardless of the accounts to be rendered by him on the day of the judgment, order a general massacre of the people merely because he had heard a few persons discussing a false and groundless rumour, while the guilt or participation of the great majority of the inhabitants had never been proved.

Some say that at the time when the general massacre was ordered, some of the royal servants whose duties kept them in close attendance on the king, noticed that close to the sleeping chamber of the king a shed was erected and the likeness of a man's head, made in copper, studded with many iron nails, was set up in the midst of this shed or pavilion, and the issue of the order for the massacre was in some way connected with these arrangements; but this seems to be scarcely sufficient to account for the issue of the order.

Some again say that the king was one night strolling around his palace, when he met, near his own private pavilion, a man. The matter was inquired into and the man proved to be a *khawâṣṣ* disguised as a groom, who had obtained access to the neighbourhood of the king's private apartments under the pretence of attending to the royal horses. The king was much enraged and issued an order for a massacre of three classes of the people, (1) the lampmen, who are called in the speech of the Dakan, *Deoti*, and who are entrusted with the duty of keeping watch at night, (2) the grooms, who are called *Dângs*, in the disguise of one of whom the man had obtained access to the neighbourhood of the king's private apartments, and (3) the *kharâss*, i.e., the royal servants. It is evident that this reason for the massacre is more satisfactory than the others that have been given.

In any case by reason of some offence known only to the Knower of Secrets, about a thousand people were sent to the next world.

LXXXIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISPATCH OF SOME OF THE *AMÎRS* WITH THE ROYAL ARMY TO THE COUNTRY OF 'ALÎ 'ÂDIL SHÂH FOR THE PLUNDER AND DEVASTATION OF THAT COUNTRY, AND THAT KING'S RETREAT.[212]

When 'Alî 'Adil Shâh heard that Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh had withdrawn from all participation in public business and that Changîz Khân was no longer alive, he set himself once again to stir up strife and sent an army into the Aḥmadnagar kingdom to plunder and lay waste the country and slay its inhabitants. Information of the approach of the army was brought to Sayyid Qâẓî Beg and he, having contrived to gain access to the king, laid the matter before him. In accordance with the royal commands, several of the *amîrs*, such as Bâmî Khân, Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirza, one of the bravest and most experienced soldiers of his time, some account of whom already been given, 'Âdil Khân Begî, Shâhvardi Khân the Kurd, and Malik Muḥammad Khân Hiravî, each of whom was a very tiger in war, were sent with an army to meet and attack the invaders. This army marched with great rapidity into the 'Âdil Shâhî dominions, laying waste the country and slaying all whom they met.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and his army feared to meet this enemy and, retreating hastily, took refuge in Bîjâpûr and remained shut up there, declining to come forth to fight, even though the invaders laid waste the country up to the walls and arrived at the Shâhpûr gate. As

[213] Firishta makes no mention of this campaign which has perhaps been invented by Sayyid 'Ali for the glory of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. It is, however, highly probable that some frontier skirmishes took place about this time.

the defenders would neither come forth nor open the gate, the Niẓâm Shâhî *amîrs* returned to Aḥmadnagar with large quantities of spoil and were received at court with much honour.

At this time Ni'mat Khân Samnânî, who had been the ruler of that country and had been raised from the corner of humility to the summit of honour, being appointed to the post of *châshnîgîr* with the title of Ni'mat Khân, and whose power and influence with the king increased daily, was ordered to lay out a garden and dig a water-course. In a very short time he had laid out a splendid garden and built in it a fine garden house, but those at court who envied him represented to the king that the design of the garden-house consisted of a series of triangles. The king at once ordered it to be destroyed, and entrusted the construction of a new garden-house to Ṣalâbat Khân, as will appear hereafter.

At this time also the king began to show such great favour to Ḥusain Khân that he became an object of envy to all the *amîrs, vazîrs,* and courtiers, and the king's favour and regard towards him continued to increase so that his power and influence became firmly established, and although the king had contracted a great distaste for seeing the officers of state and his soldiers, so that months, nay years, passed without their obtaining permission to pay their respects, he was never happy but in the company of that base and accursed fellow.

At this time a quarrel arose between Ḥusain Khân the Dakanî, and Ḥusain Khân Tûnî, who was one of the bravest men of the age, regarding the title which they both bore, and Ḥusain Khân the Dakanî marched against Ḥusain Khân Tûnî with a large army and several elephants. Ḥusain Khân Tûnî, though he had only a small force, displayed no fear of the overwhelming numbers of his enemies, but withstood them manfully and shot an arrow up to the notch into the forehead of a fierce elephant which came upon him, thereby turning it back. On seeing this, the whole of the army of Ḥusain Khân Dakanî fled, and Ḥusain Khân Tûnî pursued them and slew many.

When the king heard of this fight, he summoned Ḥusain Khân Dakanî and gave him the title of Ṣâḥib Khân, giving to Ḥusain Khân Tûnî the title of Shîr Khân.[213]

The wretch, Ṣâhib Khân, having neither nobility of disposition, nor descent, was unworthy of the honour to which he was exalted, and the favour shown to him led to nothing but to the vexation of the noble, the suffering of the good, and the advancement of the wicked, as will shortly be set forth.

When Sayyid Qâzî Beg had exercised the full powers of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* for three, or, according to some, for four years, the hand of fate brought about his downfall. A quarrel between him and Sayyid Murtaẓâ,[214] of such a nature as was bound to end in the ruin of the noble, began, and each devoted all his efforts to the overthrowing of the power and influence of the other, and made injurious reports to the king regarding the other. At length Sayyid Murtaẓâ had recourse to Sâhib Khân and gave him a large bribe to induce him to bring about the downfall of Qâẓî Beg. Ṣâḥib Khân could influence the king as he would, andhe first caused Amîr-ul-Mulk to be dismissed from the office of *vazîr* and then induced the king to dismiss Qâẓî Beg from the office of *vakîl* and *pîshwâ,* to imprison him in a fortress, and ultimately to banish him across the sea to Jahrum. Qâẓî Beg at last died in the country of Lâr.

(To be continued.)

213 See Firishta, ii, 274. Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî had come with the army of Berar, in which Husain Khân Tûnî, whom Firishta calls Husain Khân Tarshîzî, both Tûn and Tarshîz being in towns in Khurâsân, held a command, to Ahmadnagar, and the army was encamped near the *Bâgh-i-Hasht Bihisht,* in which the king was. Ḥusain Khân Dakanî sent to Ḥusain Khân Tarshîzi an insolent message, bidding him change his title, and, on his refusing to do so, attacked him with five or six thousand horse. Firishta's account of the fight corresponds with that given here.

214 Firishta does not attribute the downfall of Qâẓi Beg to an intrigue between Sayyid Murtazâ and Ṣâhib Khân. He says that Qâẓî Beg was imprisoned on a charge of having misappropriated 200,000 *hûns* and jewels to the value of 100,000 *hûns* from the royal treasury. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh refused to recover the money from him, released him from prison, and sent him back to his own country. Jahrum, mentioned below, is a town in Fârs—F. ii, 276.

INDEX

S.A.L. stands for the Supplement, Dictionary of the South Andaman Language, pp. 137—164.
G.D. stands for the Supplement, Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval Geography of India, pp. 55—78.
H.R. stands for the Supplement, the Story of Hîr and Rânjha, pp. 1—32.
Sc. stands for the Supplement, The Scattergoods and The East India Company, pp. 1—16.

thread, (s.) . . . mōl-a (da). *See* **smoke** and mark distinction.

threaten, (v.t.) menace . . . . ij-âna (ke); tâ-rîta (ke).

throat, (s.) . . . . âkà-ōrma (da). (v.i.) clear one's throat . . . . chirâna (ke); òiar (ke).

throb, (v.i.) pulsate . . . . nōt (ke).

throttle, (v.t.) . . . . âkà-pêtemi (ke). (s.) . . . . âkà-ōrma-bā (da).

through, (postp.) **1.** in ref. to jungle-growth, plantation, etc. . . . . pōrowa. He is now going through the dense undergrowth over there: *ôl âchitik rûkemo tōbo pōrowa lîrke.* **2.** t. a shield, screen, wall, etc. . . . . tûbuli. **3.** t. water . . . . . lêkenga. **4.** throughout, all through . . . . dilu-rêatek. He worked throughout the night: *ôl gûrug dilu-rêatek ônyômre.* **5.** because of . . . . ông-jîg. *See* Ex. at **owing** to.

throw, (v.t.) **1.** any missile . . . . däpi (ke); depi (ke). **2.** t. a burning brand . . . . pûguri (ke). This is a common practice in serious quarrels. *See* **shoot with a gun.** **3.** t. aside or away . . . kōr (ke); ar-waichari (ke). Throw away the *Arca* shell: *kârada l'âkà-tâ kōrke.* **4.** t. down, **(a)** as in wrestling . . . . êle-paidli (ke). **(b)** any object . . . . òiyo-pâ-(ke). **5.** t. upwards in competition (a game) . . . . tûtemo (ke). *See* **game.** **6.** t. *Cyrena* shells horizontally (a game) . . . âkà-kêchi (ke). **7.** t. overboard . . . . ôt-jûra (ke).

thumb, (s.) . . . . . ông-kōro-dôga (da); ûn-dôga (da).

thump, (v.t.) . . . . tâi (ke); taia (ke).

thunder, (s.) . . . . pûluga-la-gōrawanga (da). (v.i.) . . . . gōrawa (ke). *See* **growl** and **snore.**

thus, (adv.) . . . . kîan-âri (da); kichi-kan-wai (da).

thy, (poss. pron.) . . . . ngîa (da); ngar; ngig; ngab; etc. *See* App. ii. Thy canoe: *ngîa rôko* (*da*). Thy knee: *ngab lô* (*da*). Thy husband: *ang îkyâte* (*da*). Thy own, thine . . . . *ng'êkan*; *ngôyun.* Thyself . . . . ngôyun-batâm; ngôyun-têmar.

tick, (s.) the insect . . . . châng-tâta (da).

tickle, (v.t.) . . . . ab-kōto (ke).

tide, (s.) **1.** . . . . kâla (da). **2.** high-t . . . . kâla-chânag (da); êr-l'âr-to-têpare **3.** low-t . . . . kâla-bā (da). **4.** high-t. (at the springs), **(a)** at *full* moon . . . . ôgar-kâla (da); **(b)** at *new* moon . . . . yêchar-kâla (da). **5.** low-t. (at the springs), **(a)** at *full* moon . . . . ôgar-pâdi (da); **(b)** at *new* moon . . . . yêchar-pâdi (da). **6.** flood-t. (at the springs), **(a)** *before* noon . . . . gûmul-kâla (da); **(b)** *after* noon . . . . târ-bôrong-kâla (da) **7.** ebb-t. (at the springs), **(a)** *before* noon . . . . gûmul-pâdi (da); **(b)** *after* noon . . . . târ-bôrong-pâdi (da). **8.** Neap-t. . . . . nōro (da); (by fishermen) . . . . kâla-jābag (da). (*i.e.*, tide-bad). **9.** flood-t. (generic) . . . . ela-bûnga (da); kâla-bûnga (da). *See* **flow.** **10.** Ebb-t. (generic) . . . . ela-êrnga (da); kâla-êrnga (da). *See* **dry, become.** **11.** Low-t. at day-break (on the third or fourth day after the new and full moon) . . . . tōya (da). (This is the favourite tide for collecting shell-fish.) **12.** t-rip . . . . chârat (da).

tie, (v.t.) *See* **bind, fasten.** **2.** t. a knot . . . . ōko-bât (ke). **3.** t. together . . . . paipda (ke). **4.** tie up . . . . rōni (ke). **5.** t. tightly . . . . nîlip (ke). **6.** t. loosely . . . . kōloga (ke).

tight, (adj.) **1.** not loose or slack . . . . nîlip (da). **2.** **(a)** t. of a line or rope . . . . î-gōra (da); **(b)** of a bow-string . . . . ig-yâragap-ba (da). **3.** t. **(a)** of a stopper . . . . wêga-ba (da). **(b)** of a knot . . . . ōto-wêga-ba (da).

till, (v. t.) *See* **cultivate.**

till, (postp.) . . . . lat.; leb; He slept till noon: *ô bôdo-chàu lat mâmire* (conj.) . . . . tōba-tek. Wait here till I return from hunting: ***tōba-tek dôl ût' tek kädlike ngô kâri n tâmi*** (*ke*). Till now, (adv.) as yet, hitherto . . . . ñgâkà *See* Ex. at **ascend.**

timber, (s). . . . . pûtu (da).

time, (s.) **1.** moment, period, season. . . . ig-yûtaraba (da). It is now time to start *âchitik tot-mâkaringa l'ig-yûtaraba (da).* **2.** a certain past period, era . . . . î-dal (da). In Bira's time we used to eat a lot of pork : *bira l'-îdal len (or ya) med'ōko-järanga reg' dama dôga makat-wetre.* *See* **antediluvian** and Ex. at **day.** (adv.) **1.** a long time . . . . ârla-ûbaba (da) ; ârla-l'ârdûru (da). It will be a long time before I come here again : *dô kârin ôt-pägi ònnga bêdig ârla-ûbaba.* **2.** some time ago . . . . mataiyāba. **3.** a long time ago . . . . mataiyābaya. **4.** a very long time ago . . . . ârtâmya. **5.** a short time (*lit.* a few days) . . . . ârla-l'ik-pōr (da) ; ârla-yabā (da). **6.** a short time ago . . . . kâtin-wai (da). **7.** from time to time, (**a**) in the past . . . . âchinya ; (**b**) in the future . . . . ñgâtek-ñgâtek. **8.** in the meantime . . . . tōba-tek. **9.** at any time, ever . . . . eda. *See* Ex. at **ever.** **10.** the first time . . . . . . idlia-gôiya [*lit.* at-any-time-of-new : ed-l'ia-gôi (ya).] Yesterday for the first time we saw a Sterculia tree in the jungle, we can there ore now make torches here : *meda dîléa êrem len maiî l'âkàtâng idlia-gôiya mitigbâdigre, kiancha âchitik kârin tôug pâtnga-châk-bêringa (ke).* **11.** at some time or other in the future, next time, later on . . . . ñgâ-tek. **12.** at such time as, at whatsoever time, whensoever (rel.) . . . . kîan-êrûbalik. At the same time (correl.) . . . . kichikar. *See* Ex. at **some** and App. i. (exclam.) **1.** time's up !, as for one's return home after a hunt, etc. . . . . ârla-l'âryābaire ! ; âr-tûlpire ! *See* **due.** **2.** there's lots of time ! . . . . ârla-ûbata ! There's lots of time ! why hurry ? : *ârla-ûbata ! êlebe !* (or *michalen ng'ar-yêre ?*). *See* Ex. at **hurry.** **3.** time flies ! . . . . el-adjāwike ! Why are you so slow ? time flies ! : *michalen ngô dôdo (ke)?, eladjāwike !* (v.i.) time, mark-(as when taking breath during a dance) . . . . âr-tîr (ke).

timid, adj. *See* **shy.**

tin, (s.) *See* **metal.**

tinder, (s.) . . . . châpa-l'ïg-ûpya (da).

tinkle, (v.i.) . . . . tänga (ke). (onomatopoetic.)

tip, (s.) point, end . . . . naichama (da). *See* **beak** and **end.** (**a**) t. of the nose . . . . ig-chōronga-naichama (da). (**b**) t. of a finger . . . . ông-kōro-naichama (da). (**c**) t. of the tongue . . . . âkà-êtel-naichama (da). (**d**) t. of the tail . . . . ar-pîcham-naichama (da).

tip-toes, stand on (v.i.) . . . . ara-laija (ke).

tipsy, (adj.) . . . . ig-lêleka-tâgnga (da). *See* **drunk** and **sort.**

tire, (v.i.) become fatigued . . . . dama-l'âkà-châm (ke).

tit-bit, (s.) . . . . âkà-rârnga (da). (v.i.) partake of . . . . âkà-râr (ke). *See* **Ex.** at **search.**

titter, (v.i.) . . . . tûg-wêje (ke).

to, (postp.) len ; lat. I gave the bow to Punga : *wai dô pûnga len kârama mânre.* He has gone to the jungle : *ôl êrem lat lirre*

toad, (s.) *Bufo melanostictus* . . . rôpan (da). **2.** toad-stool (s.) . . . pûluga-l'ar-âlang (da).

tobacco, (s.) dried leaf . . . . chûka (da) (adopted since 1858 from Hindustani súkhá).

today, (s.) . . . . ka-wai (da). (adv.) ka-wai (-len) ; ka-wai-bôdo-len.

toe, (s.) . . . . ông-pâg (da.) **1.** great toe . . . . ông-tûchab (da) ; ûn-dôga (da). **2.** little t. . . . . ông-îlam (da). **3.** middle-t. . . . ông-rôkoma (da). **4.** t.-nail . . . . ông (-pâg)-bô'doh (da).

together, (adv). **1.** (**a**) of animate objects . . . . ik (pl. itik). *See* **accompany** and **with** We walked together : *meda mitik nàure* (**b**) of inanimate objects, side by side . . . . paipdanga (da). I found the two bows together : *wai dô kârama l'ikpōr paipdanga, ōrokre.* **2.** at the same moment of time

simultaneously . . . . . êr-ûbalik. Shout together! . . . . *êr-ûbalik êrewâ (ke)!* Sing together! : *êr-ûbalik râmit-tôyuke!*

token, (s.) keepsake . . . . gâtnga-yômnga (da).

tomorrow, (s.) . . . . wainga (da); (adv.) . . . . wainga-len; waingaya. **2.** t. morning . . . . lilti (da). (adv.) . . . . liltiya; lilti-len. Where are you going tomorrow morning? : *tekarichâ ngô lilti-len* (or *liltike*)? **3.** t. evening . . . . wainga-dîla (da). (adv.) wainga-dîla-len (or ya). **4.** the day after tomorrow . . . . târ-wainga (da). (adv.) . . . . târ-wainga-len (or ya).

tongs, bamboo- (s.) . . . . kai (da). *See* App. xiii.

tongue, (s.) . . . . âkà-êtel (da).

tonight, (s.) . . . . kā-gûrug-len *lit.* "this-night-to (or in)."

tonsil, (s.) . . . . âkà-kōrotim (da).

too, (adv.) likewise . . . (ôl-)bêdig. *See* **also.** You too struck him : *ngô bêdig en* (or *ad ab-*)*pärekre.* (**b**) in excessive degree . . . . ô-tag; ô-tag; dôga-bōtaba. *See* **much** and Ex. at **become. 1.** too long . . . ôtag-lâpanga (da). This fish-arrow is too long for his bow : *ia kârama l'eb ûcha tirlêl ôtag-lâpanga (da).* 2. too short . . . . ôtag-jôdama (da). **3.** too much, in quantity or bulk . . . . ôtag-dôga (da). **4.** too little, in quantity or number, too few . . . . ôtag-yabā (da). **5.** too many . . . . ôtag-ûbaba (da). **6.** too large, too big . . . . ôtag-bôdia (da). **7.** too small (in size) . . . . ôtag-kêtia (da). **8.** too fat . . . . ôtag-pâta (da). **9.** too thin . . . . ôtag-kînab (da); ôtag-maiña (da), ôtag-rêdeba (da). *See* **thin.** It is getting too thin : *wai ôtag-rêdeba l'edāke.* **10.** too late . . . . ôtag-gôli (da). **11.** too early, too soon . . . . ôtag-jälwa-lingi.

tooth, (s.) . . . . ig-tûg (da). My tooth is aching : *dig tûg châmke.* 2. front t. (incisor) . . . . âkà-tûg (da). 3 back t. (molar) . . . . âkà-tûchab (da). *See* **toe** (big). **4.** eye-t. . . . . âkà-naichama (da). 5. t. ache . . . . tûg-châm (da). **6.** t. less . . . . ig-lîga (da); ōko-dêria (da). **7.** t. pick . . . . ōkan-kêrepânga (da). **8.** point of tooth . . . . âkà-tûg-l'ar-naichama (da). (adj.) toothsome . . . . âkà-râja-maich (da).

top, (s.) highest part, upper side . . . tot-êra (da). **2.** t. of a hut . . . . bûd-l'ôt-êra (da). **3.** t. or crown, of the head (also scalp) . . . . ôt-kâka (da). **4.** t. of a tree . . . . âkà-tâng-l'ôt-dâla (da). **5.** t. of a hill . . . . (bôroin-l.) ôt-lûtebo (da). *See* **summit.** (adj). top-heavy . . . . gîdatnga (da). (postp.) on the t. of . . . . tot-êra-len. *See* **above, over.**

topsy-turvy (adv.) . . . . âkà-rôginga (da).

torch, (s.) . . . . tôug-pâtnga (da). *See* App. xiii. **2.** Gurjon-wood t. . . . . lâpi (da). (v. t.) make a t. . . . . tôug-pât (ke). **2.** light a t. . . . tôug-jôi (ke); lâpi (ke). **3.** t. light . . . . tôug-l'ârchâl (da); êr-chôinga (da). **4.** t. light, fish by . . . . tôug-l'ârchâl-tek-yât-taij (ke).

torment, (v. t.). *See* **torture.**

tortoise, (s.) . . . . êrem-tàu (da). (found in the Nicobar. but not in the Andaman jungles). 2. hawk's-bill turtle (known as tortoise)-shell . . . . tàu-l'ôt-êj (da).

torture, (v. t.) . . . . târ-tōk (ke).

total (s. and adj.) *See* **Whole.**

totally, (adv.) *See* **altogether, entirely, quite.**

touch, (v.t.) . . . . tig-eni (ke). Why did you touch the infant's foot? : *michalen ngôl abdêreka l'ông-pâg len tig-enire?* **2.** t. another with honey or other sticky substance . . . . tîna (ke).

touchwood, (s.) . . . . châpa-l'ig-ûpya (da). (*lit.* fire-wood-sponge).

touchy, (adj.) irascible . . . . iji-rêl-tâlaginga (da).

tough, (adj.) of meat, cord, wood, etc. . . . . chêba (da). lâtawa (da). **2.** (of meat only) . . . . nêtemoba (da).

tow, (v. t.) *See* **drag, haul.**

towards, (postp.) to, in the direction of . . . . âkà-târ-châg ; eb. The boar is coming towards us : *ôt-yêregnga makat-târ-châg-ònke.* The centipede is crawling towards you : not towards us : *kârapta ng'eb iji-châk-tegike, mebet yāba (da).*

toy (s.) . . . . ig-lîrnga (da).

trace, (v. t.) follow by tracks (**a**) of human footprints . . . . ûn-pâg-ìk (ke) ; chōloma (ke). *See* Ex. at **follow.** (**b**) of animals . . . . âkà-kòij (ke). (s.) **1.** mark, sign, vestige . . . . ig-lâmya (da). I discovered no trace of their presence on that island : *kât tōt-bôka len êtat ârlôg l'ig-lâmya dôt-bamre yāba (da).* **2.** (**a**) of human footprints . . . . ûn-pâg (da). (**b**) of animals . . . . âkà-kòij (da).

track, (v. t.) *See* **trace.**

tract, (s.) *See* **area, region.**

tradition, (s.) . . . . ōko-târtäknga (da). *See* Ex. at **forefathers.**

traffic (v. t.) . . . . î-gal (ke).

trail, (v. t. & s.) *See* **trace, track.**

train, (v. t.) (as a dog for hunting) . . . . âkà-tî-dai (ke). *See* **know.** Trained (p.p.) . . . . âkà-tî-daire.

trample, (v. t.) tread under foot . . . . ôt-rûdla (ke). I trampled on the centipede . *wai da kârapta l'ôt-rûdlare*

transfer, (v. t.) remove from one place to another . . . . ab-tō-jîal (ke). As that outrigger canoe has little accommodation for your wife and family transfer them to my large canoe : *kâ chârigma ngai-ìkyâte ôlbêdig bang-ûba lat êr-chôpaua l'edâre dîa bâja bôdia len ngat-tō-jîalke.* **2.** t. one's home or quarters . . . . *See* **migrate.**

transfix, (v.t.) (**a**) with an arrow . . . . del-gôroba (ke) : î-tot-jât-(ke). (latter with ref. to two or more.) (**b**) with harpoon . . . . jêrali (ke). *See* **pierce.**

transparent, (adj.) . . . . ig-dàuwia (da) ; ig-nâlama (da). *See* **clear.**

transport, (v. t.) *See* **convey.**

trash, (s.) *See* **refuse, rubbish.**

travail, (v. i.) suffer pains of childbirth . . . . îk-ig-nû (ke) ; ad-gîn (ke).

travel, (v. i.) (**a**) by land . . . . â-tinga-lûmu (ke). (**b**) by water . . . . ōto-jûru-tegi (ke). *See* **go (by water).**

tray, (s.) wooden, for food . . . . pûkuta-yât-mäknga (da). *See* App. xiii. The *pinna* shell (chîdi) is used for the same purpose as well as for pigments, when so required.

tread, (v. t.) step on, walk on . . . . rûduli (ke). I accidentally trod on your foot : *wai dô târjîau ngông (pâg len) rûdulire.* *See* App. ii. Ex. of "Omissions."

treat, (v. t.) (**a**) hospitably, with humanity . . . âkà-kât-bêringa (ke) ; (**b**) churlishly . . . . âkà-kât-jābagi (ke).

tree, (s.) . . . . âkà-tâng (da). **2.** fruit-t . . . . âkà-tâla (da). *See* Ex. at **barren.** **3.** t.-lizard. *See* **lizard. 4.** t. platform for burials. *See* **platform.**

tremble, (v. i.) from fright or horror . . . yûa (ke) ; (excessively) yûyuka (ke). **2.** quake, of the earth . . . . iji-lêle (ke).

trepang, (s.) *Holothuria edulis* . . . . pûrud (da).

trespass, (v. i.) on tribal territory . . . . el-âkà-târ-jê (ke).

tribe, (s.) . . . . laga-dûru (da). All the surviving members of Woi's tribe are assembled here to-day : *ka-wai wôi lîa laga-dûru. l'itig-âtenga ting-ûbai ka-waikan* (or *to-taire*) The Chiefs of those tribes are old men : *Kât laga-dûru l'ông-kâlak lîa maiaga wai at-chōroga (da).* **2.** one of the same tribe, ellow tribesman . . . . ab-ngîji (da). Those two grey-headed women are of the same tribe : *kât at-tōl-pail ìkpōr atngîji (da).*

trickle, (v. i.) as from a leaky bucket, etc. . . . . lûtu (ke).

tridacna crocea (s.) . . . . chôwai (da). **2.** T. *squamosa* . . . . kōnop (da).

trigonostemon longifolius, (s.) . . . . gûgma (da). Its leaves are crushed and applied to the bodies of those suffering from fever, by rubbing the skin.

trim, (v. t.) a canoe, bow, etc., with an adze . . . . lûchumdi (ke).

trip, (v. t.) cause to stumble . . . . entûchurpi (ke); âr-châraga-eni (ke). (v. i.) stumble . . . . tûchurpi (ke).

trouble, (v. t.) give trouble, be troublesome . . . . ab-wêlap (ke); âkà-wêlap (ke). 2. take trouble . . . . gōra (ke). 3. (s.) difficulty, fatigue . . . . ông-wêlab (da). *See* **Ex. at climb.**

troublesome, (adj.) of animate objects . . . . ab-täklanga (da). *See* Ex. at **infancy** (exclam.) How troublesome you are! . . . . badi dûrumaba! How troublesome you are! let me speak: *badi-dûrumaba! dô yâpke.* *See* **let.**

true, (adj.) . . . . ûba (da); ûba-wai (da). What I say is true, I am not joking: *dô târchî-yâte ûba-wai (da), d'âkan-yengat-ba (da).* *See* **of course** and **yes.**

truly, (adv.) indeed . . . . ûba; ûba-ya.

trust, (v. t.) rely upon . . . . ōko-lôma (ke).

trustworthy, (adj.) reliable . . . . ōko-lômanga (da).

truth, speak the (v. i.) . . . . ûba-yâp (ke).

try, (v.t.) test, prove. *See* **test.** (v. i.) attempt, endeavour . . . . târ-tâng (ke). He is trying to stitch: *ôl jâtnga (len) târtângke.* (exclam). Try it on! (defiantly) . . . . *âr-tâ-lōg-ba!*

tuft, (s.) curl of hair . . . . ôt-kitnga (da).

tug, (v. t.) *See* **pull, draw, drag.** t. in opposite directions . . . . î-jôj (ke). When we were tugging (the rope) in opposite directions they unexpectedly let go, whereupon we all fell down: *meda'ijôjnga bêdig eda lîlpi m'eptotmânire, kîanchâ marat-dûru la-pâre.*

tumble, (v. i.) fall . . . . pâ (ke). 2. t. owing to a push or jolt . . . . ara-gôdai (ke).

tumour, (s.) *See* **swelling** . . . . bûta (da). with prefix ab, ig, ông, etc., according to part referred to.

turbinella pyrum (s.) *See* App. xii.

turbo marmoratus, etc. *See* App. xii.

turn, (v. t.) . . . . ig-gêali (ke). 2. t. a canoe, as when steering . . . . âr-tûg-däpi (ke). *See* **expire.** 3. t. over (a) place upside down . . . . âkà-rôgi (ke). Let us turn that canoe over, in order to caulk it: *kâ rôko nätnga l'eb môcho makat-rôgike.* (b) a pig on its back for slaughter, or for packing in leaves preparatory to conveyance . . . . ôt-rôgi (ke). 4. t. round and round . . . . (ig). kädli (ke). (v. i.) turn . . . . iji-gêali (ke). 2. t. round and round . . . . iji-kädli (ke); ad-gêri (ke). 3. t. as the tide (a) after flood . . . . âkan-tōpati (ke); (b) after ebb . . . . iji-ûluma (ke). (s.) t. in rotation. *See* **first, next** and Ex. at **pole** and **steer.**

turtle, (s.) (a) green or edible, *Chellonia virgata* . . . . yâdi (da); (b) Hawk's bill, (*Caretta imbricata*) . . . . tàu (da). The former are preferred for food and are the more plentiful. 2. the larger of two or more large ones (a) . . . . yâdi-bûkura (da); (b) . . . . tàu-bûkura (da). 3. the smaller of two or more small ones . . . . (a) . . . . yâdi-likêr (da); (b) . . . . tàu-likêr (da). 4. a small green one, larger than a "likêr" . . . . yâdi-chàu-l'ârêringa (da). There is no equivalent term for a hawk's bill turtle. 5. a large male turtle (a) . . . . yâdi-bûla-l'ōkotma (da); (b) . . . . tàu-bûla-l'ōkotma (da). 6. a large female turtle (a) . . . . yâdi-pêro (da); (b) . . . . tàu-pêro (da). 7. a full-grown young green turtle (m. or f.) . . . . yâdi-ârbôd-lôyo-tōlnga (da). 8. t. that has laid eggs (a) . . . . yâdi-l'îjnga (da); (b) . . . . tàu-l.'îjnga (da). 9. fat description, said to be impotent (a) . . . . yâdi-pêko (da); (b) . . . . tàu-pêko (da). This description is preferred for food, the females of this class are called yâdi (or tàu) l'ârtòm (da) respectively. 10. t. (known as "tortoise")-shell (of commerce) . . . . tàu (l'ôt)-êj (da). 11. t. harpoon . . . . kôwai-l'ōko-dûtnga (da). *See* App. xiii. 12. t.

net . . . . yōto-têpinga (da). *See* App. **xiii.** (v. t.) t., hunt-(**a**) by poling along the shore . . . . yâdi-lôbi (ke); (**b**) in deep water . . . . yâdi-tâg (ke); jûru-tâg (ke). (v. i.) obtain t. eggs when buried in the sand . . . . yâdi-mōlo-kâraij (ke). *See* **Scoop.**

tusk, (s.) of boar . . . . ig-pîlicha (da). 2. of dugong . . . . âkà-tûg (da).

tut ! . . . . cho!

twice (adv.) . . . . îkpōr.

twig, (s.) for burning . . . . tòngtâ (da).

twilight, (s.) (**a**) at dawn . . . . (ela) wânga (da). (**b**) at sunset. . . . el-âkà-dàuya (da) . êr-l'âkà-dâwia (da). *See* App. x.

twine, (v. t.) *See* **twist.** (s) string . . . . mōl-a (da). *See* **smoke** and note distinction.

twinkle, (v. i.) (**a**) of a star . . . . bêla (ke); (**b**) wink or blink as the eye-lids . . . . ji-bê-bingik (ke).

twins, (s.) . . . . ab-dîdinga (da). The woman gave birth to twins yesterday: *dilêa-châna ab-dîdinga l'ab-êtire.*

twist, fibres 1. as in making fine lines . . . . kît (ke). 2. as in making a bow-string or harpoon-line . . . . ig-maia (ke).

two, (adj.) . . . . îkpōr (da). Why did not you two go there together?: *michalen nged îkpōr kâto ngitikre yāba (da)?* *See* **few.**

U.

ugly. (adj). . . . . ig-mûgu-jābag (da); î-tâ (or dâla)-jābag (da).

ulcer. (s.) sore . . . . chûm (da); with prefix, ôt, ab. ông, etc., according to part referred to. *See* **wound.**

unable, (adj.) . . . . châk-jābag (da), with prefix ab. ar. ông, etc. according to part of the person referred to. *See* **cannot.**

unaccustomed, (adj.) . . . . î-chäglinga (da).

unacquainted with, (adj.) ignorant of (**a**) as of a language . . . . kälenga (da); (**b**) as of some art . . . . lûnga-ba (da). We are unacquainted with (the art of) tattooing: *meda yîtinga len lûngaba (da).* See **ignorant**

unarmed, (adj.). . . . . châchnga-ba (da).

unashamed, (adj.) . . . . tek-îknga-ba (da).

unaware, (adj.) . . . . tî-dainga-ba (da).

unawares, (adv.) . . . . lîlpi (da).

unbaked, (adj.) of a newly-moulded pot . . . . galpa (da).

unbroken, (adj). sound . . . . ôt-gôro-jim (da).

unbind, (v.t.) . . . . ôt-wêlaiji (ke).

uncertain, (adj.) having doubt . . . . târ-îkinga (da); ara-râl-ijinga (da). el-ôt-täknga-ba (da).

uncle, (s.) . . . . maia. *See* App. **viii.**

unclean, (adj.). *See* **dirty.**

uncleansed, (adj.) . . . . ôt-châtnga-ba (da).

unclench, (v.t.) . . . . wirilti (ke).

unclose (v.t.), unfasten (*e.g.* a parcel) . . . . ôt-wêlaiji (ke). *See* **open.**

unclothe, (v t.) . . . . lûpuji (ke).

unclothed, (p.p.) *See* **naked.**

unclouded, (adj.) . . . . mōro-l'âr-tâli-mare. 2. said either of day or moon-light night. when no clouds are seen . . . . êr-l'âr-lingrire.

uncomfortable, (adj.) . . . . galatnga (da).

uncommon, (adj.) 1. rare . . . . ar-tâng-ba (da). 2. unusual . . . . âr-yōtiyanga (da); kianwai-yāba (da).

unconscious, (adj.) . . . (ông.) lêtaringa (da); (ông-) lêtainga (da). *See* **Ex.** at **during.**

uncooked, (adj.) . . . . rōcha-ba (da). *See* **raw.**

uncover, (v.t.) a bundle . . . . **ôt-ìalpi** (ke).

uncovered, (p.p.) of a bundle . . . . ìalpire. 2. bare, naked . . . . **kâlaka** (da). with prefix. ôt, ab, etc., according to part of the person referred to.

under, (postp.) underneath. **1.** . . . . târ-mûgum-len. My hand-net is under your sleeping-mat: *ngîa pärepa târmûgum-len dîa kûd (da).* *See* **below.** 2. under the shade of. *See* **beneath** . . . . eb-êr-tegi-len. (s.) under-side of mat . . . . ar-ête (da). *See* **outside.**

undergrowth, (s.) . . . . rûkemo (da) êrem-bã (da).

understand, (v.i.) dai (ke). I don't understand what he is saying: *ig-yâbnga târchî yâte dô daike yãba (da).*

undo, (v.t.). *See* **unfasten, unravel.**

undress, (v.t.). *See* **take off, unclothe.**

uneasy, (adj.). *See* **anxious.**

uneatable, (adj.) . . . . mäknga-lôyu-ba (da).

uneven, (adj.) **1.** not level, of land . . . . êr-l'ôt-kōtak-yo (da). **2.** rough, as the bark of a tree . . . . ôt-rêñi (da). **3.** not planed, of a bow or bucket . . . . pōrnga-ba (da).

unexpectedly, (adv.). *See* **suddenly.**

unfasten, (v.t.) . . . . ôt wêlaiji (ke).

unfathomable, (adj.) . . . . jûru-dôga (da): ar-wôdlinga (da).

unfavourable, (adj.) of wind or tide . . . . âkà-tännga (da); âr-dûdupingaba (da); âr-lûadlinga-ba (da).

unfinished, (adj.) . . . . âr-lûnga-ba (da).

unfit, (adj.) unsuitable . . . . yôma-ba (da). ñōma-ba (da); unfit for food . . . . mäknga-lôyu-ba (da).

unfold, (v.t.) a mat . . . . wîrla (ke); lōrai (ke).

unforgiving, (adj.) . . . . ep-tig-lainga-ba (da).

unfortunate, (adj.) . . . . ôt-yâbnga-ba (da).

unfrequented, (adj.) . . . . el-ôt-châtima-ba (da).

unfriendly, (adj.) . . . . ōko-dûbunga-ba (da); ig-mûtlinga-ba (da).

unfruitful, (adj.) of a tree . . . . ar-bâtnga-ba (da).

unfurl, (v.t.). *See* **unfold.**

ungenerous, (adj.) **1.** in regard to food . . . . ôn-yât-jābag (da). **2.** in regard to presents . . . . ûn-rân-ba (da). *See* **illiberal.**

unhappy, (adj.). *See* **depressed, sad.**

unhook, (v.t.) . . . . eb-tot-mâni (ke).

unhurt, (adj.) . . . . têlema (da).

uninhabitable, (adj.) . . . . bûdunga-lôyu-ba (da).

uninhabited, (adj.) . . . . bûd-l'âr-lûa (da): bûd-l'ôt-kâlaka (da).

unison, in (adv.) concord of sound . . . . êr-ûba-lik. *See* Ex. at **together.**

unite, (v.t.), cause to adhere . . . . ōyu-mäli (ke.) *See* **adhere** and **stick.**

unkind, (adj.). *See* **unfriendly.**

unknot, (v.t.). *See* **unfasten** and **unravel.**

unknown, (adj.) . . . . tî-dainga-ba (da).

unless, (conj.) if not . . . . môda . . . . yāba (da). *See* Ex. at **hold.** Unless you fetch him (then) he will not come: *môda ngô ad abômoke yābañgâ ôl ònke yāba (da).*

unlike, (adj.) . . . . ig-lā (da).

unload, (v.t.) of a canoe . . . . (êr-)ôî (ke).

unloose, (v.t.) unfasten . . . . ôt-wêlaiji (ke).

unlucky, (adj.) . . . . ôt-yâbnga-ba (da).

unluckily, (adv.) . . . . ôt-yâb-yāba-len.

unmarried man, (adj.) **(a)** bachelor . . . . ab-wâra (da). **(b)** not married ad-eninga-ba (da): ông-tág-ba (da). *See* App. vii.

unmarried woman, (adj.) **(a)** spinster . . . . ab-jadi-jôg (da). **(b)** not married . . . . ab-îknga-ba (da).

unoccupied, (adj.) of a hut . . . . âr-lûa (da). *See* **empty.**

unornamented, (adj.) plain. . . . ab-lûpa (da).

unpack, (v.t.) a bundle. *See* **unloose unknot.**

unpalatable, (adj.). *See* **insipid.**

unpleasant, (adj.). *See* **disagreeable.**

unpopular, (adj.) of a person generally disliked . . . . ôt-rê-ba (da).

unpunctual, (adj.) dilatory . . . . ar-gô-linga (da).

unravel, (v.t.) . . . . ôt-wäre (ke).

unripe, (adj.) of fruit . . . . chim'iti (da), also applied to raw meat: pûtung-êj (da) (*lit.* black skin): tîripa (da) (*lit.* sour).

unroll, (v.t.) of a mat . . . . (ôt-)wîrla (ke).

unsafe, *See* **dangerous.**

unsavoury, *See* **tasteless, insipid, nasty.**

unserviceable, (adj.) **1.** of bamboo, cane, wood, leaves or weapons, through unsoundness . . . . rûka (da). *See* **bow**. **2.** of a canoe or log through age . . . . bûdara (da); mêdel-ba (da). *See* **worn out**. **3.** of any kind of jungle material through unsuitability for purpose required . . . . kōta (da). **4.** of iron or other metal owing to some defect . . . . mûi (da).

unskilful. (adj.) . . . . ûn-jābag (da); ông-yôma-ba (da).

unstring, (v.t.) (**a**) a bow . . . . â-tōri (ke); (**b**) shells, etc., of personal ornaments . . . . lûpuji (ke).

unsuccessful, (adj). **1.** in searching for any object animate or inanimate on land or sea . . . â-lâmainga (da); ig-naimanga (da). **2.** in the pursuit of some object which has been sighted . . . . â-lâmyanga (da). **3.** in searching for something which has been lost . . . . âr-elôt-nûyunga (da).

unsuitable, (adj.) . . . . yôma-ba (da). *See* Ex. at **bow of canoe** and **unfit.**

untattooed, (adj.) . . . . ab-lûta (da).

untested, (adj.) of a bow, etc. . . . . yôgonga-ba (da).

untie, (v.t.). *See* **unfasten** and **unloose.**

until, (conj.) . . . . tōba-tek. Until we shot that pig we had no food: *tōba-tek meda kâ rôgo lat taijre môtot paichalen yâtyāba* (da). (postp.) . . . . leb; lat. We stayed there until noon: *bôdo-chàu lat med 'ītan tâmire.* *See* **till.**

until now, (adv.) . . . . ñgâkà.

untrained, (adj.) . . . . ûntig-jābag (da): âkà-tî-dainga-ba (da).

untrue, (adj.) . . . . â-tedinga (da): ûba-yāba (da). *See* **of course.**

untrustworthy, (adj.) . . . .ōko-lômanga-ba (da).

untruth, (s.). *See* **lie, falsehood.**

untwine, (v.t.) untwist . . . . ôt-wîrla (ke).

unusual, (adj.) **1.** not customary . . . . ad-êranga-ba (da); kîanwai-yāba (da). *See* **uncommon**. **2.** as to character, kind, size, etc. . . . . ar-tânga-ba (da).

unwashed, (adj.) . . . . ôt-châtnga-ba (da).

unwell, (adj.) . . . . ad-jābag-tâgnga (da). *See* **sick** and **sort.**

unwholesome, (adj.). *See* **uneatable.**

unwilling (adj.) reluctant . . . . ôt-kûk-tà-ōroknga (da); ôt-kûk-l'âr jābag (da). **2.** unwilling to go . . . . î-jêchenga (da).

up. (postp.) higher in place, upwards . . . . tot-êr-a-len. êbal-len. *See* **spring,** (adv.) up aloft, up there . . . . tâng-len; mōro-len. *See* **above, bridge, overhead** and **sky.** Up hill: kâgalnga (da). Up to the present (adv.) . . . ñgâkà. (exclam.) Get up!: ōyu-bôi!

upon, (postp.) *See* **on.**

upper, (adj.) uppermost . . . . tot-êr-a-l'iglā (da). 2. Upper side of mat, etc., ... koktâr. (da). *See* **inside,** as when rolled it is inside. (s.) upper-arm . . . . ig-kûrupi (da).

upright (adj.). *See* **erect.**

uproar, (s.). *See* **quarrel.**

uproot, (v.t.) . . . . ar-lōti (ke). *See* **root up, extract.**

upset, (v.t.) overturn, of a bucket, etc., ... ar-gôdai (ke): ôt-wêdai (ke). (v.i.) . . . . ara-gôdai (ke); ōto-wêdai (ke). *See* **capsize** and **spill.**

upside down, (adv.) . . . . ôt--wêdaiya. (v.t.) turn upside down . . . . âkà-rôgi (ke). ôt-wêdai (ke). *See* Ex. at **turn.** (v.i.) . . . . ōto-wêdai (ke).

upwards. *See* **up.**

urethra, (s.) . . . . ûlu-l'âr-lôg (da). *See* **urine** and **channel.**

urge, (v.t.) . . . . ab-ngê (ke).

urgent (adj.) pressing . . . . âr-tig-gûjunga (da).

urinate, (v.i.) . . . . âr-ûlu (ke).

urine, (s.) . . . . âr-ûlu (da).

us, (pron.) . . . . mòlòichik-len. (in construc. met): mad.: mat. Us all (**a**) of three or more . . . . met-ârdûru-len. (**b**) of a community . . . . marat-dûru-len (**c**) of a large number . . . . matûbaba-len.

usage, (s.). *See* **custom.**

use-up, (v.t.) consume . . . . àutinga (ke). I have used-up the whole of my bees-wax in making this quantity of sealing-wax: *kían kàngatâbûj î-teginga bêdig wai dô día âja-pîj ting-ûbai àutingare.*

use of, for the (postp.) . . . . îa-lôyu. I am making this bow for Woi's use: *wai dól ûcha kârama wôi l'ía lôyu kôpke.* What's the use of it? (*lit.* what kind (of) advantage?): *michiba pōlok tâgke?*

useful, (adj.) . . . . lôinga (da): ông-yômnga-lôyu.

useless, (adj.) . . . . ông-tê (da). lôinga-ba (da). *See* **unserviceable.**

usually, (adv.) habitually, in the habit of . . . . ōko-jàranga (da). The ancestors of those Balawas usually lived in that neighbourhood: *kâ balawa l'ôngkâlak l ôtot-maiaga kàt'ôngpâlen ōko-järanga bùdure.* From the kitchen-middens we know that our ancestors usually ate (were in the habit of eating) oysters: *bûd-l'ârtâm tek med'ìdal-ìdaike aña môtot maiuga tòiña ōko-järanga lére.*

utensil, cooking- (s.) . . . . bûj (da). 2. u., eating-. . . . pûkuta-yât-màknga (da). *See* App. xiii.

uterus, (s.) . . . . ôt-ârain (da).

uvaria micrantha, (s.) . . . . ōrta-tät (da). The fruit is eaten and the stem is used for the frame and handle of the hand-net. *See* App. xiii.

uvula, (s.) . . . . âkà-tedimo (da).

uxorious. (adj.) . . . . ōko-pòichotinga (da).

V

vacant, (adj.) unoccupied, of a hut. *See* **empty.**

vain. (adj.) conceited . . . . ûbala (da).

valley, (s.) . . . . pârag (da).

valuable, (adj.) . . . . âr-inga (da).

valueless, (adj.) . . . . âr-inga-ba (da).

vanish, (v.i.) . . . . ìdal-ōko-ti-kâj (ke). *See* **disappear.**

vanquish, (v.t.) . . . . otolâ-ômo (ke).

vapour, (s.) (**a**) jungle mist . . . . pûlia (da). (**b**) steam . . . . bôag (da).

various, (adj.) (**a**) diverse. *See* **different, distinct.** (**b**) several. *See* **several.**

vary, (v.t.) . . . . gôlai (ke).

vaunt, (v.i.) . . . . ara-gâli (ke).

vein. (s.) in anatomy . . . . yîlnga (da). Prefix ông, ar. etc., according to part of person referred to.

vengeance, (s.) . . . . ôn-ti-len (da).

venom, (s.) . . . . tûg-la-chôto (da).

ventral fin, (s.) . . . . âkà-wâd (da).

venture, (v.t.) . . . . ì-târ-mîl (ke). I am going to venture there to-morrow: *liltinga dôkâto d'ijilā d'ìtârmîlke.*

venturesome, (adj.) . . . . ì-târ-mìl (da): ôyun-tepe-gōringa (da).

venus meroë, (s.) . . . . mared (da). **v.** (?) (another description) . . . . mälto (da). These shell-fish are cooked and eaten.

vermilion, (s.) . . . . chêrama (da).

vertebra, (s.) **1.** ab-gôrob-tâ (da). *See* **spine** and **bone. 2.** ar-ête-tâ (da). *See* **loin** and **behind,** also App. ii. **3.** cervical . . . . ôt-lâpta (da).

vertigo, (s.) . . . . êlam-janga-yôma (**da**) ig-lêleka (da).

very, (adv.) **1.** in a high degree . . . . tâpa (ya). bōtaba: deloba. *e.g.*, very heavy . . . . ìnma deloba. very strong . . . . î-gōra bōtaba. very good shot (marksman) . . . . ûn-taijnga tâpaya. He climbs very well. *ôl gûtuke bōtaba.* **2.** actually. really . . . : ûba (ya). *e.g.* the (this) very same . . . . ûcha ûba (ya). The very same man who came here yesterday died suddenly this morning: *dîlêa kârin búla òn-yâte ûcha-ûba dilmaya lîlpi okolîre.* that very same . . . . kât'ûba (ya). very well! all right! . . . . *wai! ōno!*

vessel. **steam-** (s.) . . . . bîrma-chêlewa (da). (**b**) sailing-v. . . . . dādi-chêlewa (da) : âkà-dādi (da) ; chêlewa-l'âkà-dādi (da). The first two usually refer to small and the last to large sailing vessels.

vestige, (s.). *See* **trace.**

vex, (v.t.). *See* **annoy, irritate.**

vibrate, (v.i.) as a bow-string . . . . ara-kîti (ke).

vice, (s.) depravity . . . . ôt-jābag-yôma (da). *See* **quality**.

vicinity, (s.) *See* **neighbourhood**.

vicious. (adj.) depraved . . . . ôt-jābag(da).

victuals, (s.) . . . . yâd (da). (in constr. yât) : mäknga-tâ (da).

view, (s.) . . . . el-ôt-wâlnga (da). From here there is a clear view : *kâre-tek elôt-wâlnga ôt-tâlimare.*

vigilant, (adj.) . . . . idal-l'ōko-nōma (da). *See* **eye** and **eat greedily**.

village, (s.) temporary (**a**) . . . . chầng (da). (**b**) permanent . . . . bâraij (da). also arge communal hut.

virgin. (s.) . . . . ôt--lêkinga (da). *See* **poor.**

virtue. (s.) . . . . ôt-bêringa-yôma (da). *See* **quality.**

virtuous, (adj.) moral, worthy, honourable . . . . ôt-bêringa (da).

visible, (adj.) . . . . âr-wâlak (da) ; iji-wâlak-teginga (da). *See* Ex. at **cloud.**

visit, (v.t.) another under ordinary circumstances . . . . î-kâka (ke). *See* **Ex. at once** : ar-lôi (ke). *See* **Ex.** at **something.** **2.** *v.* another for the sake of food or presents . . . yât-lôi (ke). **3.** *v.* an encampment n order to dance and sing . . . . jeg-îk (ke). **4.** *v.* a place under ordinary circumstances . . . . (êr) täl (ke). **5.** *v.* a woman secretly at night . . . . lâmu-kîni (ke). We visited that place yesterday for a dance : *meda dîlêa kâto jeg-îkre.* He left yesterday in order to visit a place which he had not seen for a long time : *a dîlêa adlōmtare êr mal-aiyābaya l'igbâdignga-yāba-len tälnga l'edâre.*

visitor, (s.) . . . . **î-kâkanga (da).**

voice, (s.) . . . . **âkà-tegi (da).**

volley, (s.) of **arrows** or **bullets** . . . . **âr-kōrgi** (da).

voluntarily, (adv.) . . . . **ōko-kûg-tek.**

volunteer, (v.i.) ab-yâr **(ke).**

vomit, (v.t.) . . . . **âkà-tûdya (ke). (v.i.)** ad-wê (ke). (s.) âkà-wê (da).

voracious, (adj.) . . . . **ig-râlnga (da); ig-**rôponga (da).

voyage, make a (v.i.) . . . . **ōto-jûru-tegi** (ke). *See* Ex. at **should.**

W

waddle, (v.i.) . . . . ōto-gîgia **(ke).**

wade. (v.i.) . . . . **ad-lêke (ke).**

wag. (v.i.) sway to and fro . . . . **iji-yîriwâ** (ke). The dog's tail is wagging : ***bibi l'âr pîcham iji-yîriwâ (ke).***

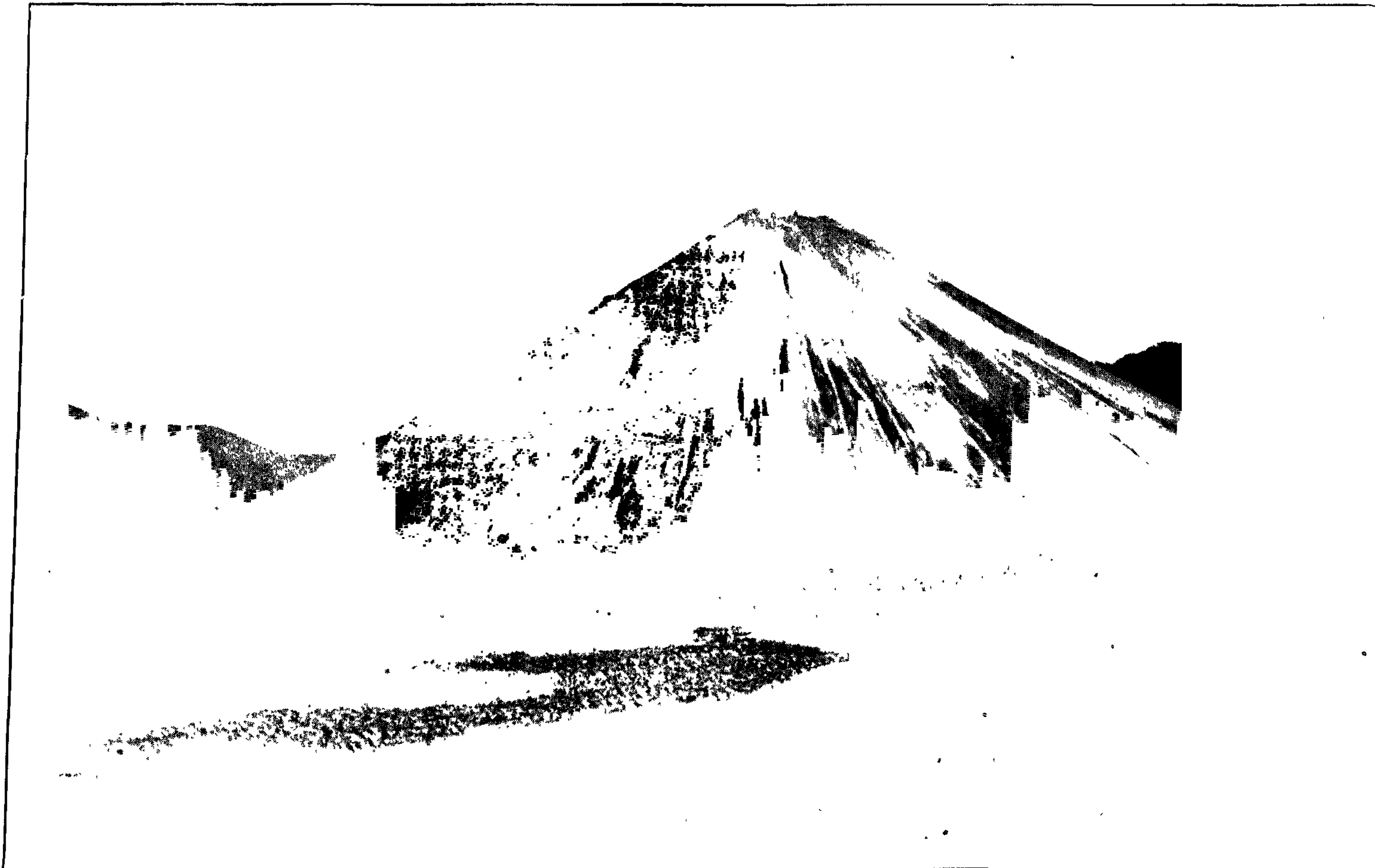
waist. (s.) . . . . ōto-kînab (da). **Waist-**belts in general . . . . âr-êtainga (da). For the different varieties worn by one or both sexes *see* **belt** and App. xiii. one not wearing any w-belt . . . . ab-lûpa (da). *See* **un-ornamented.** w-belt charm, worn round the waist . . . . ōto-chōnga (da). (v.i.) w-belt. take off . . . . lûp (ke) ; lûpuji (ke)

wait. (v.t.). *See* **await** (v.i.) rest in expectation . . . . tōbatek-pòli (ke). **2.** remain, stay . . . . tâmi (ke). wait a little ! ***tōlaba !*** *See* **already.** Wait a little, ! there's a little remaining to do (it's nearly finished) : *wai tōlaba ! kanya !*

wake. (v. t. and v. i.). *See* **awake, awaken.**

wale. (s.) mark of a stripe . . . . **tîatanga** (da). *See* **stripe.**

walk. (v.i.) . . . . nàu (ke). **If** one were to start for the coast at day-break one might perhaps, by walking all day, **reach it in the** evening : ***môda ela-wângaya bûd tek tôt-gōra len nàunga-bêdig tilik dîla-len dālag (ke).*** **2.** w. on tip toes . . . . âra-laijai (ke) ; âra-lôa (ke). **3.** w. round, make a circuit. *See* **go round.** **4.** take a walk or go for a walk . . . . yàuga (ke) : â-ûl (ke) ; ûlnga-mäg (ke).



Barren Island Volcano. (See Map).

wall, (s.) (temporary) leaf (**a**) . . . . bigadinga (da). This is erected on the weather side of a hut as protection from rain or keen wind; (**b**) kōmla (da). This is a similar erection but extends all round the hut when further protection is needed; it is also applied to walls in civilized buildings.

wallow, (v.i.) of a pig . . . . ad-lada (ke): ad-yâtara (ke). *See* **dirt, mud**.

walnut-tree, (s.) (Indian) *Albizzia Lebbek* . . . . châto (da).

wander, (v.i.) roam, stray . . . . êr-lûma (ke).

wane. (v.i.) of the moon . . . . (ôgar-l') âr-ôdowâ (ke).

waning-moon, (s.) . . . . ôgar-l'âr-ôdo-wânga (da).

want, (v.t.) desire, feel need of . . . . en-â (ke). reflex. (this must not be confounded with "en-â (ke)." cause to give " which is unreflexive.) Do you want my bow? : *an ngô dia kârama ng'enâke*. As we are going to visit that small island we want your canoe: *kât' tōt-kaicha lat êr-tälnga l'edâre med' ngia roko m'et-âke*. *See* **crave**, **desire** and **just**. (v.i.) be needy, be lacking . . . . pîtai (ke).

wanting, (p.a.) lacking, missing . . . . pîtainga (da). As many more have just arrived pork will be wanting (lacking): *tûn-jîbaba at-gôi akat-tî-dôinga l'edâre reg-dama pîtainga (da)*.

warm, (adj.) . . . . ûya (da).

warm, (v.t.) anything . . . . ôt-ûya (ke). (*e.g.* cooked food). (v.i.) warm one's self . . . . ad-ûya (ke).

warn. (v.t.) give notice of danger . . . . ab-chêali (ke); êkan-tig-ôyu (ke). **2**. caution . . . . yâbnga-l'itai (ke). **3**. w. off, beckon away . . . . ab (or î-)kâna (ke).

warp. (v.t.) . . . . en-têka (ke). (v.i.) . . . . têka (ke).

wart, (s.) . . . . ōla (da). with prefix ab. ông. etc., according to, part of the body referred to.

was, (v.i.) . . . . edāre, the perf. form of the obsolete verb edāke (to be) Punga when a young man was strong: *wai pûnga abwâra bêdig gōra l'edāre*. **2**. verb. **suffix** . . . . ka. *See* p. 6. footnote 15.

wash, (v.t.) . . . . chât (ke). **2**. by merely pouring water over another . . . . **ab-êla** (ke). (v.i.) . . . . ad-chât (ke). **2**. by pouring water over one's self . . . . ad-êla (ke). *See* **bathe**.

wasp, (s.) . . . . tòl-yûkar (da). **2**. mason's wasp . . . . bûtma (da).

waste, (v.t.) squander . . . . en-tê (ke). (v.i.) lose bulk . . . . maiña (ke).

watch, (v.t.) look after an encampment during the absence of others . . . . iglâlai (ke); el-âkà (or êr-l'ig)-bâdi (ke). (v.i.) keep w . . . . ōto (or iji)-lâlai (ke). *See* **look out**.

watchful, (adj.) on the watch . . . . ig-lâlainga (da): êr-gêlep (or gêlib)nga (da). *See* also **vigilant**.

water, (s.) fresh (in contradistinction to sea)-water . . . . îna (da). **2**. spring-w . . . . bêa (da). **3**. salt-w. . . . . ŗâta (da). **4**. brackish-w. . . . . rôgodi (da). **5**. rain-w. . . . mōrowin-l'ina (da). *See* **sky**: yûm (da). **6**. boiling-w. . . . . îna-l'âr-jôinga (da). low-w. *See* **tide**. w-fall . . . . îna-l'âr-châr (da.) *See* **spring**. w.-fowl . . . . têlyu (da). **10**. w.-hen . . . . bâra (da). **11**. w.-holder *See* **bucket** and App. xiii. (adj.) w.-tight . . . . âr-kōla (da). (adv.) by water (**a**) if by sea . . . . jûru-len: (**b**) if by creek . . . . jîg-len. (v.t.) . . . . âkà-yîrip (ke). (v.i.) of the eyes . . . . t'î-la-wêjeri (ke). *See* **tear** and **issue**. **2**. of the mouth . . . . âkan-raij (ke). *See* **saliva**. **3**. draw w. at pool or stream . . . ik-ōdli (ke).

wave, (s.) of the sea . . . . pâtara (da).

wave, (v.t.) brandish . . . . ig-wîl (ke).

wax, (s.) bees-(**a**) white . . . . âja-pîj (da). (**b**) black . . . . tôbul-pîj (da): lêre (da). *See* App. xiii. and Ex. at **caulk**. **2**. sealing-wax . . . . kânga-tâ-bûj (da). *See* **comb** and Ex. at **use-up**. **3**. ear-w. . . . . âkà-yâ-mûru-win (da). (v.t.) make wax . . . . î-tegi (ke). *See* Ex. at **use up**.

wax, (v.i.) of the moon . . . . ôgar-la-walaga (ke). *See* App. x.

way, (s.) road, path . . . . tinga (da) Which way (by which path) are you **going**? *tenchâ tinga tek ngô lîrke?* On the w. (**a**) by land . . . . tinga-len. (**b**) by creek . . . . jîg-len; (**c**) by sea . . . . jûru-len. On the way there we saw several turtles and porpoises, but did not harpoon any: *kâtik jûru-len meda yâdi ólbêdig chóay jîbaba itig-bádigre, dôna dûtre yāba* (da) (adv.) All the way . . . . tinga-dûru (da). *See* Ex. at **each**. In this way . . . . kîan-âri (da). Do it in this way: *kîan-âri òiyo* (*ke*). In that way: kîan-ûba (da). *See* App. I. (v.i) make way . . . . ad-ōchai (ke). 2. make a w. (a path) . . . . tinga-l'ôt-wâl (ke). 3. clear the w. . . . . tinga-bûj (ke). 4. show the w. . . . . tinga-chî (ke). 5. describe (tell) the w. . . . . tinga-l'îtai (ke). 6. lead the way . . . . tinga-l'ōko (or l'ôt)-lâ (ke).

waylay, (v.t.) . . . . âr-jîriba (ke).

we, (pron.) . . . . mòlòichik (in constr. mòl'); meda: med'; m'. We all (of three or more) . . . . mòl'ârdûru (da): med' ârdûru (da); m'ardûru (da). We all (of a community or tribe) . . . . m'ar-ârdûru (da) We all (of a large number of persons) . . . . m'at-ûbaba (da). None of us have (*lit.* "we all have not") ever ascended Barren Island volcano: *med'ârdûru taili-châpa-len eda kâgalre yāba* (*da*).

weak, (adj.) of animate objects . . . . ab-mâlai (da); ab-tōroki (da). 2. of inanimate objects . . . . mâlai (da): tōroki (da).

wealthy, (adj.) . . . . ar-bêjir (da).

wean an infant, (v.t.) . . . . kâm-raij-l'ig-kâna (ke). (*lit.* milk-forbid.)

wear, (v.t.) any ornaments or clothing . . . . ab-yôm (ke): ab-lōtî (ke). 2. on the head . . . . iji-gô (ke); ig-yôm (ke); 3. round the waist . . . . âr-êtai (ke); âr-yôm (ke). 4. round the neck . . . . âkan-êtai (ke): âkà-yôm (ke). 5. round the arms . . . î-chō (ke). 6. round the legs . . . . âr-chō (ke).

weary. *See* **fatigued.**

weather, (s.) *lit.* sky . . . mōro (da). *See* **calm, clear, cold, fine, hot, stormy.** What kind of weather had you while staying at Meopong? *ngô mêopông pòlinga bédig kichika mōro (da)?* To day the weather is favourable for turtle hunting: *ka-wai yâdi lôbinga l'eb mōro bêringa (da).*

weather-proof, (adj.) . . . . âr-kōla (da). 2. A weather-proof hut . . . . châng-kōla (da).

weave, (v.t.) . . . . têpi (ke).

web, (s.) spider's . . . . ñgònga-kûd (da).

web-footed, (adj.) . . . . pêketo (da).

wed, (v.t. and v.i.). *See* **marry.**

wedding, (s.) . . . . ad-eri (da).

wedge, (s.) . . . . î-täninga (da).

weed, (s.) . . . . pîrpa (da). 2. Sea-weed, *See* **sea-weed**

weep, (v.i.) . . . t'ê-kik (ke); *See* **cry, tear.** 2. weep bitterly . . . . t'î-la-(ig-) rîta (ke), with special ref. to their custom of expressing their joy at re-union with relatives or friends after a long separation by sitting with their arms round, one another's necks and sobbing for even an hour or more. When he heard (*lit.* on hearing the news,) that his wife was dead he wept bitterly: *ôl êkan pail okolînga târtît îdainga bêdig t'îla. igrîture.*

weigh, (v.t.) ascertain heaviness of . . . . (î-) târ-täl (ke). *See* **measure.**

weight, (s.) heaviness . . . . înma-yôma (da), *see* **quality**; dûla (da).

well, (s.) fresh-water hole . . . . îna-l'ig-bang (da).

well, (adj.) in health . . . . ad-bêringa (da): ab-yed-yāba (da). Are you quite well now?: *an ka-wai ng'adbêringa ûbaya?* 2. well-behaved . . . . ōko-dûbunga (da). 3. w-made (**a**) of a human-being . . . . ab-châu-bêringa (da): ab-dâla-bêringa (da). (**b**) of a weapon, utensil, etc . . . . ig-bêringa (da). 4. w-polished . . . . chûlu-bêringa (da): geligma-bêringa (da). *See* **abscond** and **polish.** (adv. and conj.) as well as (**a**) not less than . . . . âr-tâ-lôg-

lik. *See* Ex. at "**as well as.**" (**b**) together with . . . . ôl-bêdig. Well done ! . . . . *kâkà-tek* ! ; *tât* !

west, (s.) . . . . târ-mûgu (da). *See* **south** for S. W. wind and S. W. monsoon.

wet, (adj.) (**a**) from rain . . . . ōto-pûlure. (**b**) from other causes . . . . ōto-înare. (**c**) drenched in water-logged canoe . . . . ōto-dûnure. (v.i.) get wet, (**a**) from exposure to rain . . . . ōto-pûlu (ke). (**b**) from water in a canoe . . . . ōto-dûnu (ke). (**c**) from other causes . . . . ōto-îna (ke). (s.) Wet monsoon. *See* **monsoon.**

whale, (s.) *Physeter macrocephalus* . . . . biriga-tâ (da). This morning, while we were all bringing in the turtles which we had netted during the night, a whale suddenly rising to the surface near us caused the canoe to capsize, whereupon all the turtles escaped: *dîlmaya mar'dûru yâdi-lông-kâlak gûrug-ya yōto-têpinga-len päne-yâte akat-wêrnga-bêdig biriga-tâ lîlpi lagya êbalnga rôko l'en-ōto-rôgire, kîanchâ yâdi l'ârdûru la adwêtire.*

what, (rel.) . . . . âte (da) ; yâte (da) Is it true what you say ? : *an ngô târchî-yâte (an-)ûba (da)* ?. What (interrog.) . . . . michima (da), [Is also used in an indefinite negative sense, *see* Ex. at **get** and **whatever**]; michiba (da) ; ba (da). What did you say ? : *ngô michima yâbre* ? . What do I see ? : *ba d'igbâdike* ? What do you mean (what are you up to ?) : *ba ngô mînke* ? (*or michima ngôke* ?) What a pity ! *widi* !. What a nuisance you are ! : *badi kâya* ! (or *badi-dûrumaba*!). What is your name ? : *michima ng' ôt-ting* ? (or *ting-l'âr-eni* !) What is the matter with you ? : *michima ng'ôre* ?. What length ? What size ? What distance ? What age *See* **How long** ? **how big** ? **how far** ? **how old** ? In what style ? : *kichika* (da) ? What else ? : *tûn-michima (da)*?; *tän-tûn-michima (da)?*. What's happened ? (what's the matter ?) . . . . *michibare* ? *See* Ex. at **boar**. About (concerning) what ? : *micha-l'eb* ? *See* Ex. at **talk**

whatever, (adj. and pron.) (**a**) anything that . . . . min . . . . âte [or yâte] (da). Give me whatever is fit to eat, I'm hungry, *mîn mäknga-lôyu-yâte d'en â, wai d'âkà-gâringa (da)*. (**b**) all that (*lit.* what is bad also?) . . . . michima jābag-bêdig. Bring me whatever you can from that place : *kâto-tek michima-jābag-bêdig den tôyuke.*

whatever time, at (rel.) at such time as . . . . kîan-êr-ûbalik. *See* Ex. at **same** and **time.**

wheedle, (v.t.) coax, cajole . . . . ñgête (ke). He wheedled you all yesterday : *ôl dîlêa nget ârdûru ñgêtere.*

wheeze, (v. i.) breathe huskily . . . . ûn'yu (ke).

when, (adv.) (**a**) at what time (interrog.) . . . . tain (da). When are you going home ? : *tain ngô wîjke* ?. (exclam.) (Pray) when did I do it ? (as when accused of some offence) . . . . tain wano ! at such time as (rel.) . . . . kîan-êr-ûbalik. *See* Ex **at time.** (**c**) whenever, at the very time that, whenever (rel.) . . . . ōna. When he is angry (then) I am afraid : *ōna ô tigrélke ñgâ d'adlâdke.* (contin. part.) at the time that, while . . . . nga-bêdig. He fell when climbing : *ôl gûtunga-bêdig pâre. See* **while.**

whence, (adv.) from what place (interrog.) . . . . michima (-êr) -tek : tekarichâ-tek. Whence have you come ? *ngô michima-êr-tek ônre* ? (rel.) . . . . mîn-tek. Whence Woi came thence am I come : *mîn-tek wôi ônre ôl-bêdig-tek dôl.*

whenever, (adv.) *See* **when (c), time** (**12**), and Ex. at **same.**

where, (adv.) (**a**) at what place (interrog.) . . . . tän (da). Where is it ? : *ba tän* ? Where is he living ? *ô tän bûduke* ? (**b**) to what place, whither . . . . tekarichâ (da). Where are you (going) ? : *tekarichâ ngô* ? (**c**) wherever (rel.) . . . . mînya. Where you go there also will Bira go : *mînya ngô lîrke ôl-bêdig bîr'ya. See* also Ex. at **there** and App. i.

whereabout, (adv.) . . . . michima-êrya.

whereupon, (adv.) in consequence of which . . . . kîanchâ (da). *See* Ex. at **tug** and **whale.**

whet, (v. t.) sharpen (**a**) in ref. to a blade, tool, etc. . . . ig-jît (ke), *see* **sharpen**: (**b**) in ref. to the tusks of a boar . . . . ig-rîr (ke).

whet-stone, (s.) . . . . tâlag (da). *See* App xiii.

whether, (pron.) (**a**) which . . . . tenchâ (da). Whether is the larger the sun or the moon ? *tenchâ bôdia an bôdo an ôgar* (da) ? (**b**) (conj.) if, in case . . . . an. Whether he is angry or not, never mind : *an ôl tigrêl an yâba, ûchin dâke.*

which (**a**) (interrog. pron.) . . . . tenchâ (da). Which stone hurt your foot ? *tenchâ taili la ng'ôngre ?*. *See* App. ii. **Omissions,** also **hurt** and Ex. at **how** and **that** (dem. pron.) (**b**) (rel. pron.) . . . . âte (da): yâte (da). The canoe which you see is mine : *rôko ng'ig-bâdig-âte wai dia* (da).

while, (contin. part.) denoting during or at the time that, when . . . . nga-bêdig. It is not customary to hunt pigs while it is raining : *yûm la pânga-bêdig delenga kîanwai yâba* (da). *See* **when**. (s.) a long while . . . . ârla-ûbaba (da) : ârla-l'ârdûru (da). (adv.). a long while ago : mataiyābaya. *See* **time, meanwhile** (**meantime, in the**) . . . . tōba-tek.

whirl. (v. t.) spin. rotate . . . . ig-kêti (ke). (v. i.) . . . . iji-kêti (ke).

whirlpool. *See* **eddy**.

whirlwind, (s.) . . . . âra-lêlanga (da).

whisker, (s.) . . . . ig-âb-pîj (da). (cheek hair).

whisper, (v. t.) (**a**) face to face . . . . ig-yâl-pâ (ke). (**b**) into another's ear . . . . âkà-yâl-pâ (ke). (v. i.) speak in a whisper . . . . iji-yâl-pâ (ke) iji-têrema (ke).

whistle, (v. t.) with the lips . . . . kōkok (ke). (s.) kōkok (da). I heard a whistle just now : *wai dô dāla kôkok l'âkà-tegi-l'îdaire.*

white, (adj.) (**a**) of inanimate objects . . . . (ig-) olôwia (da). (**b**) of animals and birds . . . . ôt-olôwia (da). (**c**) of European complexion . . . . i-têremya (da). (s.) **1.** (**a**) w. of the eye . . . . î (or ig)-dal-l'ôt-olôwia (da) ; (**b**) w. of an egg. . . . mōlo-l'ôt-elepaij (da). **2.** white ant (termite) . . . . bêdera (da). **3.** w. **hair** . . . . **ig** (or ôt)-tōl (da). **4.** w. **haired person** . . . . ab-tōl (da). (v. t.) make white . . . . ig (or ôt)-olôwia (ke). (v. i.) . . . . iji (or ōto)-olôwia (ke).

whither, (adv.) (**a**) to what place (interrog.) . . . . tekarichâ (da). Whither are you going ? : *tekarichâ ngôke ?* *See* **Ex. 1 at go.** (**b**) (rel.) Whithersoever . . . . mîn-len. *See* Ex. at **thither**. and App. i.

who, (pron.) (**a**) (interrog.) . . . . mija (da) ; mîja (da) ; (honorific) mijola ; mîjola. Who gave you these fish-arrows ? : *mija ûcha râta-lông-kâlak ngen mânre ?*. mija is also used in an indefinite negative sense. *See* Ex. at **none**. Who knows !. (goodness knows ! . . . . ûchin !) (When is he coming? *ôl tain ônke ?*) Who knows ! ûchin ! (**b**) (rel.) . . . . âte (da) : yâte (da). *See* **which**. **that** and Ex. at **shoot** and App. i.

whole, (s.) all. total quantity or number . . . . âr (a) dûru (da), ûma (da) : ting-ûbai (da). *See* Ex at **use-up**. (adj.) (**a**) sound . . . ôt-gôtojim (da) : (**b**) entire, all . . . . dôga (da). The whole day : *bôdo-dôga* (*da*).

whose (pron.) . . . . mijia (da) ; mîjia (da). Whose skull (is this) ? : *miji'ôt-chêta* (da). ? For its employment in an indefinite negative sense, *See* Ex. at **none**.

why. (adv.) (**a**) wherefore . . . . micha-len : mîchalen. Why are you hoarse ? : *michalen ng'iglêrwinga* (da) ?. (**b**) for what cause or purpose . . . . bad'ig ; micha-leb. Why are you going there ? : *bad'ig ngô kâtik* (*ke*) ?. Why do you give me the paddle ? : *micha-leb ngô den wäligma mânke ?*. (exclam.) Why do you worry me ? (what a nuisance you are !) : *bad'ig dûrumaba* !

wicked. (adj.) sinful . . . . yûbdanga (da). It is wicked to murder and steal : *ab-püre-katinga ôlbêdig tâpnga wai yûbdanga* (*da*).

wickedness. (s.) sin . . . . yûbda (da).

wickerwork (s.) . . . . **têpi (da). w. frame** for cooking-pot . . . . **râmata (da).** *See* **App.** xiii.

wide. (adj.) . . . . pän (da) ; pêketo (da). That sounding-board is very wide : *kâto pûkuta-yemnga pêketo dôga* (da).

widow. (s.) . . . . ar-lêba-pail (da) : chân-arlêba (da). Widower. (s.) . . . . ar-lêba-bûla (da) : mai-ar-lêba (da).

width. (s.) . . . . pän-yôma (da) : pêketo-yôma (da). *See* **quality**.

wife, (s.) (**a**) newly-married (during first few months only) . . . . îk-yâte (pail) (da). p. pron. dai, ngai, ai, etc. See App. ii and viii. My newly-married wife is away collecting shell-fish : *dai îk-yâte âkà-tâ l'ôt-jegnga l'edâre ab-yāba* (*da*). (**b**) (after that period) . . . . ab-pail (da). Your wife and infant son are sound asleep : *ngab-pail ôlbê-dig ngîa ōta* (*uai*) *ârla-l'itig-ritake*. Our wives were absent yesterday : *mat-pail* (*lông-kâlak*) *dîlêa at-yāba* (*da*). Note distinction between wife ("ab-pail") and woman ("â-pail")

wild, (adj.) not domesticated. *See* **savage**.

will. (v. aux.) *See* **shall**.

willing. (adj.) . . . . kûk-tâ-ōroknga (da). He is willing to accompany us there : *wai ó kâtik m'itik kûk-tâ-ōroknga* (*da*). *lit.* he thither with us willing (is).

win. (v. t.) in fight . . . . otolâ-ômo (ke). *See* **beat.** (v. i.) w. in a race . . . . otolâ (l'edā) (ke). *See* **first** and **be**

wince. (v. i.) . . . . ñêr'adla (ke).

wind. (v. t.) coil . . . . ôt-kōdo (ke) : ôt-kōt (ke): (s.) . . . . ûlnga (da) ; wûlnga (da) [in compound words tâ (da). Ex. N. E. wind . . . . pûluga-tâ (da) : pâpar-tâ (da) : S. W. w. . . . . gûmul-tâ (da) : dêria-tâ (da) : S. E. w. . . . . chîla-tâ (da)] N. W w . . . . châl-jôtama (da). wind-fall. (**a**) of fruit . . . . tûru-tanga (da). (**b**) (figur) . . . . ad-mûg-wêlejnga (da). favorable (following)-w. . . . . ar-ûlnga (da). head-w. . . . . âkà-tännga (da). w. on the beam . . . . pâritâ-ûlnga (da).

wine, (s.) also any spirituous liquor . . . . rôg (da). possibly adopted from the English word "grog."

wing (s.) of bird or bat . . . . ig-âcha-tâ (da) : ig-wât (da). *See* **quill**.

wink. (v. t.) . . . . ig-nêmel (ke). (v. i.) iji-nêmel (ke).

winter. (s.) cool season . . . . pâpar (-wâb) (da).

wipe. (v. t.) (**a**) what is wet . . . . râr (ke). (**b**) w. what is dirty . . . . gûj-râr (ke). Wipe the eyes of the infant that has been crying : *ab-dêreka l'êkik-âte l'ig-râr* (*ke*).

wire. (s.) . . . . lêriwit (da). word adopted since discovery of wire in wrecks.

wise. (adj.) . . . . mûgu-tig (or ti)-dai (da). *See* **forehead** and **know**.

wish. (v. t.) want, have desire for, feel need of . . . . en-â (ke) reflex. *See* **want.** (v. t.) (v. i.) feel desire, have a wish . . . . lat (ke). I too wish to accompany you : *dôl bêdig ng'ik lat* (*ke*). Do you all wish to go hunting ? : *an ngarat-dûru delenga lat* (*ke*) ? *See* **long** (v. i.).

with (postp.) **1** together with, in the company of . . . . ik (pl. itik). With me : dik : with thee: ngik ; with him (or her) : ik ; with us . mitik : with you (pl.) : ngitik . with them . itik. *See* Ex. at **willing**. 2. in the care, or possession of, among . . . . ôt (pl. ôtot) paicha-len. *See* Ex. at **among** and **bundle**. He sat down with us : *ôl môtot-paichalen âkà-dôire*. **3.** by the use, or exercise of . . . . tek. He struck the snake's head with great force : *ôl jóbo l'ôt chêta gōra dōga tek pärekre*. He hit me on the leg with a stick : *ôl pûtu tek d'ar-pärekre*. *See* App. ii. "Omissions." châg (leg) being understood. **4.** by means of . . . . tâm-tek. He scooped the canoe with an adze : *ôl rôlo tâm-tek rôko kópre* **5.** against, in opposition to . . . . eb. My father is still angry with me : *dab châbil ñgâkà del iji-rêlke*.

wither. (v. i.) of tree or flower . . . . rûka (ke). *See* **rot.** w., of a flower or vegetable . . . . maiñ (ke). withered, (p. a.) (**a**) of a limb . . . . ar-dama-ba (da). (*lit.* flesh-none.) (**b**) of boughs, leaves, etc., when fit for burning . . . . rûcha (da). (**c**) of fallen leaves suitable for bedding . . . . râmge (da).

within (postp.) inside . . . . kôktar-len. *See* Ex. at **inside** and **without**.

without. (prep.) not having, in absence of . . . . be without orders : *ba-kânik. See* Ex. at **order**. **2.** (postp.) (**a**) lacking, destitute of . . . . pîtainga (ya). (*See* **want**) ; yāba-len (*lit* not-to). The escaped prisoner without (taking any) food put out to sea on a bamboo raft . . . . *ót-châtre ad-wéti-yâte yât pîtainga : pō-chōnga len ōto-jâmure.* Without a harpoon how can we spear a turtle ? : *kowai-a la pîtaingaya kichikachâ med'yâdi la jêra-l ke ?* All my fellow-countrymen are beardless (beard-without) . . . . *mitig-bûdwa l'ârdûru wai âdal-pîj la pîtaingaya.* He came without a bow . . . . *ól kârama yābalen ònre.* (**b**) with the exception of . . . . ijiya. *See* Ex. at **except.** (**c**) outside . . . . wâlak-len. My pot is quite clean within and without (inside and out.) . . . . *dia buj koktâr-len ól-bêdig wâlak-len châtnga ûbaya.* **3.** (conj.) unless. *See* **unless**. **4** (adv.) without cause . . . . ôt-kâlya. You abused him without cause : *ngôl ót-kâlya ad ab-tôgore.* without doubt (question, or fail) . . . . et-lûmu-tek . wai-kan' ûba-yāba-ba. *See* Ex. at **certainly**. **of course**. **yes**.

witness (s.) one competent to give evidence (**a**) as being a spectator . . . . êr-l'ig-bâdignga-yâte (da). (*lit.* place-*see*-who) : (**b**) from acquaintance with the facts . . . . mîn-tî-dainga-yâte (da). (*lit.* something-*know*-who).

woe is me ! (interj.) . . . . wada-dô-lê ! (cry of distracted mother or wife at time of bereavement).

woman. (s.) . . . . â-pail (da). *See* App. viii.

womb, (s.) . . . . ôt-ârain (da).

wonder. (v. t. and v. i.) . . . . **ig-ñgêkli** (ke). (adj.) wonderful . . . . **ig-ñgêklinga** (da). (interj.) How wonderful ! . . . . **ba-dî !**

woo. (v. t.) court . . . . ig-dûrpa (ke). *See* **make love to and love**.

wood. (s.) the hard substance of the tree, etc . . . . pûtu (da).

wood-pecker. (s.) *Mulleripicus Hodgei* . . kôi (da).

word, (s.) . . . . yâbnga (da). That's a difficult word. *kâ yâbnga wai ôt-kûtunga (da).*

work. (v. i.) (**a**) of a sedentary nature, *e.g.*, making canoes, implements, weapons, etc. . . . . ôn-yôm (ke). (**b**) *e.g.*, fetching supplies of food, water, jungle material, etc., ... têp (ke) Golat's father said (thus) to him "as you have worked well to-day I excuse you the rest (of the work) but your younger brother must finish it to-morrow" : *gôlat l'abmaiola en kichikan-wai târchî(re) "ngô kawai bêringa ônyômnga l'edâre ông-kîchal ârtidûbuke. dônu waingalen ng'âkà-kâm ûba-waik ôngkâdlike."* (p. a.) engaged in work, working . . . . ônyômnga (da) têpnga (da). (s.) ôn-yôm (da) . têp (da).

world (s.) . . . . êrema (da). This refers only to their own islands which they formerly believed to comprise the whole earth. Now other countries are spoken of as "ôt-baia-êrema (da)." or "êrema-l'ôt-baia (da)". *See* **foreign**. (Note the association with the word for jungle, their islands being originally entirely forest-clad.)

worm, earth (s.) . . . . wîli-dim (da).

worm-eaten. (p.a.) . . . . ō-l'âr-rûmre, the name of the insect being ō (da). *See* **perforate**

worn out. (p. a.) (**a**) decrepit (adj.) . . . âr-tê (da) . âr-tă (da). (**b**) physically exhausted (p. p.) . . . . dama-l'âkà-châmre : (**c**) of inanimate objects from use or age . . . . ârtâmre. *See* **old** and **unserviceable**.

worry. (v. t.) *See* **annoy, tease** (v. i.) . . . ara-tarîki (ke).

worse, (adj.) bad in greater degree . . . . tek-(ab-) jābag (da). My canoe is worse

than yours: *dîa rôko ngîa rôko tek jābag* (da).

worshipful, (term of respect) . . . . mâm; mam. *See* **sir.**

worst. (adj.) bad in the highest degree . . . . (ab-) jābag-l'iglā (da); ârdûru-tek-(ab-) jābag (da). Your bow is the worst of all: *ngîa kârama jābag-l'iglā (da).*

worth. (adj.) equal in value (to) . . . . ig-pôdinga (da). Your bow is worth only two pig-arrows: *ngîa kârama ôgun êla l'îkpôr igpôdinga (da).*

worthless (adj.) of no value . . . . âr-inga-ba (da).

wound. (v. t.) . . . . chûm (ke); chûm-tegi (ke). (*N.B.* distinct from châm (ke). *See* **hurt, ache, pain. (a)** if mortally . . . . pâraijti (ke). **(b)** if slightly . . . . chêgai (ke). He wounded me slightly in the foot—(or hand): *ô dông-chêgaire.* *See* also **penetrate.** **(c)** w. in order to catch alive . . . . dôda-pi (ke). p.p. wounded . . . . chûm (-tegi) re. In all cases in order to indicate part of the body referred to the requisite prefix ab, ôt, ông, ar, etc., is expressed; (s) one who wounds another . . . . chûm teginga (or tegi-yâte (da). (s.) w. **(a)** (any) . . . . chûm (da). *See* Ex. at **pain. (b)** (punctured only) . . . . â-tôbuli (da). One who wounds another . . . chûm-teginga (or tegi-yâte) (da).

wrap. (v. t.) enwrap. **1.** food in leaves as for a journey . . . . ôt-râm (ke). *See* **cover** The leaf used for the purpose is that of the *Licualla peltata.* See App. xi, note h. **2.** w. food in leaves preparatory to cooking it. . . ōko-bâg (ke). **3.** w. round one's waist . . . . ōto-chō (ke). **4.** w. honey-comb in leaves . . . . ôt-mâlapa (ke). (s). wrapper, leaf . . . . kâpa (da). *See* **Screen** and App. xi, note h.

wrath, (s.) *See* **rage. wrathful** (adj.) . . . . ij-ânanga (da)

wreath. funereal (s.) as suspended round a burial place . . . . âra (da).

wreck, ship-(s.) **(a)** due to stranding . . . . chêlewa-l'ad-yôboli-yâte (da); **(b)** due to foundering . . . . chêlewa-l'ad-tōb-âte (da); **(c)** due to collision or being otherwise damaged . . . . chêlewa-l'ōto-kûjuri (or tôbuli) -yâte (da). **(d)** due to fire . . . . chêlewa-l'ōkan-jôi-yâte (da). (v. i.) suffer ship-wreck . . . . â-ad kûjra (ke).

wrestle, (v. i.) . . . . ad-lê (ke). Our fathers both fell while wrestling: *mat-maiaga adlênga-bêdig îkpōr pâre.*

wriggle, (v. i.) of worm or snake . . . . ñâra (ke). The worm is not dead, it is still wriggling: *wîlidim oko-lînga-ba ñgâkà ñâra (ke).*

wring, (v. t.) *See* **twist** and **make bow-string** and **twine.**

wrinkle, (s.) on brow . . . . ôt-barnga (da). (v. t.) contract into furrows owing to glare of sun . . . . ig-näred (ke).

wrist, (s.) . . . . ông-tōgo (da).

wristlet, (s.) . . . . ông-tōgo- chōnga (da). *See* App. xiii.

write, (v. t.) . . . . yîti (ke); chiti-yiti (ke) (*lit.* tattoo-letter (from hindustani chithî). The Officer in charge (of us) is always writing: *mamjôla ârlalen chiti-yîti (ke).* *See* **sir.**

writhe, (v. i.) with pain . . . . ad-kōr (ke), ñâra (ke).

wrong, (adj.) **(a)** not according to rule or right . . . . tōlata-ba (da); **(b)** incorrect, inaccurate . . . . ûba-yāba (da).

Y

yam, (s.) wild-(generic term) . . . . yâd (da), (in constr. yât); (specific) yât-bang (da). (*lit.* "dug-up food" in contradistinction to the specific words for fruit and fish: six species are recognized. *viz.* **(a)** gôno (da); **(b)** châti (da), both abundant and much relished: **(c)** kâd (da), plentiful and relished, but requires long soaking before being cooked: **(d)** bôto (da), scarce and grows long and thin; **(e)** malag (da), scarce; **(f)** tägi (da), found only on stony land.

yarn, (s.) extravagant story . . . . âr-chînga (da).

yawn. (v. i.) . . . . âpa (ke). (s.) âpa (da).

year, (s.) a cycle of the seasons . . . . tâlik (da). *See* **again.**

yearly, (adv.) . . . . tâlik-tâlik.

yearn, (v. i.) desire earnestly . . . . i-gâri (ke); *See* **long.**

yell, (v. i.) . . . . ara-pätek (ke); ara-pêtek (ke). *See* **scream.**

yellow, (adj.) . . . . têrawa (da).

yes, (adv.) **1.** answering question affirmatively . . . . ōno (da); ō. Are you well to-day?: *an ngô kawai ad-bêringa (da)?* Yes: *ōno.* with emphasis . . . . ûba-yāba-ba (da). (*lit.* "True-not-not.") Have you ever speared turtles off Kyd Island?: *an nga dûra-tâng-ya eda yâdi jêralire?* Yes, certainly (I have): *ûba-yāba-ba (da).* **3.** denoting assent to a proposition . . . . ûba (da). That man is a good shot: *kâ búla ûn-yâb (da).* Yes (he is): *ûba (da).* **4.** denoting assent to a request (also in place of *ōno* in affirming a proposition) . . . . wai (da). *See* **agree.** Run and tell **him**: *ngô kâjnga bédig en târchî.* Yes (all right): *wai.* Shall I give him your bow: *an dôl en ngía kârama mânngabo?* Yes: *wai.*

yesterday. (s.) . . . . dîlêa. (adv.) **(a)** yesterday morning . . . . dîlêa-wângalen; dîlêa-dîlma-len; dîlêa-lîli-len. *See* App. ix **(b)** yesterday evening . . . dilêa-dîlalen. He himself took your bucket away yesterday evening: *wai ôl dîlêa-dîlalen ngíu dâkar iji-îkre.* (s.) day before yesterday . . . . târ-dîlêa. (adv.) . . . . târ-dîlêa-len.

yet, 1. (adv.) hitherto, as yet . . . . ñgâkà. See Ex. at **fatten.** He has not yet returned: *ôl ñgâkà wîjre yāba (da).* **2.** (conj.) nevertheless . . . . ârek; ûba-ârek. Although he is sick yet he is hunting: *ôdaia ôl abyedke, ârek ôl deleke.*

yolk of egg, (s.) . . . . mōl'o-l'ôt-chêrama (da).

yonder, (adj.) . . . . kâto-wâlak (da). Yonder hut is mine: *kâto-wâlak bûd wai dîa (da).* (adv.) . . . . kâto-wâlak-len.

you, (pron.) (nom. pl.) . . . . ngòlòichik (in constr. ngòl'); ngeda; nged'; ng'. *See* App. ii. (obj. pl.) . . . . ngòlòichik-len (in constr. nget); ngat; ngad. You all, of three or more . . . . ngòl'âr-dûru (da); nged'ârdûru (da): ng'ardûru (da). *See* **steer, 3.** You all, of a community or tribe . . . . ng'ar-ârdûru (da). You all, of a large number of persons . . . . ng'at-ûbaba (da).

young, (s.) off-spring of animals . . . bā (da). (adj.) . . . . ab-gôi (da). *See* **new.** Younger . . . . tek—ab-gôi (da). Woi is younger than Bia; *bîa tek wôi ab-gôi* (da). Youngest . . . . *ab-gôi-l'iglā (da).* Of all these children my little son is the youngest: *kā ligala ârdûru tek dîa ōta ab-gôi-l'iglā (da).*

your, (poss. pron.), (sing). *See* **thy. 2.** (plur.) . . . . êta (da); êtat; ngat; ang; ngai; ng'; etc. *See* App. ii. **3.** of a community . . . . ngarat-dûru (da).

yours, (pron. adj.) your own . . . . ngê-kan; ngôyut.

yourselves, (pron.) ngôyut-batâm; ngôyut-têmar. among yourselves . . . . *ng'ôyut-bûd-bêdig.* Why are you whispering among yourselves? *michalen ng'ôyut-bûd-bêdig yâl-pâke?* *See* also App. ii.

youth, (s.) young person. *See* App. vii. **2.** early life . . . . ab-wâra-yôma (da): ab-wâra-l'îdal (da), signifying respectively the *state* and *period* of adolescence. I encountered the Jarawas in my youth; *dô d'ab-wâra-l'îdal-len järawa jêtire.*

Z

zeal, (s.) . . . . î-rat (da)

zealous, (adj.) . . . . î-ratnga (da).

zigzag, (s. & adj.) . . . . täkya (da).

ADDENDUM.[1]

interrupt, (v. t.) . . . . târ-chîura (ke). *See* **hinder, question.**

intertwine, *See* **twine.**

interview, (s.) . . . . ig-âtnga (da).

interweave, (v. t.). *See* **weave.**

intestine, (s.) **1.** the large . . . . ar-mäl-wit (da). **2.** intestines. *See* **entrails.**

into, (postp.) . . . . koktâr-len.

intoxicated, (adj.). *See* **drunk.**

intoxicating, (p. a.) heady . . . . têtanga (da).

introduce, (v. t.) . . . . îk-iji-yâp (ke). He introduced me to, his (own) parents: *ôl êkan maiol-chânol len d'îk-iji-yâbre.*

inundate, (v. t.) . . . . oplâ--totpî (ke).

invent a name, (v. t.) . . . . êkan-tig-ôyu (ke). When the natives of India bring us something new, we usually invent a name (for it): *chàugala gôī mîn tôyu-yâte med' ōko-järanga êkan-tig-ôyuke.*

invisible, (adj.) **1.** concealed, as an ant after entering a hole . . . . âr-lōtîre. **2.** owing to some intervening object, as a hil or tree . . . . . iji-märere.

invite, (v. t.) . . . . ar-ñgêr (ke).

iron, (s.) . . . . êla-tâ (da); êle-tâ (da); tōlbôd-tâ (da). *See* **brass, metal.**

irritable, (adj.) easily provoked . . . . iji-rêl-tâlaginga (da).

irritate, (v. t.) . . . . wêlap (ke). *See* **annoy.**

isidoe, (s.) bêwa (da). *See* note at **Gorgonidae.**

island, (s.) . . . . tōt-bóka (da).

islet, (s.) . . . . tōt-kaicha (da).

[1] The following items were unfortunately omitted in setting up the text at p. 76.

APPENDIX I.

PHILOLOGICAL HARP.(*a*)

N.B.—All words which in their full form have the suffix "da" are indicated in this and the following Appendices by a hyphen being substituted for the "da", *e.g.*, ûcha-(this) for ucha (da).

Denoting.	Near.	Remote.	Interrogative.	Relative.	Correlative.
	This . . . . *ûcha-*. *kā-* (intens.) *ûcha-wai-*	**That** . . . . *ôl* (*la*) ; *kâto-* (intens.) *kôto-ôl*.	**Who** . . . . *mija-* ; *mijola* (8). **Which** . . . . *tenchâ-*. **What** . . . . *michima-*; *michiba-*.	**Who** . . . **Which** . . **What** . . . } *âte-*; *yâte-*(9) **Whatever** . . . *mîn—âte-* (*or yâtê-*)	**That same** . . . *ôl-bêdig*
Time.	**Now** (1) . . . . *âchitik* ; *ka-wai*. (2) . . . . *gôi*, *gôila*; *dāla*. (3) . . . . *kâ-gôi*.	**Then** (4) . . . . *âchibaiya*. (5) . . . *âchinbaiya*. (6) . . . . *ñgâ-*. (7) . . . . *ñgâ-tek*.	**When** . . . . *tain-*.	**When,** *at the time that* . . . . *ōna-*. **Whenever,** . at whatsoever time . . . . *kian-êr-ûbalik*.	**Then** . . . . *ñgâ-* **At the same time,** then . . . . *kichikan*.
Place.	**Here** . . . . *kârin-* ; *kâmin-* ; *kam-* ; *kâre* ; *kā-*	**There** . . . . *kâto-* ;*-itan-*.	**Where** . . . *-tän*.	**Wherever** . . . . *mîn-ya*.	**There** . . . . *ôl-bêdig* . . . . *ya*.
	Hereabout . . . . *âr-tâng-*.	**Thereabout** . . . . *ûchum-*; *ûchumen-*.	**Whereabout** . . . . *michima-êrya*.		
	Hither . . . . *kach* ; *kaich*.	**Thither** . . . . *kâtik-*.	**Whither** . . . . *tekarichâ-*.	**Whither** . . . . *mîn-len*.	**Thither** . . . . *ig*.
	Hence . . . . *ûchik* ; *kârik* ; *kûrin-tek*.	**Thence** . . . . *kâto-tek* ; *ûchumek*.	**Whence** . . . { *tekarichâ-tek* ; *michima-êr-tek*.	**Whence** . . . . *mîn-tek*.	**Thence** . . . . *ôl-bêdig-têk*.
Manner.	**Thus,** in this way . . . . *kian-âri-* ; *kichikan-wai-*.	**In that way.** . . . *êkâra-kian-ûba-*	**How,** *by what means* . . . . *in what manner* . . . . *kichika-ohâ-* ; *ba-k* : *ba-kichika-*.	**As** . . . . *ig-nûrum-*.	**So** . . . *châ-*.
Likeness.	**Like this** . . . *ûcha-naikan* : *kichikan*.	**Like that** . . . . *ôl* (or *kâto*)*-naikan*.	**Like what** . . . *kich'ika-*.	**Like which** . . . . *kâ-ûba-*.	**Like the same** . . . . *ûch'ûba-* ; *kichikan-naikan*.
Quantity.	**This** (or so) **much** . . *kian-* ; *kian-wai-*.	**That much** . . . . *kaî-*.	**How much** . . . . *tän tûn-*.	**As much** . . . . *kâ-tûn-*,	**So much** . . . . *ûchu-tûn-*.
Number.	**This** (or so) **many** . . . *kian- chaia-*.	**That many** . . . . *kâ-chaia-*.	**How many** . . . . *kichikan-tûn-*; *kichik-*.	**As many** . . . . *kâ-tûn-*.	**So many** . . . . *ûchichâ-tûn-*.

For examples of use see Dictionary.

(*a*) This scheme is taken from Forbes's well-known Hindustani Grammar (p. 68).

Notes.—(1) The present time. (2) the immediate past. (3) the immediate future. (4) specific time in the past. (5) indefinite past. (6) specific time in the future. (7) indefinite future. (8) the latter honorific. (9) the latter preferably after a vowel.

APPENDIX II.

VARIOUS FORMS OF THE PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN RELATION TO GENERAL AND SPECIFIC OBJECTS.

Personal Pronouns with Examples of Use.

		In construction.				
I	*dôlla*	*dôl*	*dô*	*dôna*	*dâ*[1] ; *da*[1]	*d'*
Thou	*ngôlla*	*ngôl*	*ngô*	*ngôna*	*ngâ*[1]; *nga*[1]	*ng'*
He, she, it.	*ôlla*	*ôl*[2]	*ô*	*ôna*	*â*[1] ; *a*[1]	*a*[1]
We	*mòlòichik*	*mòl'*		*meda*[3] or *med'*		*m'*
You	*ngòlòichik*	*ngòl'*		*ngeda* ,, *nged'*		*ng'*
They	*òlòichik*	*òl'*		*eda* ,, *ed'*		*ed'*

Ex. :—Who is calling me ? : *mija d'ârñgére-ke ?* I : *dôlla.* He is coming : *ôl òn-ke.* We shot the pig : *meda reg taij-re.* You struck me : *nga dad abpärek-re.* He gave (it) to me : *wai ôna den âre.* We are all hungry : *mòl'ârdûru makat-gâringa-.* When are you (pl.) returning home ? : *tain nged wîj - ke ?* You are the only marksman in that village : *kâ bâraij-len ng'ûngâb ijilā-.*

Imperative:—*dò ; ngò ; ò ; mòcho ; ngòcho ; òcho.* Ex :—Let me sleep : *dò mâmike* ; Sleep (thou) : (*ngò*) *mâmi-ke* ; Let him sleep : *ò mâmi-ke* ; Let us sleep : *mòcho mâmi-ke* ; Sleep (ye) : *ngôcho mâmi-ke* ; Let them sleep : *òcho mâmi-ke.*

		in construction		
Me	*dôl(la)-len*	*den*	*da·l*	*dai*
Thee	*ngôl(la)-len*	*ngen*	*nga·l*	*ngai*
Him, her, it	*ôl(la)-len*	*en*	*ad*	*ai*
Us	*mòlòichik-len*	*met*	*ma·l*	*mat*
You	*ngòlòichik-len*	*nget*	*nga·l*	*ngat*
Them	*òlòichik-len*	*et*	*a·l*	*at*

Ex. :—To whom shall I give this pot ? : *dô mija-len ûcha bûj mân-ke ?* To me : *dôl(la)-len.*

He brought me a bow : *ô den kârama tôyu-re.*

I am leaving you (sing.) behind : *wai dô ngai îji-ke.*

You abused us for nothing : *ng'ôtkâlya mad abtôgo-re.*

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[1] These are used in the past tense only, and even then only by *purists.*

[2] Honorifically " *maia* " is substituted. *See* p. 69.

[3] Is sometimes used for the 1st pers. sing. *See* Ex. at " I " (p. 74).

APPENDIX II—*contd.*

	(a)		(b)	(c)	(d)
Myself	*dôyun-*	*têmar* or *batâm*	*dêkan*	*diji*	*dōto*
Thyself	*ngôyun-*	,,	*ngêkan*	*ngiji*	*ngōto*
Him (her or it)self	*ôyun-*	,,	*êkan*	*iji*	*ōto*
Ourselves	*môyut-*	,,	*mêkan*	*mijit*	*mōto*
Yourselves	*ngôyut-*	,,	*ngêkan*	*ngijit*	*ngōto*
Themselves	*ôyut-*	,,	*êkan*	*ijit*	*ōto*

(*a*) Punga himself made this bucket : ***pûng'ôyun-têmar ûcha dâkar täne-re.*** That lad himself harpooned all these turtles : ***kât'âkà kâdaka l'ôyun-batâm ûch'ârdûru yâdi dût-re.***

(*b*) *See* **hurt** (v.i.) and **Ex.** at **self.**

(*c*) Never mind! they will take it away themselves to night: ***âchin-dâke ! wai ed'ijit gûrug-ya ik-ke.***

(*d*) *See* **Ex.** at **barter.**

Possessive Pronouns.

Of these there are three classes, *viz*;—those employed in relation to (1) non-human and inanimate objects, (2) human objects and recognized terms of relationship (*see* App. VIII), and (3) certain organs or parts of the human or animal body, as well as what is incorporeal, *viz* : soul, spirit, ghost and the seat of the affections and passions.

	1.	2.			3.*						
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
My	*dîa-*	*dîa-; d'*	*dai*	*ad*	*dab*	*dar*	*dâkà*	*dig*	*dông*	*dôt*	*dōto*
Thy	*ngîa-*	*ngîa-; ng'*	*ngai*	*ang*	*ngab*	*ngar*	*ngâkà*	*ngig*	*ngông*	*ngôt*	*ngōto*
His, her, its	*îa-*	*îa-*	*ai*	*â*	*ab*	*ar*	*âkà*	*ig*	*ông*	*ôt*	*ōto*
......'s	*(l)îa-*	*(l)îa-*	*(l)ai*	*(l)â*	*(l)ab*	*(l)ar*	*(l)âkà*	*(l)ig*	*(l)ông*	*(l)ôt*	*(l)ōto*
Our	*mēta-*	*mētat ; m'*	*mai*	*am*	*mat*	*marat*	*makat*	*mitig*	*mòiot*	*môtot*	*mōtot*
Your	*ēta-*	*ētat ; ng'*	*ngai*	*ang*	*ngat*	*ngarat*	*ngakat*	*ngitig*	*ngôiot*	*ngôtot*	*ngōtot*
Their	*ōnta-*	*ōntat*	*ai*	*â*	*at*	*arat*	*akat*	*itig*	*òiot*	*ôtot*	*ōtot*
......s'	*(l)ōnta-*	*(l)ōntat*	*(l)ai*	*(l)â*	*(l)at*	*(l)arat*	*(l)akat*	*(l)itig*	*(l)òiot*	*(l)ôtot*	*(l)ōtot*

* These are employed respectively with words indicating :—

(*d*) body, back, spine, thigh, calf (of leg), elbow, knee, rib, stomach, bowels, liver, spleen, lap.

(*e*) leg, hip, loin, bladder, abdomen, belly.

(*f*) mouth, chin, lip, throat, palate, tongue, gullet, jaw-bone, saliva, breath.

(*g*) shoulder, arm, breast, face, temple, cheek, nose, ear, eye, tear, gum, tooth.

(*h*) hand, finger, thumb, wrist, knuckle, palm, sole, nail, foot, toe, heel, ankle, kidney.

(*i*) head, brain, occiput, scalp, neck, nape, chest, lung, bosom, soul, spirit, ghost, heart (*a*) the organ, and (*b*) the seat of the affections, etc.

(*j*) waist only.

APPENDIX II—*contd.*

Examples of use:—

Class 1. My bow: *dia kârama-*. Your hut: *ngia bûd-*. Golat's canoe: *gôlat l'ia rôko-*. Wologa's fish-arrow: *wôlog'ia tōlbôd-*. Our turtle: *mêta yâdi-*. Their sow: *ōnta rôgo-*. The pig's food: *reg l'ia yât-*.

Class 2. (*a*) My man: *dia âbûla-*. My husband: *d'ab-bûla-*. Our women: *mêtat (â-pail-*. Your wife: *ng'ab-pail-*. Your father: *ng'ab-maiola*. Your grand-father: *ngia maiola*. My mother: *d'ab-chânola*. My grand-mother: *dia chânola*. Your uncle: *ngia maia*. My nephew: *d'ar-bā-*. Your children (addressing mother): *ng'at-wêjila* (*see* **children**). My infant son (either parent speaking): *dia ōta-*. My son (over three years) (*a*) (father speaking): *d'ar-ôdire*. (*b*) (mother speaking): *d'ab-êtire*. Your younger brothers: *ng'al at-kâm-*. Your step-sons: *ng'ebet-adenire*. My adopted son: *d'ôt-châtnga-*. Golat's brother-in-law: *gôlat l'ia mâma*. Wologa's daughter-in-law: *wôlog'ia ōtîn*. Their daughters (over 3 years of age): *ōntat bā-*.

(*b*) Your wife (one lately married): *ngai ik-yâte-*. (*c*) Our husbands (married within, say, three months): *am ik-yâte-*. See App. VIII.

Class 3. (*d*) My body: *dab chàu-*. Your knees: *ngat lô-*. (*e*) His leg: *ar châg-*. Our hips: *marat chōrog-*. (*f*) Thy mouth: *ngâkà bang-*. Their jawbones: *akat êkib-*. (*g*) Thy face: *ngig mûgu-*. Woi's teeth: *wôi l'itig tûg-*. (*h*) Wôloga's foot: *wôlog'ông pâg-*. Our hands: *mòiot kōro-*. (*i*) Thy forehead: *ngôt mûgu-*. Their heads: *ôtot chêta-*. My father's spirit: *d'ab-maiola l'ôt chàugala*. Your soul: *ngôt yôlo-*. Your heart (bosom, seat of the affections, etc.): *ngôt kûg-*. Our hearts (the organ): *môtot kûk-tâ-bana-*. (*j*) Thy waist: *ngōto kînab-*. Our women's waists: *mêtat (â-) pail l'ōtot kînab-*.

From the determinate use of possessive pronouns in Class 3 arises the custom of **omitting** the name of the part of the body referred to after a possessive pronoun, where it is more or less clear what it must be. This is especially the case when the word could refer to many parts of the human body, sufficiently distinguished by the form of the possessive pronoun, as *pîd-*; *pîj-*(hair), *êd-*; *êj-*(skin), *tâ-*(bone), *tî-*(blood), *gûmar-* (sweat), *yîlnya-*(vein, muscle), *nōtnga-* (pulse), *mûn-* (brain, marrow, pus). When any doubt is felt or precision is essential the full phrase is used. *Examples of omissions* :—(1) *môtot chêta pîj-* (the hair of our heads). This is contracted into *môtot pîj-*. On reference to Class 3 (*i*) it is obvious that reference is made only to the head. (2) *ngakat pai êj-* (the skin of your lips) might be contracted into *ngakat êj-* unless it may happen to be necessary to avoid risk of chin being referred to. (3) *dig gûd tâ-* (the bone of my arm). With the arm outstretched this might be contracted to *dig tâ-* without risk of ambiguity. (4) *ngar châg tî-* (the blood of thy leg) might be expressed by *ngar tî-*, and no doubt would arise if the limb had either been previously mentioned, pointed to or was bleeding at the time.

APPENDIX II—*contd.*

In the construction of certain compound words further examples are furnished of the same nature, *e. g.*, *kârama-l'ôt-châma–*, upper nock of bow [*lit.* bow-its (head *i. e.*) upper-nock]; *kârama-l'ar-châma-*, lower nock of bow [*lit.* bow-its (leg *i. e.*) lower-nock]; *wôlo-l'ig-yôd-*, edge of adze [*lit.* adze-its (tooth)-edge]; *yât-l'ig-jâg–*, fish's-gill [*lit.* fish-its (cheek)-slit, *i. e.* gill].

My own; mine	*dêkan*	*dôyun*
Thy own; thine	*ngêkan*	*ngôyun*
His (her or its) own	*êkan*	*ôyun*
......'s own	*l'êkan*	*l'ôyun*
Our own; ours	*mêkan*	*môyut*
Your own, yours	*ngêkan*	*ngôyut*
Their own, theirs	*êkan*	*ôyut*
.....s' own	*l'êkan*	*l'ôyut*

Ex.—My own bow: *dêkan kârama–*.

With your (pl.) own hands: *ngôyut kōro-tek*.

This Jarawa's own hut: *ûcha järawa l'êkan châng–.*

The pigs' own feet: *reg l'ôyut pâg–*.

	On...... account.	On...own account.	For......sake.	For...... needs.	Owing to ...... action or intervention.	On...... behalf.	In.....stead or place.
my	*d'ik*	*d'a*	*d'ûl; d'en*	*d'at*	*d'ông-jîg*	*d'ôyu*	*d'ông-têka*
thy	*ng'ik*	*ng'a*	*ng'ûl; ng'en*	*ng'at*	*ng'ông-jîg*	*ng'ôyu*	*ng'ông-têka*
his, her	*ik*	*a*	*ûl; en*	*at*	*ông-jîg*	*ôyu*	*ông-têka*
......'s	*l'ik*	*l'a*	*l'ûl; l'en*	*l'at*	*l'ông-jîg*	*l'ôyu*	*l'ông-têka*
our	*m'itik*	*m'a*	*m'ûlat; m'et*	*m'atat*	*m'òiot-jîg*	*m'ôyu*	*m'òiot-têka*
your	*ng'itik*	*ng'a*	*ng'ûlat; ng'et*	*ng'atat*	*ng'òiot-jîg*	*ng'ôyu*	*ng'òiot-têka*
their	*itik*	*a*	*ûlat; et*	*atat*	*òiot-jîg*	*ôyu*	*òiot-têka*
.....s'	*l'itik*	*l'a*	*l'ûlat; l'et*	*l'atat*	*l'òiot-jîg*	*l'ôyu*	*l'òiot-têka*

For examples of use, *see* (in Dictionary) **make** (compel), **hunt, dance, give, gather, barter, owing to, instead** and **for.**



Natives of Little Andaman with Canoe.

(Note the distinctive tassel-like "apron" worn by the women of this tribe).

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF TERMS INDICATING ORDINAL NUMBERS.

	of two	of three	of four	of five	of six	of any greater number
1st, as in a race	*oto-lâ-*	*oto-lâ-*	*oto-lâ-*	*oto-lâ-*	*oto-lâ-*	*oto-lâ-*
2nd	*târ-ôlo-*[1]	*mûgu*[2]*-châl-*	*âr-ôlo-*[3]	*âr-ôlo-*	*âr-ôlo-*	*âr-tônau-*
3rd		*târ-ôlo-*	*mûgu-châl-*	*mûgu-châl-*	*mûgu-châl-*	*ōto-râla-jâtnga-* or *ōto-yôlo-dōknga-* (3rd to 5th)
4th			*târ-ôlo-*	*mûgu-châl-târ-ôlo-*	*ōto-tîr-*	
5th				*târ-ôlo-*	*ōto-tîr târ-ôlo-*	
6th					*târ-ôlo-*	*ōto-tîr-târ-ôlo-*
Last but one						*târ-ôlo-*
Last						

Notes.—1. lit. "the last."
2. lit. "between."
3. lit. "the next."

In referring to a row or line of animate or inanimate objects:—

The first.........*ōko-tâp-*
,, second .....*tōko-yôlo-*
,, next.........*târ-jana-*
,, middle one...*mûgu-châl-*
,, last one......*âr-to-kâparinga-*

In respect to terms denoting *Cardinal numbers* the only specific ones are (*ab-*) *ûba-tûl-* or (*ab-*) *ûba-dōga-* ("*ab*" is expressed for human objects only), one, and *îk-pōr-*, two. The latter word is also used to indicate "a few." In order to express a greater number the terms employed are usually (*a*) for human objects:—*âr-dûru-*, several (is also used to denote "many" and "all"); *jeg-châu-* (lit. "collected-body"), many (also "several" or "an assemblage"); *jîbaba-*, very many and *at-ûbaba-*, innumerable; (*b*) for animals:—*âr-dûru-*, several, many and *ôt-ûbaba-*, innumerable; and (*c*) for inanimate objects:—*âr-dûru-*, several, many; *jîbaba-*, very many; and *ûbaba-*, innumerable.

In order to express a certain small number with exactness, as, say, nine, a man—and only the more intelligent are capable of this—will proceed as follows:—tapping his nose with the tip of the little finger of either hand he will say "*ûba-tûl-*," then, with the next finger, "*îkpōr-*," after which, continuing to tap with each successive finger, he will utter "*an-ka*" ("and this") until the forefinger of the second hand is employed, when both hands, with the second thumb clenched, are held up and the necessary number of digits exposed to view, whereupon the word "*âr-dûru-*" (all) is pronounced.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF INTERJECTIONS, EXCLAMATIONS AND PHRASES.

Ah! . . . . *ai!*
Alas! . . . . *wada!*; *kualeh!*
All right! (aye-aye! very well!) . . . . *ō!* (abbr. for *ōno*); *wai!*
At last! . . . . *tâlik-l'êâte!* (*lit.* year-last, implying a year's gone by); *â-wê!*
Avaunt! (implying disgust) . . . . *jeng!*

Be off! . . . . *ûchik-wai-òn!*
Be off at once! . . . . *ûchik* (or *kâtik*)*-wai rêo!* (see App. I).
Beware! (take care!, look out!) . . . . *â, ûcha!*
Bravo! (well done!) . . . . *kâka-tek!*; *tât!*
Bring it at once! . . . . *kach-îk-rêo!*

Come here! . . . . . *min-kaich!*
(Now) confess! . . . . *jeg-ō!*

Don't be in such a hurry! . . . . *ê-lebe!*
Don't dawdle! time flies! . . . . *ting-gûjuba! el-adjāwike!*
Don't do so! (let it alone!) . . . . *ârek-tōbatek-dâke!*
Don't fidget! . . . . *ng'iji-ôjolike-dâke!*
Don't mention its name! . . . . *âkà-târ-ñgêreke-dâke!*
Don't move! (keep still!) . . . . *ng'ad-rû!*
Don't pull the long bow! (don't exaggerate!) . . . . *yāba* (*ng'* or *l'*) *ârchîke-dâke!*

Get up! . . . . *ōyu-bôi!*
Give (me)! (when begging,) . . . . *jê!*
Go away! . . . . *ûchik-wai-òn!*
Good-bye! . . . . *kam-wai-dôl!* See Dictionary.
Good gracious! . . . . *kualeh!*
Goodness knows! (who knows?) . . . . *ûchin!*

Hark! . . . . *a!*; *âkan-dai!*
Here it is! (on finding something searched for) . . . *kam-da-kam!*
How big it is! (man speaking) . . . . *ai. pî-bî!*; *badi-ûcha!*
Ditto (woman ,,) . . . . *wada, pî-bî!*
How small it is! (what a tiny!) (man speaking) . . . . *ai-chû-taih!* (or *chu-tai!*)
Ditto (woman ,,) . . . . *wada-chû-taih!* (or *chu-tai!*)
How very big he is! . . . . *ûcha-tâ-dôgaya!*
Ditto small he is! . . . . *ûcha-tâ-kêtia!*
How slow you are! . . . . *badi-kai'a!*
Hullo!; hie! . . . . *hê!*
Hurrah! . . . . *wê-ê!*; *yê-lo!*
Hush! (silence!) . . . . *mîla!*; *tu-bo!*; *ûm!*; *âh!*

APPENDIX IV—*contd.*

I never did ! (denial) . . . . ***kâ-kâ !***
Indeed ! (is that so ?) . . . . ***an-ûba !***; ***an-wai !***
Is it possible? (indeed !) . . . . *ba-ôcho !*; ***an-ûba !***; ***an-wai !***
It hurts ! . . . . ***íyí !***; *e-yi !*
It's getting late! . . . . *ting-gûjuba!*
It's lost! (I can't find it) . . . . ***âkà-tâlaba !***
It's nearly ready! . . . . *kanya !*
It's no matter! (never mind !) . . . . ***ûchin-dâke !***; ***kichikan-âlra-dâke !***

Just so ! . . . . ***kichikan-ûba !***

Keep still! (don't fidget !) . . . . ***ng'iji-ôjolike-dâke!***
Ditto (don't move!) . . . . ***ng'al-nû*** (*ke*)*!*

Leave off ! (drop it !) . . . . ***kichi-kâtikya !***
Let it be! (let it alone!) . . . . ***ârek-tōbatek-dâke !***
Look here ! . . . . ***mina-ûcha !***
Look sharp ! . . . . *kuro-*(*ngô*) *!* ; (*ng'*)*âr-yêre!*
Look out ! (keep your eyes open !) . . . . *wai-gêlib!*

Mark my words! (pay attention to what I say) . . . . *ûcha!*
May no snake bite you ! . . . . *jôbo-la-ngông-châpi-kok!*

Nonsense ! . . . . *cho !* ; *tot !;* by men only, ... *pê-tek !*, and, by women only . . . . *gêa-tek !*
Ditto (uttered incredulously) . . . . *kak!*

Of course ! (so it is!) . . . . ***ana keta !***
Of course it is ! . . . . *keta-wai-ō !*
Off ! (as when starting a race) . . . . *pōrot !*
Oh ! (as when startled) . . . . *yí-no-no !*
Oh ! (as in sudden pain) . . . . *yíh !*

Pay attention (to what is being said) ! . . . . ***ûcha !***

(Be) quick ! . . . . (*ng'*) *âr-yêre !* ; *ku-ro !*

(For) shame ! . . . . *tek-bōtaba !*
(Now) shoot ! (as in instructing another) . . . . *olo-wai !* ; *jeg !*
So it is ! (you're quite right !) . . . . *ana-keta !*
Stop ! (halt !) . . . . . *gôgli !* ; *kâpi !*
Stop ! (leave off !, cease !) . . . . ***kichi-kâtikya !***

Thank goodness ! . . . . *wê-ê !* ; *yê-lo !*
That's enough ! . . . . *kianwai-dâke!*
That's nice! (of any agreeable odour) . . . *pû-ê !*
That's right ! . . . . *kâ-bêringa !*
There's lots of time! (no need for hurry) . . . . ***ârla-ûba-ta !***
Time flies! (hurry up !) . . . . *el-aljāwike !*
Try it on! (uttered defiantly) . . . . (*ng'*) *âr-tâ-lôp-ba !*
Tut ! (nonsense !) . . . *cho !*

APPENDIX IV—*contd.*

(Get) up! . . . . *ōyu-bôi!*

Wait a bit! . . . . (*wai-*) *tōlaba!*
Well done! . . . . *tât! kâka-tek!*
What a big (pig)! . . . . *badi-ûcha* (*reg*)*!*
What a nuisance you are! . . . . *badi* (or *ba-d'ig*)-*dûruma-ba!*
What a pity! . . . . *widi!*
What a stench! . . . . *badi-chuñgê*!
What do you mean? (what are you up to?) . . . . *ba ngô mînke?*; *michima-ngôke*?
What do you mean (by such conduct)? . . . . *ŋô-elar-tōrnga-ta!*
What's the matter? . . . . *michimake?*; *michibake?*
What's been the matter with you? . . . . *ba-nga-michibare?*
What's your name? . . . . *ting-l'âr-eni!*
(Pray) when did I do it? (as when accused of some offence) . . . . *tain-wan-o?*
Who knows? (goodness knows!) . . . . *ûchin!*
Why are you worrying me? . . . . *ba-d'ig-dûrama-ba?*
Woe is me! (cry of distracted mother or wife when bereaved) . . . . *wada-ɟô-lê!*
Wonderful! . . . . *ba-dî!*

You don't expect me to believe that! . . . . *kak!*
You're as blind as a bat! . . . . *ng'îdal-kû-be!*
You're very late! . . . . *badi-târ-chêbada!*
You're wasting my time (you're hindering me) . . . . *dô d'ông-ŋâtake! lit.* I'm hooking my feet (or hands).
You fool! . . . . *tat*!



Fig. a. Showing the two descriptions of Canoes. (See p. 37).



Fig b. Types of Inmates of the "Home" at Port Blair. (cir. 1900).

Deva-parvata—Same as **Devagiri** (*Śiva P.*, I, 58).

Devapattana—Same as **Prabhâsa** (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 271). According to Dr. Fleet, it is the ancient name of modern Verawal (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 91, *Introduction*).

Devapura—Rajim on the confluence of the Mahânadî and the Pairi in the Raipur District, Central India: 24 miles south-east of the town of Raipur. It was visited by Râmachandra (called also Râjîvalochana, whence the name Rajim) to save his brother Śatrughna from death (*Padma P.*, Pâtâla, ch. 27, vs. 58, 59). The temple of Râmachandra contains an inscription of the eighth century A.D.

Devarâshṭra—The Maratha country: it was conquered by Samudra Gupta at about 340 A. D.

Devîkâ—1. The river Devâ in Oudh. It is another name for the Sarajû or Gogra (*Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer*, 1841, vol. II, pp. 120, 252, *map*). The southern portion of the Sarajû is called Devikâ or Devâ, whereas the northern portion is called Kâlînadî after its junction with that river in Kumaun. But the Devîkâ is mentioned as a distinct river between the Gomatî (Gumti) and the Saraju (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 23). The junction of the Gaṇḍak, (Devîkâ) Sarajû, and the Ganges forms the Triveṇî, where the fight between the crocodile and the elephant took place (*Varâha P.*, ch. 144 and *Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 29). *See* **Viśâla-chhatra**. The Sarajû now joins the Ganges at Singhi near Chapra. 2. A river in the Punjab: it appears to be an affluent of the Ravi (*Vâmana P.*, chs. 81, 84; *Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 82; *Matsya P.*, ch. 113). This river flowed through the country of Sauvîra (*Agni P.*, ch. 200), which, according to Alberuni, was the country round Multan: *see* **Sauvîra**. It has its source in the Mainâka (Sewalik) range (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 23, vs. 137, 138). It also flowed through the country of Madra (*Vishṇu-dhramottara Purâṇa*, Pt. I, ch. 167, v. 15). Mûlasthâna (Multan) was situated on the Devikâ (*Skanda P.*, Prabhâsa Kh., Prabhâsa-Kshetra-Mâhât., ch. 278). It has been identified with the river Deeg, a tributary of the Ravi on its right bank (Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57, p. 292), and this identification appears to be confirmed by the *Vâmana P.*, chs. 84, 89.

Devîkoṭa—Same as **Śoṇitapura.**

Devî-pâṭana—Forty-six miles north-east of Gonda in Oudh: it is one of the fifty-two Pîṭhas where Satî's right arm is said to have fallen.

Dhanakaṭaka—Dharaṇikoṭ in the Krishna or Guntur District in the Madras Presidency: it is one mile to the west of the small town of Amarâvatî (Amaraoti) and eighteen miles in a direct line to the west of Bejwada, on the south bank of the Krishṇâ (Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 530). Fergusson identifies it with Bejwada (*JRAS.*, 1880, p. 99), but this identification does not appear to be correct. Dhanakaṭaka or Dharaṇîkoṭ is a place of considerable note from at least 200 B. C. It was the capital of that dynasty of kings who were the Andhrabhṛityas of the Purâṇas and Śâtakarṇîs of the inscriptions and who were popularly known as the Sâtavâhanas or its corruption Śâlivâhanas (Hemachandra's *Prâkṛita Grammar*), which name, however, did not belong to any particular individual. The founder of this dynasty was Simuka called variously Sindhuka, Siśuka and Sipraka, who ascended the throne in B. C. 73 after subverting the Kanva dynasty of the Purâṇas. Though the capital of the Andhrabhṛityas was Dhanakaṭaka, which is called Dhanakaṭcheka in the Cave Inscriptions, yet the younger princes of this dynasty often reigned at Paiṭhân on the Godâvarî, while the elder ones reigned at Dhanakaṭaka. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paiṭhân

princes succeeded. Thus while Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇî, the most powerful monarch of the dynasty reigned at Dhanakaṭaka from 133 to 154 A. D., his son Pulamâyi reigned at Paiṭhân from 130 to 154 A. D., and after his father's death at Dhanakaṭaka for four years (*see* **Kośala-Dakshiṇa**) Gautamîputra and Pulamâyi overthrew the Śaka king Nahapâna or his successor who reigned at Jîrṇanagara and after that, they defeated the Śaka king Jayadâman, son of Chashṭana, who was at first a Kshatrapa and then a Mahâkshatrapa and occupied Ujjayinî, his capital (Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*). It possessed a university which was established by Nâgârjuna, the founder of the Mahâyâna school of Buddhism, in the first or second century A. D. (For Buddhist Universities, *see* **Nâlandâ**). Dhanakaṭaka is a corruption of Sudhanya-kaṭaka (*see* Havell's *Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India*, p. 140).

Dhanapura—Joharganj, twenty-four miles from Ghazipur.

Dhanushkoṭi-tîrtha—Same as **Dhanu-tîrtha**.

Dhanu-tîrtha—On the eastern extremity of the island of Râmeśvaram in the Palks' Strait, ten or twelve miles from the temple of Râmeśvara. It was caused by Lakshmaṇa piercing the water with his bow. It is called Dhanushkoṭi Tîrtha in the *Skanda Purâṇa* (Setubandha-khaṇḍa). Cape Kory of Ptolemy, where the island of Râmeśvaram terminates, is the Sanskrit word Koṭi or Dhanuḥ-koṭi meaning the tip or corner of a bow (*see* McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 60). Its identification with the Paumben passage is not correct.

Dhânyavatîpura—Same as **Dhanakaṭaka**.

Dharagara—Dowlatabad in the Nizam's territory: the Tagara of the Greeks. It has been variously identified by various writers with Junir, Kulbarga, Kolhapur, and Dharur (in Nizam's territory). *See* **Tagara**.

Dhârânagara—Dhar in Malwa, the capital of Râjâ Bhoja. The Deogarh inscription shows that he flourished in the ninth century. For the history of Râjâ Bhoja and his ancestors, see *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 222; Merutuṅga Âchâryya's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*; *JASB.*, 1861, p. 194. In his court flourished Kâlidâsa, the author of the *Nalodaya*, Jayadeva, the author of the drama *Prasanna Râghava* and others (*Bhoja prabandha*).

Dharmapattana—1. Śrâvastî, or the present village of Sahet-mahet: it was the capital of North-Kośala. (Trikâṇḍaśesha). 2. Calicut (Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 57).

Dharmapṛishṭha—Same as **Dharmâraṇya**, four miles from Buddha-Gayâ.

Dharmapura—Dharampur, north of Nasik.

Dharmâraṇya—1. Four miles from Buddha-Gayâ in the district of Gayâ. It is the Dharmâraṇya of the Buddhist records, visited by numerous pilgrims (*List of Ancient Monuments in the Patna Division*, p. 64; *Garuḍa Purâṇa*, ch. 83; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 84). A temple sacred to Dharmmeśvara exists at this place. It contains the celebrated place of pilgrimage called Brahmasara (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 84). 2. By some it is considered to have comprised portions of the districts of Balia and Ghazipur (Dr. Führer's *MAI.*, *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 6 and *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XXII). *See* **Bhṛigu-âśrama**. 3. Moharapura or ancient Moherakapura, fourteen miles to the north of Vindhyâchala (town) in the district of Mirzapur. Three miles to the north of Moharapura is the place where Indra performed austerities after being cursed by Gautama Ṛishi, the husband of Ahalyâ [*Skanda P.*, Brahma kh. (Dharmâraṇya kh.), 35-37]. 4. On the Himâlaya, on the

southern bank of the river Mandâkinî (*Kûrma P.*, ch. 14). 5. Kaṇva-âśrama near Koṭâ in Rajputana was also called Dharmâraṇya (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 82). *See* **Kanva-âśrama.**

Dharmodaya—The river Dâmudâ in Bengal.

Dhavalagiri—The Dhauli hill in the sub-division of Khurda in Orissa, on which one of the Edicts of Asoka is inscribed. Dhavala or Dhavalî is five miles from the Khaṇḍa-giri range which is situated four or five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, containing many caves of the Buddhist period. But it is difficult to ascertain how the name of Dhauli has been derived by some authorities from Dhavalî. In the last tablet of the Dhauli inscriptions, it is mentioned that "the Dubalahi tupha," or in other words, the stûpas for the *Durbala* or weak, were founded for undisturbed meditation. Hence the name of Dhauli appears to have been derived from Durbala or Dublâ monastery of that place. The hill, as it appears from the inscription, was situated in Tosala (*see* the first tablet of the inscription), and Tosala has been identified with "Tosalâḥ-Kośalāḥ" of the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* (ch. 49) or simply Kośala of the *Bṛihat Saṃhitâ* (see *Examination of the Inscription at Dhauli in Cuttack* by J. Prinsep in the *JASB.*, 1838, pp. 448-452). The Girnar and Dhauli inscriptions of Asoka are identical in substance: in fact the Dhauli inscription is the duplicate of the Girnar inscription in language and alphabet (see *JASB.*, 1838, pp. 158, 160, 219, 276-279). For the inscriptions on the Khaṇḍagiri hill, see *JASB.*, 1837, p. 1090.

Dhundhra—Âmer, the ancient capital of Jaipur. Kuvalâśva, the great-grandfather of Nikumbha and one of the ancestors of Râmachandra of Ayodhyā, killed the demon Dhundhu and was therefore called Dhundhumâra: the whole country of Jaipur, especially Âmer, was called Dhundhra after his name. It was included in Marudhanva (*Mbh.*, Vana, chs. 201-203).

Dhutapâpâ—1. *Dhopâp* on the Gumti, 18 miles south-east of Sultanpur in Oudh: see *Dhopâp* in Pt. II (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 49). 2. A tributary of the Ganges in Benares (*Skanda P.*, Kaśî kh., uttara, ch. 59).

Dîpavatî—The island of Divar on the north of the island of Goa, containing, at old Narvem on the bank of the Pañchagaṅgâ, the temple of Mahâdeva Sapta-Koṭîśvara established by the Sapta Ṛishis (*Skanda P.*, Sahyâdri kh.; *Ind. Ant.*, III, 1874, p. 194).

Dîrgha-pura—Deeg, in the territory of Bharatpur. See Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s. v. *Deeg*.

Dramila—Most probably, it is the same as *Damila* [Hemchandra's *Sthavirâvalîcharita* (Jacobi's ed.) XI, 285]. But according to Dr. Fleet, Dramila was the Drâviḍa country of the Pallavas on the east coast: Kâñchi was its capital (*Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 281).

Draviḍa—Same as *Drâviḍa*.

Drâviḍa—Part of the Deccan from Madras to Seringapatam and Cape Comorin: the country south of the river Pennar or rather Tripati (*JRAS.*, 1846 p. 15). Its capital was Kâñchipura (*Manu*, ch. X, and *Daśakumâracharita*, ch. 6). It was also called Chola (Bühler's *Intro* to *Vikramâṅkadeva-charita*, p. 27, note 7). At the time of the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana, 118) its northern boundary was the Godâvarî.

Drishadvatî—The Caggar (Ghagar) which flowed through Ambala and Sirhind, now lost in the sands of Rajputana (Elphinstone and Tod, *JASB.*, VI, p. 181). General Cunningham has identified it with the river Rakshi which flows by the south-east of Thaneswar (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XIV). It formed the southern boundary of Kurukshetra (see **Kurukshetra**). The Dṛishadvatî has been identified with the modern Chitrang, Chautang, or Chitang, which runs parallel to the Sarasvatî (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p. 26;

Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 51). This identification appears to be correct (*JRAS.*, 1893, p. 58). The river flows through Phalakî-vana (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 36).

Droṇâchala—The Doonagiri mountain in Kumaun (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 617; *Devî Purâṇa*, ch. 39), see **Kûrmâchala**.

Dudh-gaṅgâ—The river Dauli in Garwal, a tributary of the Mandâkinî or Mandâgni.

Durddura—Same as **Darddura** (*Markâṇḍ. P.*, ch. 57).

Durgâ—A tributary of the Sâbarmatî in Gujarat (*Padma P.*, uttara, ch. 60; *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 49).

Durjayaliṅga—Darjeeling, which contains a temple of the Mahâdeva called **Durjaya-Liṅga**. Darjiling is a corruption of Durjayaliṅga. But some derive the name from Dorjeling, a cave of the mystic thunderbolt or "Dorje" on Observatory Hill (Dr. Waddell's *Among the Himalayas*, p. 50).

Durjjayâ—Same as *Maṇimatipuri* (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch, 96: Nîlakaṇṭha's commentary).

Durvâsâ-âśrama—1. The hermitage of Ṛishi Durvâsâ is pointed out on the highest peak of a hill called the Khalli Pâhâḍ (Khaḍi Pâhâḍ: Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. II, p. 167), a limestone rock which is worked for chalk. It is two miles to the north of Colgong (Kahalgâon or Kalahagrâma from the pugnacious character of the Ṛishi) in the district of Bhagalpur and two miles to the south of Pâtharghâṭâ, the name of a spur of the Colgong range jutting into the Ganges, about twenty-five miles from Bhagalpur. The Pâtharghâṭâ hill (ancient Śilâ-saṅgama or properly speaking Bikramaśilâ Saṅghârâma) contains seven rock-cut caves of a very ancient date with niches for the images of the deities, referred to by Hiuen Tsiang when he visited Champa in the seventh century. Figures of the Buddhist period are scattered in the court-yard of the temple of Baṭesvaranâtha Mahâdeva just by the side of one of the caves. A flight of stone steps leads from the Ganges to the temple on the hill (*JASB.*, 1909, p. 10. See **Colgong** in pt. II. 2. Durvâsâ's hermitage was also at Dubâur, in the hills, seven miles north-east of Rajauli, in the sub-division of Nowadah in the district of Gayâ (Grierson's *Notes on the District of Gaya*).

Dvaipâyana-hrada—Same as **Râma-hrada**. The lake was called Dvaipâyana-hrada on account of an island in its middle: this island contained a sacred well called Chandrakûpa which was visited by pilgrims from all parts of India at the time of the eclipse of the moon.

Dvaita-vana—Deoband, about fifty miles to the north of Mirat in the Saharanpur district, United Provinces, 2½ miles to the west of the east Kâli-nadî and about 16 miles from Muzaffarnagar, where Yudhishṭhira retired with his brothers after the loss of his kingdom at the gaming table (*Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 24; *Calcutta Review*, 1877, p. 78, note). Half a mile from the town is a small lake called Devî Kuṇḍa, the banks of which are covered with temples, ghâṭs and Sati monuments, much frequented by pilgrims (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. IV). Dvaita-vana is the birth-place of Jaimini, the founder of the Mîmâṃsâ school of philosophy.

Dvârakeśi—Same as **Dvârikesvarî**.

Dvârasamudra—Hullabid, the capital of Mysore in the twelfth century.

Dvravatî—1. Dwarka in Gujarat. Kṛishṇa made it his capital after his flight from Mathurâ when he was harassed by Jarâsindhu, king of Magadha. 2 Siam (Phayre). According to Dr. Takakusu, Dvâravatî represents Ayuthya (or Ayudhya) the ancient capital of Siam (*Introduction to Itsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 11). 3. Dorasamudra or modern Halebid in the Hassan district of Mysore: see **Chera** (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, II, 17, 18.)

Dvarikâ—1. Dwarka in Gujarat. Same as **Dvârâvati**. It is said to have been destroyed by the ocean just after the ascent of Śrî-Krishṇa to heaven. It contains the temple of Nâgeśa, one of the twelve Great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva (see **Amareśvara**). 2. The capital of Kamboja (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 28).

Dvârikeśvarî—The river Dalkisor near Bishṇupur in Bengal, one of the branches of the Rupnârâyaṇa (K. ch.).

E

Ekachakrâ—Dr. Führer (*MAI.*) has identified it with Chakarnagar, sixteen miles south-west of Itawah, (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 158). Its identification with Arrah by General Cunningham (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. III, 1871-72) is incorrect.

Ekâmrakânana—Bhuvaneśvara on the river Gandhavatî, twenty miles from Cuttack in Orissa (*Brahma P.*, ch. 40). The building of the temple at Bhuvaneśvara was commended by Yayâti Keśarî, the founder of the Keśarî dynasty, who ascended the throne of Orissa after expelling the Yavanas or Buddhists in 473 A. D., and was completed about a century after by Lalâṭendu Keśarî. Under the name of Kaliṅga-nagarî, Bhuvaneśvara was the capital of Orissa from the sixth century B. C. to the time of Yayâti Keśarî in the middle of the fifth century A. D. (Dr. R. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 62). Same as **Harakshetra.** It appears, however, that the place was covered with jungle before Yayâti Keśarî commenced building the temples at Bhuvanesvara towards the close of his reign ; he died in 526 A. D. At the time of Lalâṭendu Keśarî (623-677 A. D.), it again became the capital : it contained seven Sâhis and forty-two streets. The temples of Bhuvaneśvara (a Hari-hara image), Mukteśvara, Gaurî and Paraśurâma, which still exist, contain much workmanship of great artistic value. The tank called Devî-pâda-harâ, having 108 small temples of Yoginîs on all its sides, is said to have been the place where Bhagavatî crushed down the two demons Kîrtti and Vâsa with her feet (*Bhuvaneśvar Mâhatmyā*). The Bindu Sarovara is the most sacred tank in Bhuvaneśvara dug by the queen of Lalâṭendu Keśarî. The ruins of the ancient palace of Yayâti Keśarî still exist by the side of the road leading from the Railway Station near the Râmeśvara temple. Lalâṭendu Keśarî is said to have erected a palace to the south of the temple of Bhuvaneśvara (Dr. R. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 83; Stirling's *Orissa* in *JASB.*, 1837, p. 756).

Elapura—Elur or Ellora. The cave temple of Kailâsa was constructed on the hills by Krishṇa Râja of the Râshtrakuṭa dynasty of Bâdâmî, who reigned between 753 and 775 A.D. (Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*). General Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*) identifies Elapura with Verawal in Gujarat, but this identification does not appear to be correct. Elapura is evidently a corruption of Ibalapura. *See* **Ibalapura.**

Embolima (of the Greeks)—The fort of Amb, near Balimah, sixty miles above Attock, opposite to Darbund on the Indus, conquered by Alexander the Great.

Eraṇḍapalla—Khandes ; it was conquered by Samudra Gupta.

Eraṇḍî—The river Uri of Or, a tributary of the Nerbuda in the Baroda State [*Padma P.*, Svarga (Âdi), ch. 9] near the junction of which, Karnali is situated. The junction is a sacred place of pilgrimage.

G

Gabidhumat—Kudarkote, twenty-four miles to the north-east of Itawah and thirty-six miles from Sankisa in the district of Furrakabad. It was governed by Hari Datta at the time of Śrîharsha or Śîlâditya II of Kanauj (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 180).

Gâdhipura—Kanauj. It was the capital of Gâdhi Râjâ, the father of the Ṛishi Viśvâmitra.

Gajasâhvaya-nagara—Same as *Hastinâpura* (*Bhâgavata*, ch. X, p. 68).

Gajendra-moksha—1. Sonepur, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gaṇḍak, where the fight took place between the elephant and the alligator (*see* **Viśâlâ-chhatra** and **Harihara-kshetra**). 2. A place of pilgrimage on the bank of the Tâmraparṇî, twenty miles to the west of Tinnevelly, visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, II, 9). The *Vâmana Purâṇa* (ch. 84) places it at the Trikûta mountain.

Gâlava-âśrama—1. The hermitage of Ṛishi Gâlava, three miles from Jaipur; 2. On the Chitrakûṭa mountain (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, I, ch. 83).

Gallikâ—Same as *Gaṇḍakî* (*Padma P.*, Uttara, chs. 44, 52).

Gambhîrâ—The river Gambhîrâ, a tributary of the river Sipra in Malwa, mentioned by Kâlidâsa in his *Meghadûta* (I, 42).

Gaṇa-mukteśvara—Gaḍ-Mukteśvara on the Ganges in the district of Mirat. It was a quarter of the ancient Hastinâpura where Gaṇeśa worshipped Mahâdeva [*Asia. Res.*, XIV, p. 457 (Wilford)].

Gadâ-kshetra—*See* **Birajâ-kshetra.**

Gaṇḍakî—The river Gaṇḍak. It rises in the Sapta Gaṇḍakî or Dhavalâgiri range of the Himalaya, which is the southern boundary of Central Tibet, the remote source being called Dâmodarakuṇḍa, and enters the plains at a spot called Tribeṇî Ghât (see **Sapta-Gaṇḍakî**). The river is said to have been formed from the sweat of the cheeks (Gaṇḍa) of Vishṇu who performed austerities near its source and hence the river is called Gaṇḍakî (*Varâha P.*, ch. 144). The source of the river is not far from Śâlagrâma, which was the hermitage of Bharata and Pulaha. The temple of Muktinâtha (an image of Nârâyaṇa) is on the south of Śâlagrama. Hence the river is called the Śâlagramî and Nârâyaṇî (*Varâha P.*, ch. 144). *See* **Muktinâtha.** The river now joins the Ganges at Sonepur in the district of Muzaffarpur in Bihar where the celebrated fair is held (*see* **Viśâlâ-chhatra Gajendramoksha**, **Hariharakshetra** and **Triveṇî.**

Gandhahasti-stupa—Bakraur on the Phalgu, opposite to Buddha-Gaya, visited by Hiuen Tsiang. Maltaṅgi, which is a corruption of Mâtaṅga Liṅga appertained formerly to Gandha-hasti stupa (Mâtaṅga meaning an elephant). This Buddhist place of pilgrimage has now been appropriated by the Hindus under the name of Mâtaṅga-âśrama and it now contains a *liṅga* of the Mahâdeva called Mâtaṅgeśa and a tank called Mâtaṅga-vâpi. *See* **Gayâ.**

Gandhamâdana—A part of the Rudra Himalaya, and according to Hindu geographers, it is a part of the Kailâsa range (*Vikramorvasi*, Act IV). It is on the southern side of the Kailâsa mountain (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 82). At the plantain forest of this mountain, Hanumâna resided. Badarikâśrama is situated on this mountain (*Varâha P.*, ch. 48 and *Mbh.*, Vana P., chs. 145, 157; Śânti P., ch. 335). The portion of the mountains of Garwal through which the Alakanandâ flows is called Gandhamâdana (*Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, ch. 57; *Skanda P.*, Vishṇu Kh., III, 6). Gandhamâdana is also said to be watered by the Mandâkini (*Vikramorvasî*, Act IV). A fragment of this mountain, said to have been brought by Hanumāna, is pointed out near Râmeśvaram in Southern India.

Gāndhâra—The country of Gândhâra lies along the Kabul river between the Khoaspes (Kunar) and the Indus, comprising the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Its capitals were Purushapura now called Peshawar, and Takshaśilâ

the Taxila of Alexander's historians. Ptolemy makes the Indus the western boundary of Gandari. In the Behistun inscription which was inscribed by the order of Darius, king of Persia, in 516 B. C., in the fifth year of his reign, Gadara or Gândhâra is mentioned among the conquered countries of Darius (for a copy of the Inscription, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. III, p. 590). The Gandarians and the Dadicæ were united under one commander in the army of Xerxes (*Herodotus*, VII, 6). It is the Kiantolo of Hiuen Tsiang, the *Kundara Gandhridœ* of Strabo and other ancient Greek geographers. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, it forms the district of Pukely, lying between Kâśmîr and Attock [*JASB.*, vol. XV (1846)]. Gandhara not only comprised the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi, but also Swat and Hoti Murdan or what is called the Eusofzai country, that is the country between the Indus and the Panjkora, where at Ranigat, Sanghao and Nuttu, discoveries were made of excellent Buddhist architecture and sculptures of the time of Kanishka, *i. e.*, of the first century of the Christian era, through the labours of Major Cole (*Memorandum of Ancient Monuments of Eusafzai*). Ancient sculptures have also been discovered at Jamal Giri in the Eusafzai Pargana of the Peshawar district, Jamal Giri being thirty miles distant from Peshawar [*JASB.*, (1852) p. 606]. The Eusofzai country is bounded on the north by Chitral and Yasin, on the west by Bejawar and the Swat river, on the east by the Indus, and on the south by the Kabul river (*Arch. S Rep.*, vol. V). Pushkarâvati or Pushkalâvati (Pukely) was its most ancient capital, which the *Râmâyaṇa* placed in Gandharva-deśa. The *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara* (ch. XXXVII) calls Pushkarâvati the capital of the Vidyâdharas. Gandhara of the *Mahâbhârata* and of the Buddhist period, therefore, is the corruption of Gandharva-deśa of Valmiki (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara kh., chs. 113 and 114). Major Cole says that the Corinthean style of architecture reproduces itself all over Eusofzai, the Doric in Kâśmîr, and the Ionic at Taxila or Shahderi between Attock and Rawalpindi (*Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for* 1882-83, p. cxvi). Asoka sent here a Buddhist missionary named Majjhantika in 245 B.C., (*Mahâvaṁśa*, ch. XII). Gandhara was included in the kingdom of Chandra Gupta and Asoka, and it seems that Agathocles conquered the country and expelled the Mauryas. According to Col. Rawlinson, the Gandarians of the Indus seem to have first emigrated to Kandahar in the fifth century A. D. (*Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 675, note).

Gandharva-deśa—Gândhâra, which is evidently a corruption of Gandharva-deśa (*see* **Gândhâra**)

Gandhavatî—A small branch of the Sipra, on which the temple of Mahâkala in Ujjain is situated (*Meghadûta*, pt. I, v. 34).

Gaṅgâ—The Ganges (*Rig-Veda*, X, 75; *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, VIII, 14, 4). The course of the Ganges is described with some detail in the *Brihat-Dharmma P.*, (Madhya kh., ch. 22). The main stream of the river originally passed southwards, after leaving Jahnu-âśrama at Sultanganj, through the channel of the Bhâgirathî which with the Jellinghi forms the river Hûglî from Shibganj above Boalia. There are six Jahnus which are allegorical representations of changes in the course of the Ganges: 1st, at Bhairavghâtî below Gangotri at the junction of the Bhâgîrathî and Jâhnavî (Fraser's *Himalaya Mountains*, p. 476; *Râm.* I, 43); 2nd, at Kânyakubja or Kanauj (*Vishṇu-dharmottara P.*, I, ch. 28); 3rd, at Jahngira in Sultanganj on the west of Bhagalpur (*Arch. S. Rep.* XV, p. 20, *Brihad-dharma P.* Purva kh., ch. 6; *JASB.*, XXXIII, 360); 4th, at Shibganj above Rampur-Boalia; 5th, at Gour near Malda (Martin's *Eastern India*) III, 81; Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, s. v. *Gour*; 6th, at Jânnagar (Brahmâṇîtalâ) 4 miles to the west of Nadia. (*Navadvîpa-Parikramâ*; Chunder's *Travels of a Hindu*, vol. I): *see* my pamphlet entitled *Early Course of the Ganges* forming chapter VIII in Major Hirst's *Report on the Nadia*

Rivers, 1915, ch. viii. The Ganges after flowing past Triveṇî, Chagda, Guria, Baruipur, Rajganj and Diamond Harbour through Âdi gaṅgâ or Tolly's Nâlâ falls into the sea near Sâgar Island [Rev. J. Long's *Banks of the Bhâgîrathî* in *Calcutta Review*. vi. (1846); p. 403; Cotton's *Calcutta; Old and New*]. See **Kauśikî**.

Gâṅga—It is the name of the country of Râḍha as well as of its capital Saptagrâma which is called Gângê by Ptolemy and the "Port of the Ganges" in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* in the province of Bengal. Gângê is mentioned in Ptolemy as the capital of the Gangærides who were evidently the people of Râḍha which was situated on the western side of the Ganges (*see* McCrindle's *Ptolemy* and his *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 146). Gâṅga as a country is mentioned in the Karhad Plate Inscription of Krishṇa III (see *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IV, p. 278) and also in the Harihara and Belur inscriptions (Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp 70, 222). In the first mentioned inscription, Gâṅga is placed between Kaliṅga and Magadha. Mr. Schoff in his notes on the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 255, says, "the name (Ganges) is applied in the same paragraph to district, river, and town" and according to him, by the district is meant Bengal. But considering the situation of the town Gâṅga, the district must mean Râḍha, as Saptagrâma (the town Gâṅga), in the first and second centuries of the Christian era was the chief town of Raḍha and not of the whole Bengal, (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 599). *See* **Râḍha.** Perhaps Gâṅga was the Gâṅgâyanî of the later Vedic period, of which the king was Chitra (*Kaushitaki upanishad*, I, 1). The Gaṅgâ dynasty ruled over the south of Mysore (*see* **Talakaḍa**) and Coorg, with Salem, Coimbatore, the Nilgiri and parts of Malabar from the second to the ninth century A. D.: Coimbatore and Salem were called the Kongu country (Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Nos. 151—157 and pp. 70, 222, 262). A branch of the family ruled over Orissa (*Ibid.*, *Intro.*, XLVII) who evidently conquered Raḍha or the present districts of Hûglî, Midnapore, &c., and from them, *i. e.*, the Gaṅgâ dynasty, as well as from its situation on the western bank of the Ganges, it was called Gâṅga. Choragaṅgâ killed the Mandâra king on the bank of the Ganges after his conquest of Utkala, and Mandâra has been identified by some with Sumha or Raḍha (*JASB.*, 1895, p. 139, note; 1896, p. 241). Hence there can be no doubt that Raḍha was ruled over by the Ganga kings of Orissa in the 12th century. Gâṅga was perhaps the country of Gâṅga or Gâṅgya of the *Kaushitaki Upanishad* (I, 1), of which the king was Chitra, who was called Gâṅgyâyaṇî being the son of Gâṅgya (variant Gâṅga), *i.e.*. king of Gâṅgya or Gâṅga.

Gaṅgâdvâra—Haridvâr (*see* **Mâyâpurî**).

Gaṅgâsâgara—Same as **Sâgarasaṅgama** (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 113).

Gaṅgotri—A spot in the Rudr Himalaya in Garwal. supposed by the ancient Hindus to have been the source of the Ganges, though it has been traced further north by Captain Hodgson (*Asia. Res.*. vol. XIV). There is a temple of Gaṅgâ Devi. One *kos* from Gaṅgotri and two *kos* from Meani-ki-Gad there is a spot called Patangiri, which is said to be the place where the five Pâṇḍavas remained for twelve years worshipping Mahâdeva, and where perhaps Draupadî and four of the Pâṇḍavas died (*Mbh.*. Mahâprasthânika P., ch. 2). After that Yudhishṭhira left this place and ascended Svargârohinî, a peak of the sacred hill whence the Ganges flows. The Rudra Himalaya has five principal peaks called Rudra Himalaya (the eastern peak), Burrampuri, Bissenpuri. Udgurrikanta and Svargârohinî (the western and nearest peak). These form a sort of semi-circular hollow of very considerable extent filled with eternal snow, from the gradual dissolution of the lower parts of which the principal part of the stream is generated (Fraser's *Tour through the Himalaya Mountains*, pp. 466, 470, 471; Martin's *Indian Empire*. vol. III, pp. 11, 21). *See* **Sumeru-parvata.**

Garga-âsrama—1. Gagason, the reputed site of the hermitage of Rishi Garga, situated in the Rai Bareli district, opposite to Asni, across the Ganges. 2. The Lodh Moona forest in Kumaon is also said to be the hermitage of the Rishi: the river Gugas rises in this forest and falls into the Dhauli. *See* **Kûrmâchala** (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 617).

Garjapura—Ghazipur (according to General Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*). This part of the country was visited by Fa Hian in the fifth century. General Cunningham infers the ancient name of Garjapura (which is not found in any ancient work) from the modern name Ghazipur and hence his identification is faulty. It formed a part of the ancient Dharmâraṇya (Führer *MAI.*). See **Dharmâraṇya** and **Ghazipur** in Pt. II, of this work.

Gauḍa—1. The whole of Bengal was denominated Eastern Gauda from its capital of the same name, the ruins of which lie near Malda at a distance of about ten miles (*see* **Lakshmaṇâvati**). It was situated on the left bank of the Ganges which has now receded from it four and half miles, and in some places twelve miles. It was the capital of Deva Pâla, Mahendra Pâla, Âdisura, Ballâla Sena, and the Muhammadan rulers from 1204 up to about the close of the sixteenth century. It is said to have been founded in A. D. 648 when Bengal became independent of the Magadha kingdom, the former capital of Bengal being Puṇḍravarddhana. James Prinsep supposes that Gauḍa was founded in 1066 (*JASB.*, vol. V), but it is mentioned by Bâṇa in the *Harshacharita*. For further particulars, *see* **Gour** in Pt. II. All the country south of Aṅga to the sea was called Gauḍa (*The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*). 2. Uttara Kośala the capital of which was Śrâvastî, was also called Gauḍa or Northern Gauḍa (*Kûrma P.*, Pt. I, ch. 20; *Liṅga P.*, Pt. I, ch. 65). Goṅda, a sub-division of Uttara Kośala, forty-two miles south of Śrâvasti, is a corruption of Gauḍa (according to General Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 408). The tradition respecting the famous tooth-brush trees (danta-dhâvana) of Buddha still exists at Goṅda (Führer's *MAI.*). Gauḍa may also be a corruption of Gonardda. *See* **Gonardda**. 3. Gondwana was the Western Gauḍa. 4. The Southern Gauḍa was the bank of the Kâverî (*Padma P.*, Pâtâla, ch. 28).

Gauḍa-parvata—The Gaṅgotri mountain, at the foot of which **Bindusâra** (*q. v.*) is situated (*Matsya P.*, I, ch. 121).

Gaurî—The river Panjkora (the Gouraios or Guræus of the Greeks) which unites with the river Swat to form the Landoi, an affluent of the Kabul river [*Mbh.*, Bk. VI; *Alexander's Exploits on the Western Banks of the Indus.* by M. A. Court in *JASB.* (1839), p. 307; and McCrindle's *Invasion of India*, p. 66]. The Panjkora rising in Gilghit, flows between the Khonar (Choes of Arrian, called also Khameh) and the Swat [*JASB.* (1839), p. 306]. Panjkora is evidently a corruption of Pañchagauḍa from the name of a town of that name situated on the bank of this river [*JASB.* (1852), p. 215]. *See* **Pañcha-karpaṭa**.

Gaurîkuṇḍa—1. A holy place at a very short distance below Gaṅgotri, where the Kedâr-Gaṅgâ debouches into the Bhâgîrathî (Fraser's *Himâla Mountains*, p. 466). Below Gaurîkuṇḍa, there is a small temple dedicated to the goddess Gaṅgâ. The temple is situated precisely on the sacred stone on which Bhagîratha performed asceticism to bring down the goddess (*Ibid.*, p. 468). 2. A sacred lake on the Kailâsa mountain, which is the source of rivers Sindhu and Sarajû (Râmânanda Bhârati's *Himâraṇya*). 3. There is another sacred pool known by the name of Gaurîkuṇḍa which is one day's journey from Kedârnâth (Fraser's *Himâla Mountains*, p. 301), or about eight miles to the south of the latter, containing a spring of hot water. 4. A hot spring on the bank of the Kâli-gaṅgâ on the boundary of Nepal and the British district of Almora.

Gaurî-śaṅkara—Mount Everest in Nepal according to Schlagintweit, but locally it is not known by that name (Dr. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, p. 37). Captain Wood's measurement has proved that Gaurî-Śaṅkara of the Nepalese cannot be Mount Everest (Dr. Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 76).

Gaurî-śikhara—Same as **Gaurî-śaṅkara** (*Varâha P.*, ch. 215).

Gautama-âśrama—1. Ahalyasthâna in the village of Ahiari, pargana Jarail, twenty-four miles to the south-west of Janakpur in Tirhut. 2. Godna (Godâna) near Revelganj, six miles west of Chhapra on the Saraju; the Ganges once flowed by the side of this village. The Gautama-âśrama at Godna, which is said to have been the hermitage of Ṛishi Gautama, the author of the Nyâya-darśana, derived its name, however, according to Dr. Hoey from the fact that at this place Gautama (Buddha) crossed over the Ganges after leaving Pâṭaliputra by the gate which was afterwards called the Gautama gate [*JASB.*, vol. LXIX (1900), pp. 77. 78—Dr. Hoey's *Identification of Kuśinâra Vaiśâli* &c.]. But Patna is four miles to the south-east of Godna; hence it is not probable that Buddha crossed over the river at this place. 3. Áhiroli near Buxar (*Bṛihat-Nâradîya Purâṇa*, ch. IX). 4. Tryambaka near the source of the river Godâvarî (*Śiva P.*, Bk. I. ch. 54). The *Râmâyaṇa*, however, places the hermitage of Ṛishi Gautama near Janakpur.

Gautamî—1. The river Godâvarî (*Śiva P.*, Bk. I. ch. 54). 2. The northern branch of the Godâvarî is also called Gautamî (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 60). It is called Gautamî-gaṅgâ and Nandâ in the *Brahma P.*, ch. 77.

Gautamî-gaṅgâ—Same as **Gautamî.**

Gayâ—It is situated between the Râmśilâ hill on the north and the Brahmayoni hill on the south, on the bank of the river Phalgu. The town comprises the modern town of Shahebganj on the northern side and the ancient town of Gayâ on the southern side. In the southern portion of the town, called Chakrabeḍa in the Chaitanya-Bhâgavata (ch.12) is situated the celebrated temple of Vishṇupada, which was erected some two hundred years ago by Ahalyâbâi, the daughter-in-law of Mulhar Rao Holkar of Indore, on the site of a more ancient temple: the Vishṇupada had been set up prior to Fa Hian's visit. The temple of Maṅgalâ Gaurî, one of the fifty-two Pîṭhas, where Satî's breast is said to have fallen, is situated on a spur of the Brahmayoni range called the Bhâsnâth (Devî-Bhâgavata. Pt. VII, chs. 30 and 38). For the sacred places in Gayâ, see *Vâyu Purâṇa*, II, chs. 105 *ff.* which form the *Gayâ-mâhâtmya*. Buddha Gayâ (*see* **Uravilva**) is six miles to the south of Gayâ. The Barabar hills contain four caves dedicated by Asoka to the Âjîvakas, a sect which followed the doctrine of Makhaliputta Gosâla, and the three caves on the Nâgârjuni hills were dedicated by Asoka's grandson Dasaratha to the same sect: for Dasaratha's and other inscriptions in the Nagarjuni hill, see *JASB.*, 1837, pp. 676—680. Gayâ was one of the first places which received the doctrine of Buddha during the lifetime of the saint, and became the head-quarters of his religion. But it appears that it passed from the Buddhists to the Hindus between the second and fourth centuries of the Christian era, and in 404 A. D., Fa Hian found that "all within the city was desolate and desert"; and when Hiuen Tsiang visited it in 637 A. D., he found it to be a thriving Hindu town "well defended, difficult of access, and occupied by a thousand families of Brâhmaṇas, all descendants of a single Ṛishi", who were evidently the "Gayâlis." The story of Gayâsuraof the *Vâyu Purâṇa*, according to Dr. R. L. Mitra (*Buddha-Gayâ*, p. 17), is an allegorical representation of the expulsion of Buddhism from Gayâ, which was the

head-quarters of the Buddhist faith. From Vishṇupada, Dharmâraṇya, including Mâtaṅga-vâpî, now called Maltangi, is six miles, Brahmasara one mile south-west, Godâlola one mile south near Mâraṇpur, and Uttara-Manasa one mile north. Dakshiṇa-Mânasa is near Devaghâṭ (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 84; *Agni P.*, ch. 115). The temple of Jagannâtha at Umanganagar (Umgâ), and those of Sûryya at Deo (Deota Sûryya) and Kûch near Tikari in the district of Gayâ are old, containing inscriptions (*JASB.*, 1847, pp. 656, 1220). For further particulars, *see* **Gaya** in Pt. II.

Gayânâbhi.—Jâjpur in Orissa. Gayâsura, a demon overthrown by Vishṇu, was of such a bulky stature that when stretched on the ground his head rested at Gayâ, his navel at Jâjpur and his feet at a place called Piṭhâpur, forty miles from Râjmahendri. A well or natural fountain at Jâjpur is pointed out as the centre of the navel (Stirling's *Orissa*).

Gayâpâda.—Piṭhâpur, forty miles from Râjmahendri where Gayâsura's feet rested when he was overthrown by Vishṇu.

Gayâśîrsha.—1. Gayâ. 2. The mount Gayâśîrsha, called Gayâśîsa in the Buddhist annals, is according to General Cunningham the Brahmayoni hill in Gayâ, where Buddha preached his "burning" sermon called the Âditya paryyâya-Sûtra (*Mahâvagga*, I, 21). Gayâśîrsha is properly a low spur of the Brahmayoni hill, about a mile in area, forming the site of the old town of Gayâ (R. L. Mitra's *Buddha Gayâ* ; and *Mahâvagga*, Pt. 1, ch. 22). It is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the *Agni Purâṇa* (ch. 219, v. 64) along with other places of pilgrimage at Gayâ.

Gayâśisa.—*See* **Gayâśîrsha.**

Gehamura.—Gahmar (E. I. Railway) in the district of Ghazipur. It was the abode of Mura, a *daitya*, who was killed by Kṛishṇa (Führer's *MAI.*, and *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XXII, p. 88). The scene of the battle is placed at Śveta-dvîpa (*Vâmana P.*, chs. 60, 61).

Ghârâpurî—The island of Elephanta, six miles from Bombay; it is also called Purî (Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India*, p. 465). It was a celebrated place of pilgrimage from the third to the tenth century A. D.

Ghargharâ—The river Ghagra or Gogra, which rises in Kumoan and joins the the Sarajû (*Padma P.*, Bhûmi kh., ch. 24 ; *Asia. Res.*, XIV, 411).

Girî.—1. A river which rises in the Chur mountains of the Himalayas and falls into the Jamuna at Râjghâṭ (*JASB.*, Vol. XI, 1842, p. 364). It is mentioned in the Purâṇas, and Kâlidâsa's *Vikramorvaśî*, Act, IV. 2. The river Landai on which Pushkalâvatî (*q. v.*) is situated (*Ava. Kalp.*, ch. 32).

Girikarṇikâ—The river Sabarmati in Gujarat (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 52).

Girinagara—Girnar, one of the hills known by the name of Junagar at a small distance from the town of Junagar, sacred to the Jainas as containing the temples of Neminâth and Pâraśvanâth (Tawney: *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 201). The name of Girinagara is mentioned in the *Bṛihat Saṃhitâ* (XIV, 11), and in the Rudradâmana inscription of Girnar [*Ind. Ant.* VII., (1878), p. 257]; for a description of the hill and the temples, see *JASB.*, (1838) pp. 334, 879-882. It was the hermitage of Ṛishi Dattâtreya. In one of the edicts of Asoka inscribed on the rocks of Junagar are found the names of five Greek (Yona or Yavana) kings: "Antiyoko" or Antiochus (Theos of Syria), "Turamâya" or Ptolemy (Philadelphus of Egypt), "Antikini" or Antigonus (Gonatus of Macedon), "Maka" or Magas (of Cyrene), and "Alikasudara" or Alexander (II of Epirus). Girnar is situated in Bastrâpatha-kshetra. The Prabhâsa Khaṇḍa (Bastrâ-patha-mâhâtmya, chs. I, XI) of the *Skanda Purâṇa* gives an account of its sanctity.

The river Palâsini, known as Svarṇarekhâ flows by the foot of the hill. Arishṭanemi or Neminâtha, the twenty-second Tîrthaṅkara of the Jainas, was worshipped by the Digambara sect: he was born at Sauryapura or Sauripura or Mathurâ and is said to be a contemporary and cousin of Kṛishṇa, being the son of Râjimatî, the daughter of Ugrasena. He died at Girnar at a very old age and his symbol was the *Saṅkha* or Conch-shell (*Uttarâdhyâyana* in *SBE*, XLV, p. 112). He was the *guru* or spiritual guide of king Dattâtreya, who was his first convert (*Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 175; *Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*, ch. 14). Junagar itself was called Girinagara: this name was subsequently transferred to the mountain (*Corp. Ins. Ind*, III, 57). It was the capital of the Scythian viceroy (Kshatrapa), who early in the second century A. D., became independent of the Saka king of Śakastâna or Sistan, which means "the land of Sse" or Sakas (Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*). The Girnar or Junagar or Rudra Dâman inscription contains an account of Rudra Dâman's ancestors (*JASB.*, 1883, p. 340). The names of Maurya Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka occur in this inscription (for a transcript of the inscription, see *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 260). The mount Girnar contains a foot-print known as *Gurudatta-charaṇa* which is said to have been left there by Kṛishṇa. It was visited by Chaitanya [Govindâ Dâs's *Kadchâ* (*Diary*)]. It was also called Raivataka mountain. It is described in the *Śiśupâlavadha* (C .IV).

Girivrâjapura—1. Râjgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ, ch. 21), where Jarâsindhu and his descendants resided. The name of Girivraja is very rarely used in Buddhist works (*SBE.*, X, 67): it was generally called Râjagṛiha. It is sixty-two miles from Patna and fourteen miles south of Bihar (town). It was founded by Râjâ Vasu and was therefore called Vasumatî (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 32). It is surrounded by five hills called in the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ, ch. 21) Baihâra, Barâha, Bṛishabha, Ṛishi-giri, and Chaityaka, but they are now called Baibhâra-giri, Bipula-giri, Ratnakûṭa, Girivrâja-giri, and Ratnâchala. In the Pâli books, the five hills are called Gijjhakuṭa, Isigili, Vebhâra, Vepulla, and Pâṇḍava. Baihâra has been identified by General Cunningham with Baibhâra-giri, the Vebhâra mountain of the Pâli annals; Ṛishi-giri with Ratnakûṭa (also called Ratnagiri), the Pâṇḍava mountain of the Pâli annals; Chaityaka with Bipula-giri—the Vepulla mountain of the Pâli annals; and Barâha with Giribraja-giri. A part of this hill is called Gijjhakuṭa; hence Bṛishabha may be identified with Ratnâchala. Girivrâja-giri includes the Udaya-giri and Sona-giri. Udayagiri joins Ratnagiri at its south-eastern corner, and Sona-giri is between Udaya-giri and Girivrâja-giri. Girivrâjapura is the Kusumapura or Râjagṛiha of the Buddhist period. It is bounded on the north by Baibhâra-giri and Bipula-giri (the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern side); on the east by Bipula-giri, and Ratnagiri or Ratnakûṭa; on the west by a portion of the Baibhâra-giri called Chakra and Ratnâchala; and on the south by Udaya-giri, Sona-giri, and Girivrâja-giri. Girvrâja-pura had four gates: first, between Baibhâra-giri and Bipula-giri on the northern side, called the Sûrya-dvâra (sun-gate); it was protected by Jarâ Râkshasî; second, between Girivrâja-giri and Ratnâchala called the Gaja-dvâra (elephant-gate); third, between Ratnagiri (or Ratnakuṭa) and Udaya-giri; fourth, between Ratnâchala and Chakra, a portion of the Baibhâra hill. The river Sarasvatî flows through the hill-begirt city and passes out by the side of the northern gate. The river Bân-gaṅgâ is on the south of

Râjgir. At the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* (see Âdi, ch. 32) the river Sone flowed through the town. Jarâsindhu's palace was situated on the western side of the valley in the space between Baibhâra-giri and Ratnâchala. The Rangbhum or the wrestling ground of Jarâsindhu is at the foot of the Baibhâra hill, a mile to the west of the Sonbhâṇḍâr cave. Bhîma Sen's Ukhara or the *Malla-bhûmi* at the foot of the Sona-giri, close to a low ledge of laterite forming a terrace, is pointed out as the place where Bhîma and Jarâsindhu wrestled and the latter was killed after a fight of thirteen days. The indentations and cavities peculiar to such formations are supposed to be the marks left by the wrestlers. Southwards towards Udaya-giri, the road is formed by the bare rock in which occur many short inscriptions in the shell pattern [*JASB*, (1847) p. 559]. Traditionally the princes were confined by Jarâsindhu at the foot of the Sona-giri. Six miles from Râjgir is situated the Giriyak hill containing the celebrated tower called Jarâsindhu-kâ-Baiṭhak formerly called the Haṃsa stûpa (*see* **Indrasila-guha**). The Pañchâna river flows by the side of this hill. Bhîma, Arjuna, and Kṛishṇa crossed the Pañchâna river and entered Jarâsindhu's town in disguise by scaling the Giriyak hill, a spur of the Bipula or Chaityaka range (*Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Vol. V, p. 85). There is, however, a pair of foot-prints within a small temple on the slope of the Baibhâra hill on its northern side which are pointed out as the foot-prints of Kṛishṇa, and are said to have been left by him when he entered Râjgir. They reconnoitred the town from Goratha hill, which is now called the Bâthâni-kâ-Pâhâḍ, appearing from a distance to have three peaks, five or six miles to the west of Râjgir and north of Sandol Pahaḍ, a hill larger than the Bâthâni hill (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 20). At the foot of the Baibhâra hill on the north and at a short distance from the northern gate, there are seven Kuṇḍas or hot springs called Vyâsa, Mârkaṇḍa, Sapta-Ṛishi or Saptadhâra, Brahma, Kaśyapa-ṛishi, Gaṅgâ-Jamunâ, and Ananta. At a short distance to the east of these Kuṇḍas, there are five hot springs called Sûrya, Chandramâ, Ganeśa, Râma and Sîtâ. To the east of this latter group of Kuṇḍas is a hot-spring called Śṛiṅgi-ṛishi-kuṇḍa now called Makhdum-kuṇḍa after the name of a Muhammadan saint Makhdum Shah, called also Sharfuddin Ahmad, at the foot of the Bipula hill on its northern side. Close to the side of this spring is Makhdum Shah's *Chilwa* or a small cavern for worship. Just over the entrance to the *Chilwa,* there is a huge slanting rock said to have been rolled down by two brothers Râol and Lâttâ to kill the saint, but it was arrested in its course by his look. This story is evidently a replica of the Buddhist account about Devadatta hurling at Buddha a block of stone which was arrested in its course by two other blocks. There are the temple of Jarâ Devî near the northern gate and Jaina temples of Mahâvîra, Pârasnâtha, and other Tîrthaṅkaras on the Baibhâra, Bipula, Udaya, and Sona-giri hills. Buddha resided in a cave of Pâṇḍava-giri (which is called Ratna-giri on the eastern side of the town) when he first came to Râjagṛiha [*Sutta-nipâta*, 'Pabbajjasutta,' *SBE.*, vol. X; *JASB.* (1838), p., 810]. Here he became the disciple of Ârâḍa first and then of Rudraka; but dissatisfied with their teachings, he left Râjagṛiha (Aśvaghosha's *Buddha-charita*). While he was residing in a cave called Kṛishṇaśilâ on the eastern side of Pâṇḍava-giri, he was visited by king Bimbisâra (*Mahâvagga*, 'Pabbajjasutta', 12; and *Lalita-vistara,* ch. 16). The Sonabhâṇḍâr cave on the southern face of the Baibhâra hill within the valley or the ancient town of Râjagṛiha (incorrectly identified by General Cunningham with the Saptaparṇî cave where the first

Buddhist synod was held) [*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. III; Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India*, p. 49] has been identified by Mr. Beglar with the "Stone Cavern" of Fa Hian, where Buddha used to sit in profound meditation. At a short distance to the east is another cell where Ânanda practised meditation. When Ânanda was frightened by Mâra, Buddha through a cleft in the rock introduced his hand and stroked Ânanda on the shoulder and removed his fear (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. 3). There are still thirteen socket holes in front of Buddha's cave (the Sonbhaṇḍâr cave) indicating that a hall existed there where Buddha "delivered the law" as Fa Hian calls it. In the curve formed by the Bipula and Ratnagiri hills, near the northern gate, was situated a mango-garden formerly belonging to Ambapâlî and then to Jîvaka, the court-physician to king Bimbisâra, in which the latter built a *vihâra* and gave it to Buddha and his 1250 disciples (*SBE.*, vol. XVII ; *Sâmañ-ñaphala Sutta*, and Fa Hian's *Fo-kwo-ki*). Cunningham also places Devadatta's house within the curve (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. III), but the location is very doubtful. Devadatta's cave was situated outside the old city on the north and at a distance of three *li* to the east (Legge's *Fa Hian*, p. XXX). It can be easily identified with Makhdum Shah's *Chilwa* which was formerly called Śṛiṅgi-ṛishi's *kuṇḍa*. Devadatta, Buddha's first cousin, created a schism in the Buddhist order nine or ten years before Buddha's death, and his followers were called Gotamaka. It was he who instigated Ajâtaśatru to kill his father (Rhys David's *Buddhist India*; Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*; Sañjiva-Jâtaka in the *Jâtakas*, vol. I). The Beṇuvana Vihâra called also Karaṇḍa Beṇuvana Vihâra, which was given by Bimbisâra to Buddha and where Buddha usually resided when he visited Râjgir, was situated at a distance of three hundred paces from the extreme east toe of the Baibhâra hill (*i. e.* outside the valley and on the northern side of the Baibhâra hill). In this Vihâra, Sâriputra, whose real name was Upatishya, (Kern, *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*. *SBE.* XXI, p. 89), and Maudgal-âyana (called also Kolita) became Buddha's disciples, having learnt first the doctrines from Aśvajit in the celebrated couplets which mean, 'Tathâgata has explained the cause of all things which have proceeded from a cause, and the great Śramaṇa has likewise explained the cause of their cessation.' They had been formerly the disciples of Sañjaya Vairaṭṭhi Putra of Râjgir. Near it was the Pippala cave where Buddha used to sit in deep medita-tion (*Dhyâna*) after his midday-meal. This cave is at a short distance from the Jaina temple on the top of the Baibhâra hill, down a narrow ledge on the west. The Saptaparṇî (called also Saptaparṇa and Sattaparṇî) caves have been identified by Mr. Beglar with a group of caves situated at a distance of about a mile to the west of the Pippala cave and the northern side of the Baibhâra hill, where the first Buddhist synod was held after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha under the presidency of Mahâkaśyapa (*Vinaya Texts*, pp. 370-385 ; *SBE.*, vol. XX; *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. VIII). The Śmaśânam or cemetery was two or three *li* to the north of Beṇuvanavihâra, in a forest called Sitavana (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I; *Avadâna Kalpalatâ*, ch. 9, ślk. 19), which may be identified with *Vasu-Râjâ-kâ-Gaḍ*, Vasu Râjâ being the grandfather of Jarâsindhu and father of Bṛihadratha. Bimbi-sâra, in accordance with his promise that in whichever house a fire occurred through negli-gence, the owner thereof should be expelled and placed in the cemetery, abandoned his palace at Râjgir in the valley as it caught fire and went to reside at the cemetery; but apprehending an attack from the king of Vaisâli, or according to some account, from Chaṇḍa Pajjota, king of Ujjayinî, in this unprotected place which was not at all fortified, he commenced to build the new town of Râjagṛiha, which is at a distance of one mile to the north of old Râjagṛiha and was completed by his son Ajâtaśatru. Near the

western gate of the new Râjgir was situated the Stûpa which was built by Ajâtaśatru over the relics of Buddha obtained by him as his share (Legge's *Fa Hian*, ch. 28). Thus the old Râjgir was abandoned, and new Râjgir became the capital of Magadha for a short period. Buddha died in the eighth year of the reign of Ajâtaśatru. The seat of government was removed to Pâṭaliputra in the reign of Udayi or Udayâśva, the grandson of Ajâtaśatru, who reigned from 519—503 B.C. The celebrated Bikramasilâ Vihâra was according to General Cunningham, situated at Silâo, a village six miles to the north of Râjgir on the river Pañchâna where a high mound still exists, but this identification does not appear to be correct (*see* **Bikramaśilâ Vihâra**). Baḍgâon or ancient Nâlandâ, the celebrated seat of Buddhist learning, is seven miles to the north of Râjgir. It still contains the ruins of the Buddhist Vihâras and Stûpas. Nigrantha Jñâtiputra (Nigaṇṭha Nâṭhaputta), who resided at Râjagṛiha in the Chaitya of Guṇaśila (*Kalpasûtra*, Samacharita) at the time of Buddha with five other Tîrthaṅkaras named Purâṇa-Kassapa, Makkhaliputta Gosâla, Ajitakesakambala, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhaputta and Pakudhakachchâyana (*Mahâvagga*, ch. VI, p. 31), has been identified with Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth or the last Tîrthaṅkara of the Jainas. It was at his instigation that Śrîgupta, a householder of Râjagṛiha attempted to kill Buddha in a burning pit and with poisonous food (*Avadâna Kalpalatâ*, ch. 8). Gosâla Makkhaliputta was the founder of the Âjivaka sect (Dr. Hoernle's *Uvasagadasao*, introduction, p. XIII and Appendix, 1. 2). Pâvâpurî, where Mahâvîra died, is at a distance of ten miles to the south-west of Râjgir. Buddha, while in Râjgir, lived at Gṛidhrakûta, Gautama-Nyagrodha-ârâma, Chauraprapâta, Saptaparni cave, Krishṇa-silâ by the side of Ṛishi-giri, Sapta-śauṇḍika cave, in the Sitavana-kuñja, Jivaka's Mango-garden, Tapoda-ârâma and Mṛigavana of Madrakukshi (*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*, ch. 3). For further particulars, see **Râjgir** in Pt II of this work 2. Râjgiri, the capital of Kekaya, on the north of the Bias in the Punjab (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhya K., ch. 68). Cunningham identifies Girivrâja, the capital of Kekaya with Jalâlpur, the ancient name of which was Girjak (*Arch. S. Rep.*, II): this identification has been adopted by Mr. Pargiter (*Markaṇḍeya P.*, p. 318 note).

Giriyek—An ancient Buddhist village on the Pañchâna river, on the southern border of the district of Patna (*see* **Indraśilâ-guhâ**). Across the Pañchâna river is the Giriyek-hill which is the same as *Gṛidhrakûṭa* hill, the Indraśilâ-guha of Hiuen Tsiang (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 471). The Pañchâna river is perhaps the ancient Sappini (Sarpiṇî) mentioned by Buddhaghosha in his commentary on *Mahâvagga*, ch. 11, p. 12. The Sappini is said to have its source in the Gṛidhrakûta mountain (*see* **Pañchânanda**). Giriyek is the "Hill of the Isolated Rock" of Fa Hian, but Mr. Broadley has identified it with the "rocky peak at Bihar" (*Ind. Ant.*, I, 19).

Godâ—The Godâvarî river (Halâyudha's *Abhidhânaratnamâlâ*, III, 52, Aufrecht's ed.).

Godâvarî—The river Godâvarî has its source in Brahmagiri, situated on the side of a village called Tryamvaka, which is twenty miles from Nasik (*Saura P.*, ch. 69; *Brahma P.*, chs. 77, 79). Brahmagiri was visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-Charitâmṛita*). Some suppose that the river has its source in the neighbouring mountain called Jaṭâphaṭkâ. In Tryambaka, there is a tank called Kuśâvartta, under which the Godâvarî is said to flow after issuing from the mountain. The portion of the Godâvarî on which Tryamvaka is situated is called Gautamî (*see* **Gautamî**). Every twelfth year, pilgrims from all parts of India resort to this village for the purpose of bathing in this sacred tank

and worshipping Tryamvakeśvara, one of the twelve Great Lingas of Mahâdeva (*Śiva P., Pt. I.*, ch. 54 ; *Varâha P.*, chs. 79, 80): *see* **Amareśvara**. Râmachandra is said to have crossed the river on his way to Lankâ at Bhadrâchalam in the Godâvari district where a temple marks the spot

Godhana-giri—Same as *Garatha Hill* (Bâna Bhatta's *Harshacharita*, ch VI).

Gokarṇa—1. Gendia, a town in the province of North-Kanara, Karwar district, thirty miles from Goa between Karwar and Kumta. It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage (*Mbh.*. Âdi P.. ch. 219; *Raghuvaṃśa*, VIII ; *Śiva P.*. Bk. III, ch. 15). It contains the temple of Mahâdeva Mahâbâleśvara established by Râvaṇa. It is thirty miles south of Sadâsheogaḍ which is three miles south of Goa [Newbold: *JASB.*, vol. XV (1846), p. 228]. Here, Sankarâchâryya defeated in controversy Nilkaṇṭha, a Śaiva (*Sankaravijaya*, ch. 15). 2 Bhâgiratha, king of Ayodhyâ, is said to have performed austerities at Gokarṇa to bring down the Ganges (*Râmâyaṇa*, Bâla K , ch. 42). This Gokarṇa is evidently the modern Gomukhî, two miles beyond Gangotri. 3. According to the *Varâha Purâṇa* (ch. 170), Gokarṇa is situated on the Sarasvatî-saṅgama or confluence of the river Sarasvatî.

Gokula—Same as Vraja or Mahâvana (*Padma P.*. Pâtâla. ch. 40; *Âdi P.*, chs. 12, 15), or Purâṇa-Gokul where Kṛishṇa was reared up. Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛishṇa, removed from Gokula to Bṛindâvana to escape molestations from the myrmidons of Kaṃsa (*Âdi P.*, ch. 3). Mahâvana or Purâṇa-Gokula is six miles from Mathurâ, and contains places associated with the early life of Kṛishṇa. Vallabhâcharyya, who was a contemporary of Chaitanya and known also by the name of Vallabha Bhaṭṭa of **Âmbali-grâma** (*q. v.*), and who founded the Ballabhâchâri sect of Vaishṇavas, built new Gokula in imitation of Mahâvana, where, in the temple of Syâma Lâla, Yaśodâ, wife of Nanda, is said to have given birth to Mâyâ Devi, and where Nanda's palace was converted into a mosque at the time of Aurangzeb (*Chaitanya Charitâmrita*, II. 19 . also Growse's *Mathurâ*): *see* **Braja**. The village of new Gokula is one mile to the south of Mahâvana on the eastern bank of the Jamuna [Lochana Dâs's *Chaitanyamangala* (Atul Gosvâmi's ed.) III, p. 181].

Gomanta-giri—1 An isolated mountain in the Western Ghats, where Kṛishṇa and Balarâma defeated Jarâsindhu (*Harivaṃśa* ch. 42). There is a Tîrtha called Goraksha on the top of Gomanta-giri. The mountain is situated in the country about Goa *i.e.*, the Konkan, called the country of Gomanta (*Padma P.*. Âdi Kh.. ch. 6). The *Harivaṃśa* (chs. 98 and 99) locates a mountain Gomanta-giri in North Kanara. 2. The Raivata hill in Gujarat was also called Gomanta (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 14).

Gomatî—1. The river Gumti in Oudh (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ, ch. 49). Lucknow stands on this river. 2. The river Godâvari near its source where the temple of Tryamvaka is situated (*Śiva P.*, Bk. 1, ch. 54). It is also called Gotamî. from Ṛishi Gautama who had his hermitage at this place (*Ibid.*, ch. 54). 3. A river in Gujarat on which Dvârakâ is situated (*Skanda P.*, Avanti Kh., ch. 60). 4. A branch of the Chambal in Malwa on which Rintambur is situated (*Meghadûta*, Pt. I, v. 47). 5. The Gomal river in Arachosia of Afghanistan (*Rig Veda*, X, 75 and Lassen *Ind. Alt.*). It falls into the Indus between Dera Ismael Khan and Pâhâḍpur. 6. A river in the Kamgra district, Punjab (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 178).

Gomukhî—According to Capt. Raper (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XI, p. 506) and Major Thorn (*Memoir of the War in India*, p. 504), it is situated two miles beyond Gangotri. It is a large rock called Cow's Mouth by the Hindus from its resemblance to the head and body of that animal. But *see* Fraser's *Himala Mountains*, p. 473. Go-mukhî is perhaps the Go-karṇa of the *Râmâyaṇa*, I, 42.

Gonanda—Same as *Gonardda* (2). (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 49 : cf. *Matsya P.*, ch. 113.)

Gonardda—1. The Punjab, so called from Gonardda, king of Kâśmîra, who conquered it. 2. Gonda in Oudh is a corruption of Gonardda, the birth-place of Patañjali the celebrated author of the *Mahâbhâshya* : hence he was called Gonarddîya. *See* **Gauḍa.** He lived in the middle of the second century before the Christian era, and was a contemporary of Pushpamitra, king of Magadha, and wrote his *Mahâbhâshya* between 140 and 120 B.C. During his time, Menander, the Greek king of Śâkala in the Punjab, invaded Ayodhyâ (Goldstücker's Pâṇini, pp. 234, 235; *Matsya P.*, ch. 113; Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, II, 70). 3. A town situated between Ujjayinî and Vidiśâ or Bhilsa (*Sutta-nipâta* : Vatthugâthâ).

Gopâchala—1. The Rohtas hill [*JASB.* (1839), p. 696]. 2. Same as **Gopâdri** (2) [*JASB.* (1862), p. 409]. Gwalior.

Gopâdri—1. Takht-i-Sulaiman mountain near Śrînagar in Kâśmîr (Dr. Stein's *Râjataranginî*, I, p. 51 note). See *Śaṅkarâchârya.* 2. Gwalior (Dr. Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 124, 154 ; *Devî P.*, ch. 75). 3. The Rohtas hill: same as **Gopâchala.**

Gopakavana—Goa. It was also called Gopakapattana or Gopakapura. It was ruled by the Kadamba dynasty (Dr. Bühler's *Introduction* to the *Vikramâṅkadeva-charita*, p. 34 note).

Goparâshṭra—Same as **Govarâshṭra.** The Igatpur sub-division of the district of Nasik (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 9 ; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX). According to Garrett it is the same as **Kuva**: Southern Koṅkana (Garrett's *Class. Dic.*).

Gopratâra—Guptâra, a place of pilgrimage on the bank of the Sarajû at Fyzabad in Oudh, where Râmachandra is said to have died (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara K., ch. 110). Near the temple of Guptâra Mahâdeva, a place is pointed out where Râmachandra is said to have breathed his last.

Goratha Hill—Bâthâni-kâ-pâhâḍ, a small isolated hill about five or six miles to the west of the valley of old Râjagṛiha, appearing from a distance to have three peaks, from which Bhîma, Arjuna, and Kṛishṇa reconnoitred the beautiful capital of Magadha (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 20). It is on the north of Sandol hill which is larger than the Bâthâni-kâ-pâhâḍ.

Gośṛiṅga parvata—1. A mountain near Nishadhabhûmi (Narwar) in Central India (*Mahâbhârata*, Sabbâ, 31). Same as **Gopâdri** (2). 2. Kohmari Spur, near Ujat in Eastern Turkistan, visited by Hiuen Tsiang, 13 miles from Khotan. It was a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Buddhist Khotan, which contained a monastery and a cave where an Arhat resided (Dr. Stein's *Sandburied Ruins of Khotan*). 3. The Gopuchchha mountain in Nepal near Katmandu upon which the temple of Svayambhunâtha is situated (*Svayambhu Purâṇa*, ch. I).

Gova-râshṭra—Gova-râshtra is evidently a corruption of Goparâshtra of the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhîshma P., ch. IX). It is the Kauba (Gova) of Ptolemy. See **Goparâshtra.** The

shrine of Sapta-Koṭiśvara Mahâdeva was established by the Sapta Ṛishis at Narvem in the island of Divar (Dîpavatî) on the north of Goa Island proper (*Ind. Ant.*, III, 194).

Govarddhana—1. Mount Govarddhana, eighteen miles from Brindâvan in the district of Mathurâ. In the village called Paitho, Kṛishṇa is said to have taken up the mount on his little finger and held it as an umbrella over the heads of his cattle and his townsmen to protect them from the deluge of rain poured upon them by Indra (*Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 129). See **Vraja-maṇḍala**. 2. The district of Nasik in the Bombay Presidency (Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan; Mahâvastuavadâna* in Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Sanskrit Literature of Nepal*, p. 160). See **Govarddhanapura.**

Govarddhana-maṭha—One of the four Maṭhas established by Śaṅkarâchâryya at Jagannâtha in Orissa (see **Sṛiṅgagiri**).

Govarddhanapura—Govardhan, a village near Nasik in the Bombay Presidency (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch 57; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 3).

Govâsana—It is evidently the Kiu-pi-shwong-na of Hiuen Tsiang, which has been restored by Julien to Govisana: it is 400 li to the south-east of Matipura or the present Mundore, a town in Western Rohilkhand near Bignor (*Mbh.*, Bhishma P., ch. 17).

Gṛidhrakûṭa-parvata—According to General Cunningham it is a part of the Śaila-giri, the Vulture-peak of Fa Hian and Indraśilâ-guhâ of Hiuen Tsiang (*see* **Indraśilâ-guhâ**). It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rajgir. Śailagiri is evidently a spur of the Ratnakûṭa or Ratnagiri, but the name of Śailagiri is not known to the inhabitants of this place. Buddha performed austerities here for some time after leaving the Pâṇḍava giri cave, and in his subsequent sojourn, he delivered here many of his excellent Sûtras. Devadatta hurled a block of stone from the top of this hill to kill Buddha while he was walking below in meditation (Chullavagga, Pt. vii, ch. 3, but *see* **Girivrajapura**). Buddha resided in the garden of Jîvaka, the physician, at the foot of the mountain and here he was visited by the king Ajâtaśatru and by his minister Varshâkâra, which led to the foundation of Pâṭaliputra (Cunningham's *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 89 and *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*). It is also called Giriyek hill.

Guhyeśvarî—The temple of Guhyeśvarî, which is claimed both by the Hindus and Northern Buddhists as their own deity, is situated on the left bank of the Bâgmati, about a quarter of a mile above the temple of Paśupatinâtha and three miles north-east of Kâtmâṇḍu (Wright's *Hist. of Nepal*, p. 79; *Devî-Bhâgvata* vii, 38). *See* **Nepâla.**

Gunamatî-vihâra—The Gunamati monastery, which was visited by Hiuen Tsiang, was situated on the Kunva hill at Dharawat in the sub-division of Jahanabad in the District of Gayâ. The twelve-armed statue of Bhairava at that place is really an ancient Buddhist statue of Avalokiteswara (Grierson, *Notes on the District of Gayâ*).

Guptahari—Same as **Gopratâra** (*Skanda P.*, Ayodhyâ-Mâhât., ch. vi).

Gupta-kâśî—1. Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. 2. In Śoṇitapura (*see* **Soṇitapura**).

Gurjjara—Gujarat and the greater part of Khandesh and Malwa (Conder's *Modern Traveller*, vol. x, p 130). In the seventh century, at the time of Hiuen Tsiang, the name was not extended to the peninsula of Gujarat, which was then known only by the name of Saurâshṭra. The modern district of Marwar was then known by the name of Gurjjara. It appears from the *Periplus* that the south-eastern portion of Gujarat about the mouth of the Nerbudda was called Âbhîra, the Aberia of the Greeks. Gujarat was

called "Cambay" by the early English travellers. For further particulars, *see* **Guzerat** in Pt. II of this work. For the Chalukya kings of Gujarat from Mularâja to Kumârapâla, see the Badnagar Inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 293.

Gurupâda-giri—Gurpa hill in the district of Gaya, about 100 miles from Bodh-Gayâ, where Mahâ-Kâśyapa attained Nirvâna (Legge's *Fa Hian*, ch. xxxiii). It is also called Kukkuṭapâda-giri [see *An account of the Gurpa Hill* in *JASB.* (1906), p. 77]. By "Mahâ-Kâśyapa" is meant not the celebrated disciple of Buddha who presided over the first Buddhist synod after Buddha's death, but Kâśyapa Buddha who preceded Śâkyasiṃha (Legge's *Fa Hian*, ch. xxxiii). But *see* **Kukkuṭapada-giri**. This hill is called Gurupâdaka hill in the *Divyâvadâna Mâlâ* (Dr. R. Mitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 308; *Divyâvadâna*, Cowell's ed., p. 61) where Maitreya, the future Buddha, would preach the religion.

H

Haihaya—Khandesh, parts of Aurangabad and South Malwa. It was the kingdom of Kârttaviryârjuna, who was killed by Paraśurâma (*see* **Tamasâ**). Its capital was Mâhishmatî, now called Maheśvara or Chuli-Maheśvara (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 36). Same as **Anupadeśa** (*Mbh.*, Vana, 114, *Skanda P.*, Nâgara kh., ch. 66), **Mahesha** and **Mahishaka.**

Haimavata-varsha.—The name of India before it was called Bhâratavarsha (*Liṅga P.*, Pt. I, ch. 45). See **Bhâratavarsha.**

Haimavati—1. Same as **Ṛishikulyâ** (*Hemakosha*), 2. The river Ravi in the Punjab (*Matsya P.*, ch. 115). 3. The original name of the river Sutlej, which fled in a hundred streams at the sight of Vaśishṭha, and since then it is called Śatadru (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 179). 4 The river Âirâvatî (Irawadi) in the Panjab (*Matsya P.*, chs. 115, 116).

Haṃsavatî—Pegu, built by the two brothers Samala and Bimala [*JASB.*, (1859), p. 478.]

Haṃsadvâra—Same as **Krauñcha-randhra** (*Meghadûta*, Pt. I, v. 58).

Haṃsa-stûpa—Jarâsindhu-kâ-Baithak in Giriyek near Rajgir in Bihar, visited by Hiuen Tsiang. It is a dagoba [*Dehagopa* or *Dhâtugarbha* or tope (*stûpa*)] erected, according to him, in honour of a Haṃsa (goose) which sacrificed itself to relieve the wants of a starving community of Buddhist Bhikshus of the Hînayâna school. There was formerly an excellent road which led up to the mountain-top. This road was constructed by Bimbisâra when he visited Buddha at this place; the remains of the road still exist.

Haradvâra—Same as **Haridvâra.**

Hârahaura—The tract of country lying between the Indus and the Jhelum, and the Gandgarh mountain and the Salt range (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. v, p. 79, and *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, xiv, 33).

Harakela—Baṅga or East Bengal (Hemachandra's *Abhidhâna-chintâmaṇi*).

Harakshetra—Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. It was the site of a capital city founded by Râjâ Yayâti Keśarî, who reigned in Orissa in the latter part of the fifth century. Same as **Ekamrakânana.**

Haramukta—The mount Haramuk in Kâśmîra, twenty miles to the north of Śrînagar (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, II, p. 407).

Hârddapîṭha—Baidyanâtha in the Santal Parganas in Bengal. It is one of the fifty-two Pîṭhas where Satî's heart is said to have fallen, though there is no memonto

of any kind associated with the occurrence [Dr. R. L. Mitra, *On the Temples of Deoghar* in *JASB.* (1883), p. 172; *Tantra-chudâmaṇi.*]

Haridvâra—*See* **Kanakhala.** It stands on the right bank of the Ganges, at the very point where it bursts through the Siwalik hills and debouches upon the plains nearly two hundred miles from its source. It is in the district of Shaharanpur and was situated on the eastern confines of the kingdom of Srughna. It is also called Gaṅgâdvâra which contains the shrine of Nakuleśvara Mahâdeva (*Kûrma P.*, II, ch. 42)

Hariharakshetra—1. Hariharachhatra or Sonepur at the junction of the Gaṇḍak and the Ganges (*Varâha P.*, ch. 144). *See* **Bisâlâ-chhatra.** 2. Harihara at the junction of the rivers Tuṅgabhadrâ and Haridrâ in Mysore, (Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 71). *See* **Hariharanâthapura.**

Hariharanâtha-pura—Harihara or Kuḍalur at the junction of the river Haridrâ with the Tuṅgabhadrâ: a celebrated place of pilgrimage (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62; Rice's *Mysore Inscrip.*, Intro.). It was visited by Nityânanda, the celebrated disciple of Chaitanya.

Harikshetra—Harikântam Sellar on the river Pennar, a place of pilgrimage visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*, ch. 6).

Hârita-âśrama—Ekaliṅga, situated in a defile about six miles north of Udaipur in Rajputana. It was the hermitage of Rishi Hârita, the author of one of the Saṃhitâs.

Harîtakîvana—A part of Baidyanâtha in the Santal Parganas in Bengal now called Harlâjuḍi (*Baidyanâthamâhâtmya*) : *see* **Chitâbhûmi.**

Harivarsha—It included the western portion of Thibet (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 82; *Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 51). Same as **Uttara-kuru** (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 28).

Haryo—Hassan-Abdul in the Punjab: it was also called Haro.

Hastaka-vapra—Hâthab near Bhaonagar in Gujarat: it is the "Astacampra" of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, and Astakapra of Ptolemy, (*see* *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 539).

Hastimatî—The river Hautmatî, a tributary of the Sabarmatî in Gujarat (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 55).

Hastinâpura—The capital of the Kurus, north-east of Delhi, entirely diluviated by the Ganges. It was situated twenty-two miles north-east of Mirat and south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Ganges. Nichakshu, the grandson of Janamejaya of the *Mahâbhârata*, removed his capital to Kauśâmbî after the destruction of Hastinâpura (*Vishnu P.*, pt. IV, ch. 21). Gaḍmukteśvar, containing the temple of Mukhteśvara Mahâdeva was a quarter of ancient Hastinâpura. *See* **Gaṇamukteśvara.**

Hastisomâ—The river Hatsu, a tributary of the Mahânadî [*Padma P.*, Svarga (Âdi), ch. 3].

Hâṭaka—1. Undes or Hûṇadeśa where the lake Mânasasarovara is situated (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 27). The Guhyakas (perhaps the ancestors of the Gurkhâs) lived at this place. 2. A *Kshetra* or sacred area in the district of Ahmadabad in which was situated Chamatkârapura, once the capital of Ânartta-deśa, seventy miles to the south-east of Sidhpur (*Skanda P.*, Nâgara kh). See **Chamatkârapura.**

Hatyâharaṇa—Hattiaharan, twenty-eight miles south-east of Hardoi in Oudh. Râmachandra is said to have expiated his sin for killing Râvaṇa, who was a Brâhman's son, by bathing at this place.

Hayamukha—Cunningham has identified this with Daundiakhera on the northern bank of the Ganges, about 104 miles north-west of Allahabad (*Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch. 22; Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 387). Beal considers that the identification is not satisfactory (*Records of Western Countries*, I, 229). It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang.

Hemakûṭa—1. Called also Hemaparvata. It is another name for the Kailâsa mountain which is the abode of Kuvera, the king of the Yakshas (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma P., ch. 6; *Kurma P.*, I, 48). This appears to be confirmed by Kâlidâsa (Śakuntalâ, Act vii). 2. The Bândarpuchchha range of the Himalaya in which the rivers Alakânanda, Ganges and Jamuna have got their source (*Varâha P.*, ch. 82). It should be observed that the Kailâsa, and Bandarpuchchha ranges were called by the general name of Kailâsa. *See* **Kailâsa**.

Hidamba—Cachar, named after a Râjâ of Kâmarupa in Assam, who built a palace at Khaspur at the foot of the northern range of hills [*Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer* (1841), vol. 11, p, 97].

Himâdri—The Himalaya mountain.

Himâlaya—The Himalaya mountain, (*see* **Himavân**).

Himavân—Same as **Himâlaya** (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, chs. 54, 55). According to the Purâṇas, Himavân or the Himâlaya range is to the south of Mânasa-sarovara (*Varâha P.*, ch. 78).

Himavanta—Majhima, Kassapagotta, and Dundubhissara were sent as missionaries to Himavanta by Asoka (*Mahâvaṃśa*, ch. xii). Their ashes were found in a tope at Sanchi (Cunningham, *Bhilsa Tope*, p. 287). By some, it has been identified with Tibet, but Fergusson identifies it with Nepal (Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India*, p. 17).

Hiṅgulâ—Hiṅglâj (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, vii, 38), situated at the extremity of the range of mountains in Beluchistan called by the name of Hiṅgulâ, about twenty miles or a day's journey from the sea-coast, on the bank of the Aghor or Hiṅgulâ or Hingol river (the Tomeros of Alexander's historians) near its mouth. It is one of the fifty-two pîṭhas or places celebrated as the spots on which fell Satî's dissevered limbs. Satî's brahmarandhra is said to have fallen at this place (*Tantra Chuḍâmaṇi.*) The goddess Durgâ is known here by the name of Mahâmâyâ or Koṭṭarî. According to Captain Hart, who visited the temple, it is situated in a narrow gorge, the mountains on each side of which rise perpendicularly to nearly a thousand feet. It is a low mud edifice, built at one end of a natural cave of small dimensions, and contains only a tomb-shaped stone, called the goddess Mâtâ or Mahâmâyâ [*Account of a Journey from Karachi to Hinglaj* in *JASB.*, IX (1840), p. 134; *Brief History of Kalat* by Major Robert Leech in *JASB.*, (1843), p. 473]. Sir T. Holdich considers that the shrine had been in existence before the days of Alexander, "for the shrine is sacred to the goddess Nana (now identified with Śiva by the Hindus)" which, Assurbanipal (Sardanapalus of the Greeks) king of Assyria, removed from Susa in 645 B.C. to the original sanctuary at Urakh (now Warka in Mesopotamia), the goddess being Assyrian. (*The Greek Retreat from India* in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. XLIX;

Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, IV, p. 344). The temple is said to be a low mud edifice, containing a shapeless stone situated in a cavern (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII). The *ziarat* is so ancient that both Hindus and Muhammadans claim it without recognising its prehistoric origin. The goddess is known to the Muhammadans by the name of Nani (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xiii, p. 142). The Aghor river is the boundary between the territory of the Yam of Beila and that of the Khan of Khelat. The name given to the stream above the peak in the Hara mountains is Hingool. It is called Aghor from the mountains to the sea. On the way from Karachi, between the port of Soumeanee and the Aghor river, there are three hills which throw up jets of liquid mud called Chandra-kûpa. The village nearest to Hinglaj is Urmura or Hurmura, situated on the coast at a distance of two days' march (*JASB.*, IX, p. 134).

Hiraṇvatî—1. A river in Kośala, probably at its western extremity (*Vâmana P.*, ch, 64). 2. A river in Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, Udyoga ch. 158).

Hiraṇyavâhu—The river Śona, the Erannoboas of the Greeks (*Amarakosha*). *See* Sona. The modern Chândan was erroneously identified by Major Franklin with Erreen Bhowah : it runs south of Bhagalpur and joins the Ganges to the west of Champânagar. Chândan was also called Chandrâvatî (see Franklin's *Site of Ancient Palibothra*, p. 20, and *Uttara Purâṇa* quoted by him). The name of Chândan however has some connection with Chând Sadâgar (*see* **Champâpuri**).

Hiraṇyavindu—1. A celebrated place of pilgrimage at Kalinjar (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 87). 2. A place of pilgrimage in the Himâlaya (*Ibid*, Âdi, ch. 217).

Hiraṇya-parvata—Monghir (*see* **Mudgala-giri**).

Hiraṇyapura—Herdoun or Hindaun in the Jeypur state, seventy-one miles to the south-west of Agra, where Vishṇu is said to have incarnated as Nṛisiṃha Deva and killed Hiraṇyakaśipu, the father of Prahlâda (*Padma P.*, Srishṭi, ch. 6). But *see* **Mulasthânapura**.

Hiraṇyavatî—The Little (Chhoṭa) Gaṇḍak, same as Ajitavatî near Kuśinârâ or Kuśinagara (*Mahâparinirvâna Sûtra*). It flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the Great Gaṇḍak and falls into the Gogrâ (Sarayû).

Hisadrus—The river Sutlej in the Punjab.

Hlâdini—The river Brahmaputra (Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIV, p. 444). But this identification does not appear to be correct. It is described as situated between Kekaya on the west and the river Śatadru (Sutlej) on the east. Bharata crossed this river on his way to Oudh from Kekaya (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodh., ch 71).

Hṛishikeśa—Ṛishikes, a mountain twenty-four miles to the north of Hardwar, which was the hermitage of Devadatta (*Varâha P.*, ch. 146), It is situated on the bank of the Bhâgîrathî on the road from Haridwar to Badrinâth.

Hûṇa-deśa—1, The country round Śâkala or Sealkot in the Punjab, as Mihirakula, a Hun, made it his capital. 2. The country round Mânasa-sarovara.

Hupian—The capital of Parsusthâna, the country of the Parsus, a warlike tribe mentioned by Pâṇini. Hupian is the present Opian, a little to the north of Charikar at the entrance of a path over the north-east of the Paghman or Pamghan range (Cunningham's *Anc Geog.*, p. 20). It was the site of Alexandria, a town founded by Alexander

the Great, the Alasanda of the Mahâvaṃsa and the birth-place of Menander (the Milinda of the Buddhist writers), the celebrated Bactrian king (McCrindle's *Invasion of India*, p. 332). Opian is perhaps a corruption of Upaniveśa or properly Kshatriya-Upaniveśa, a country situated on the north of India (*Matsya P.*, 113).

Hushkapura—Uskur on the left bank of the Vitastâ opposite to Bâramûla in Kâśmîra. It was founded by king Hushka, the brother of Kanishka. Uskur is also called Uskara (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.*, p. 99).

Hydaspes—The Greek name of the river Jhelum in the Punjab.

Hydroates—The Greek name of the river Ravi in the Punjab.

Hypanis—The Greek name of the river Bias in the Punjab.

Hypasis—The Greek name of the river Bias in the Punjab.

I.

Ikshu—1. The river Oxus: it flowed through Śâkadvîpa [*Vishṇu P.*, II, ch. 4; *JASB.*, (1902), p. 154]. 2. An affluent of the Nerbuda (*Kûrma P.*, pt. II, ch. 39).

Ikshumatî—The river Kâlinadî (East) which flows through Kumaun, Rohilkhand, and the district of Kanauj (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ, ch. 68).

Ilvalapura—Ellora, Seven miles from Daulatabad in the Nizam's Dominions and 44 miles from Nandgaon on the G. I. P. Railway. It is said to have been the residence of the Daitya Ilvala whose brother Bâtâpi was killed by Rishi Agastya at Bâtâpipura while on his way to the south. It is the same as **Elapura**, which is evidently a corruption of Ilvalapura. *See* **Elapura**. The Viśvakarmâ Cave (Chaitya) at Ellora, and the vihâras attached to it are supposed by Fergusson to belong to a period from 600 to 750 A.D. when the last trace of Buddhism disappeared from Western India. The Kailâsa temple which is the "chief glory" of Ellora, was caused to be carved by Krishṇa I, king of Bâdâmi, on the model of the Virûpâksha temple at Pattadakal to celebrate his conquests in the 8th century A.D. (Havell's *Ancient and Medieval Architecture*, p. 193). It is the same as **Deva-Parvata** (or giri), and Sivâlaya of the *Siva P.* (I, ch. 58). For its sanctity, *see* **Sivâlaya**.

Indrâṇî—Near Katwa, district Burdwan, Bengal, on the river Ajaya (*K. ch.* 195).

Indraprastha—Old Delhi. It is also called Brihasthala in the *Mahâbhârata*. The city of Indraprastha was built on the banks of the Jamuna, between the more modern Kotila of Firoz Shah, and Humayun's tomb, about two miles south of modern Delhi. The river has now shifted its course more than a mile eastwards. The Nigambod Ghat on the banks of the Jamuna near the Nigambod gate of Shah-jahan's Delhi, just outside the fort close to Selimgaḍ, and the temple of Nîlachatri said to have been erected by Yudhishṭhira on the occasion of performing a *homa*, are believed to have formed part of the ancient capital. It was also called Khâṇḍava-prastha, and formed part of Khâṇḍava-vana (*see* **Khâṇḍava-vana**). The name Indraprastha is preserved in that of Indrapat, one of the popular names of the fort *Purâṇa Kilâ*, which is still pointed out as the fort of Yudhishṭhira and his brothers. The fort was repaired or built on the original Hindu foundations by Humayun and was called Dinpânnâ (*Arch S. Rep.*, vol. IV). It now contains the Keelâ Koni

mosque which was commenced by Humayun and completed by Sher Shah, and also the Sher Manjil or the palace of Sher Shah, which was used as a library by Humayun on his reaccession to the throne, and in which he met with his death by an accidental fall. Indraprastha was the capital of Yudhishṭhira, who became king in the year 653 of the Kali era, called also the Yudhishṭhira era. According to Âryabhaṭṭa and Varâhamihira, the Kali age began in 3101 B.C. A large extent of land between the Delhi and Ajmer gates of modern or Shahjahan's Delhi and about sixteen miles in length contained at different periods the site of old Delhi which was shifted from time to time according to the whims and caprices of different monarchs. Just after leaving the Delhi gate, there is Firoz Shah's Kotila containing a pillar of Aśoka [for the inscription on the pillar see *JASB.* (1837), p. 577], which is one of the few remnants of Firoz Shah's capital Firuzabad. Another Aśoka pillar is on the ridge in a broken condition. The next place is Indrapat or Yudhishṭhira's Indraprastha. Just outside the fort is a gate called Lal Darwâzâ, the ancient Kâbuli Darwâzâ of Sher Shah's Delhi, which now gives entrance to an ancient mosque. At some distance is Humayun's tomb built by Akbar, containing also the tomb of Hamida Banu Begum, and also those of Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Alamgir II, Raffi-ud-Daula Raffi-ud-Dijarat, and Dara. Beyond it is a village called Nizamuddin Aulia after the name of a saint who flourished at the time of Ghiasuddin Tughlak. The village contains a *baoli* (well), the beautiful marble tombs of Nizamuddin Aulia, Mahomed Shah, Jahanara Begum, the poet Khusru and Prince Mirza Jahangir, son of Akbar II. These tombs are enclosed with beautiful marble fret-work screens, one of which is provided with a marble door. There is also a mosque called Jumat Khana built by the Emperor Alauddin. Beyond Nizamuddin Aulia Chausath Khamba containing the tomb of Akbar's foster brother and General Mobarak called Aziz Khan. The Mausoleum of Safdar Jung, the son of Sadat Khan, Nawab of Oudh and Vizir of Ahmad Shah, was erected by his son Shuja-ud-Daula. Tughlakabad contains the ruins of a big fort built by Ghiasuddin Tughlak whose tomb was raised by his crazy son Muhammad Tughlak just outside the southern wall of the city. Besides, there is the Kutub Minar, the tower of victory, with Pṛithvi-Râjâ's Yajñaśâlâ in the neighbourhood converted into a mosque, in the courtyard of which stands the celebrated Iron Pillar. This and the Lâlkoṭ with Jogamâyâ's temple, the Butkhana and Altamash's tomb are within the Delhi of Pṛithvi-Râj. Close to the Kutub Minar is the Alai Darwâzâ or the gateway of Allauddin, perhaps, of his capital, and near it is the marble tomb of Imam Zemin, the spiritual guide of Humayun. Near the Ajmer gate is the Jantar-Mantar or the Observatory of Jai Singh of Jaipur. Within Shahjahanabad or modern Delhi is the fort with its celebrated Dewan-i-Am Rang-Mahal, Mamtaz-Mahal, Shahpur palace, and the Pearl Mosque. The Jumma Masjid was constructed by Shajahan. The Sonari Mosque (Mosque of Raushan-ud-Daula) is situated immediately to the west of the Kotwali from which Nadir Shah ordered the massacre of Delhi. For further particulars, *see* **Delhi** in Pt. II, of this work.

Indrapura—Indore, five miles to the north-west of Dibhai in the Anupashahar subdivision of the Bulandshahr district, United Provinces. It is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Skandagupta, the date being 465 A. D. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 70). Perhaps this Indrapura is mentioned in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Ânanda Giri by the name of Indraprasthapura.

THE STORY OF HIR AND RANJHA.

BY WARIS SHAH 1776 A.D.

(Translated by G. C. USBORNE with prefatory remarks by SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.)

Prefatory Remarks.

My friends, Mr. M. Longworth Dames and Sir George Grierson, have sent me the translation of the poem, very celebrated in the Panjab, by Waris Shah, known as Hîr and Rânjhâ, for publication as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*. It is with great pleasure that I accede to their request.

The translation is by the late C. F. Usborne of the Indian Civil Service whose untimely death, in the words of Sir George Grierson, "was a blow to the serious study of Panjâbî." To it is attached "A Critical Analysis" by "Multani," who, from internal evidence afforded by the MS. itself, must have been Usborne. My friends were indebted to the good offices of his brother-in-law, Mr. H. D. Watson, also of the Indian Civil Service, for the MSS.

In volume II (1885) of my *Legends of the Panjab*, four separate stories relate to this great love tale—an Oriental Romeo and Juliet story. On page 177 will be found the Legend of 'Abdu'llah Shâh of Samîn; on p. 494, Ismâ'il Khân's Grandmother; on p. 499, The Bracelet-Maker of Jhang; on p. 507, The Marriage of Hîr and Rânjhâ; and at p. 1 of vol. III will be found the analogous tale of Mîrzâ and Sâhibâṅ

As the *Legends of the Panjab* are now out of print, it may be as well if I quote here my notes on the above tales, though made 35 years ago.

'Abdu'llah Shâh was a local Balochi saint at Sarûn, near Derâ Ghâzî Khân, and I printed his legend because of its references to the story of Hîr and Rânjhâ. In doing so I made the following remarks: "The story is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of the heroes of the very favourite Panjâbî tale of Hîr and Rânjhâ in the after-world. Rânjhâ is represented as still following his original occupation of a buffalo-herdsman, and as supplying milk to the Prophet.

"The story of Hîr and Rânjhâ is of world-wide celebrity in the Panjâb, and will be given in full later in these volumes. Hîr was the daughter of Chûchak, a Syâl of Rangpûr, in the Muzaffargarh District. Rânjhâ's true name was Dîdho; he was by caste a Rânjhâ Jaṭṭ, and is known almost exclusively by his caste name, which also takes the diminutive forms Ranjhuâ, Rânjheṭâ, and Ranjheṭrâ. His father Manjû was a Chaudhrî, or Revenue Collector, and local magnate at Takht Hazâra, in the Gujrânwâlâ District.

"The Syâls are of Râjpût origin, and claim higher rank than the surrounding Jaṭṭ tribes, to whom they will not give their daughters in marriage, although they may marry Jaṭṭ women. Thus, though Hîr and Rânjhâ were both Muhammadans, their love was illicit, and ended disastrously. The pride of the Syâls is illustrated by another celebrated love story, "Sâhibâṅ and Mîrzâ," which will also be given in full later on, the scene of which is at Khîwâ near Jhang. It is even now an insult to a Syâl to mention either Hîr or Sâhibâṅ, and no Syâl will remain present while either of these stories is being recited. They are, however, celebrated in the Panjâb as the types of constant lovers, much in the same way as Abelard and Héloise in modern Europe, or as Lailî and Majnûn in Arabic, and Farhâd and Shîrîn in Persian story. Hîr's tomb is about half a mile from the civil station of Jhang, and is marked on the survey map as "Mookurba Heer," which stands for "Maqbara-i-Hîr," or Hir's monument. It is a brick building, resembling in style the ordinary Musalmân tomb of the 16th century, with the exception that instead of being covered by a dome it is open to the sky. There are niches or windows on the four sides. That on the west is closed, while the other three are open, the reason assigned being that the wind should blow on Hîr from every direction except that of her home, Rangpûr, where she was murdered. The tomb stands close to an old bed of the Chenâb, and it is related that at the time of

Hîr's death the river was still flowing in this old bed, and that Hîr appeared in a vision to a merchant who was travelling past in a boat, telling him to build her tomb in this place, and to build it so that the rain of heaven should always fall on it. This was done after Hîr's body had been placed in the tomb; but before it was closed, Rânjhâ appeared, and, entering the tomb alive, was buried with her. This is not in accordance with the poem, but is the account given by Bhuṭṭâ Vais, an old Jaṭṭ in charge of the tomb. A *melâ*, or fair, of some local celebrity, is held at the tomb in the month of Mâgh (February). Hîr and Rânjhâ are commonly said to have flourished 700 or 800 years ago, but others assign them to Akbar's time (16th century A.D.) and the architecture of the tomb is in accordance with this supposition.

"The first poem in their honour is said to have been composed by Namodar Paṭwârî of Jhang, but the most celebrated is the poem of Wâris Shâh, a native of Takht Hazâra in Gujrânwâlâ, Rânjhâ's native place. It even now forms a favourite subject for local bards."

I printed the story of Ismâ'il Khân's Grandmother because of its close relationship to that of Hîr and Rânjhâ. It was evidently meant to account for the care taken of the tomb of Hîr and Rânjhâ, near Jhang, by the grandmother of the then Siyâl Râîs (Chief), Muhammad Ismâ'il Khân of Jhang, an act against the tradition of her tribe. The object of the story of The Bracelet-Maker of Jhang was to glorify the shrine or tomb of Hîr and Rânjhâ. The last of my legends, The Marriage of Hîr and Rânjhâ, related only half of the whole tale and stopped at the point where Rânjhâ gets possession of Hîr, omitting the latter half relating to the murder of Hîr, though this was the most important part of it, and was the portion which has given it such fame. The object of this tale was to bestow a fictitious value on Rânjhâ by making him out to be a wonder-working *faqīr* of the type of the greater saints and rendering his doings as fabulous as possible. No doubt the existence of the shrine to Hîr and Rânjhâ at Jhang accounted for this legend.

My remarks on the story of Mîrzâ and Sâhibân may be of interest in connection with those made above.

"This is a very celebrated in the Jhang and Montgomery Districts, and thence throughout the Panjâb, because of the feuds which the elopement of the heroine, Sâhibâṅ, with her cousin Mîrzâ led to between the Mahnîs (Syâls) and the Chadhars of Khîwâ in the Jhang District and the Khaṛals of Dânâbâd in the Montgomery District. The story generally told is as follows: Mîrzâ was sent to his relative the Mahnî chief of Khîwâ, who had a daughter Sâhibân. Sàhibâṅ was betrothed to a youth of the Chadhar tribe, but before she could be married to him she eloped with Mîrzâ towards Dânâbâd. Before they reached this place, however, their pursuers, the Mahnîs and the Chadhars, overtook them, killed Mîrzâ and strangled Sâhibaṅ. The Khaṛals thereupon attacked the Mahnîs and the Chadhars, defeated them and recovered the corpses of Mîrzâ and Sâhibâṅ which they buried at Dânâbâd. The feuds, however, lasted a long while so that it became to be considered unlucky to possess daughters, and thus they led to extensive female infanticide by strangulation, in memory of the manner of Sâhibâṅ's death. As regards the Khaṛals, this was only put down by the English within the last forty years. The Syâls to the present day resent a reference to Sâhibân as they do to Hîr, the heroine of the tale of Hîr and Rânjhâ given in the previous volume."

Mr. Usborne in a short note prefixed to his MS., writing from Battle, Sussex, August 1917, says: "I was proposing to combine with it a reprint of some verse translations of Panjâbî Lyrics published in 1906 in India. No circulation in England, though well reviewed in *Spectator* and *Athenæum*. I could also arrange with the Art School, Lahore, for about 6 or 12 illustrations in old Mogul Style."

This arrangement can alas! never be made now.

CONTENTS.

THE ADVENTURES OF HIR AND RANJHA.

BY WARIS SHAH.

INVOCATION.

Praise be to God who made Love the foundation of the world ; God himself was the first lover for he loved the Prophet Muhammad. Praise be to the Prophet whom God hath raised from the dust of the earth to great dignity ! God hath cleansed him from the sins of the world ! When the Almighty desired his presence he sent a swift steed to bear him to Heaven and gave him Gabriel, chief of the Angels, to be his messenger. Verily the power of the Prophet is great, whereby He broke the moon in twain with his finger. To the four Friends of the Prophet also be praise, even to Abu Bakr, Umar, Usmân, and Ali. They are like unto four jewels sparkling on the hand of the Prophet. Each outshineth the other in beauty.

Let us also praise the holiness of Pîrs ; without the help of holy men our boat cannot reach the shore. Praise to Mohiudîn the Pîr of Wâris, the beloved of Allâh. He can score out even the writing of the Pen of Destiny. Praise also to the beloved Pîr Chishti Shakrganj. When Shakrganj made his abode at Pâkpattan, the Panjâb was delivered of all its troubles.

In truth it is meet and proper to praise God and invoke the help of Saints and Prophets before essaying this story of Love.

My Friends came to me and said : " Write for us afresh the forgotten story of the Love of Hîr." So we have written it right cunningly and plucked a new rose in the Garden of Poetry. Even as a sweet smell cometh out of musk so is the fragrance of Love distilled from the beauty of our verse. We have awoken the forgotten tale of Hîr and Rânjha. We have bridled the steed of genius, set Love on his back, and let him loose on the field.

CHAPTER 1.

(Rânjha quarrels with his brothers and their wives and leaves his home in Takht Hazâra.)

Takht Hazâra is a pleasant place on the banks of the Chenâb. There streams are flowing and gardens smiling. It is as a Paradise on earth. It is the abode of the Rânjhas who live there in proud luxury. Their young men are heedless and handsome and care naught at all for any man. They lord it with earrings in their ears and new shawls over their shoulders. They are proud of their beauty and each one out-rivals the other in his glory.

Manjû Chaudhrî was chief landowner in the village. He had eight sons and two daughters. He lived in wealth and happiness with his family, esteemed by his brethren and honoured by all. Of all his sons Rânjha was the most beloved by his father ; and as his father loved him, so his brethren hated him. For fear of their father they would not wound him openly but their secret taunts pierced his heart, even as snakes strike sleeping men in the dark.

Now it came to pass on the NIGHT OF NIGHTS that the leaves of the Tree of Life were shaken and by the decree of God Manjû died. And Rânjha's brothers and their

wives redoubled their taunts, saying : "You eat the bread of idleness and drink two men's share of buttermilk." And they meditated in their hearts some device by which they might be rid of him.

So they sent for the Qâzi and the assembly of the elders to measure the family lands. They gave bribes to the Qâzî and thus the good land was given to the brothers and the barren and inhospitable fell to the portion of Rânjha : and Rânjha's enemies flapped their arms exultantly and said :—" Now Rânjha's brethren have entangled him in a net ! " And they jeered at the Jâṭ, saying :—" How can a man plough who wears long hair and anoints his head with curds ? What woman will marry such a ne'er-do-weel ? " And his brothers jeered saying :—" He wears a big looking-glass on his thumb like a woman. He plays on the flute all day and sings all night. Let the boy quarrel about the land if he so wills. His strength will not avail against us who are many."

So Rânjha heavy in heart, took out his yoke of oxen to the field to plough; but his soul was sad within him, and the sun smote him sore. And being tired of ploughing, when he came to a shady place, he took the yoke pegs out from the yoke and lay down to rest, and Sâhibâ his brother's wife brought him food. And he told of his sorrows to Sâhibâ his brothers wife :—

" Sister, I do not like this ploughing ; the soil is hard, my hands are blistered and my feet are exceeding sore. The good days when my father was alive are alas ! gone and now evil days have fallen upon me."

And Sâhibâ replied tauntingly :—" Verily you were your father's darling but the very shame of your mother." Whereupon Rânjha's anger was hot within him and he replied " It is truly written in the Holy Qurân :—' Women are ever deceivers.' Did not women befool Râjâ Bhoj, put a bit in his mouth and drive him like a donkey round the place ? Did not a woman destroy the Kauros and Pandos ? Did not a woman kill Râvan ? It is you who have stirred up strifeis : it you who have separated me from my brethren. I used to be happy day and night with my friends, but now your evil tongues have raised up the smoke of contention. You women make men into rams so that they fight with one another." Sâhibâ replied: " You eat too much milk and rice, hence you are proud and overbearing. You are the only blot on our family. If you would leave your home and go hungry for a time, perhaps you might give up this devilry. You are idle and do no work. You prowl about the village making eyes at the girls. The other women of the village taunt us at the spinning parties and say we are in love with you. For women fall in love with such beauty as yours even as flies are caught in honey. Day and night the women run after you. Your love has ruined many households."

Thereupon Rânjha was wroth and spoke angry words to his sisters-in-law, saying :— " All the world knows that you are the most quarrelsome women in the village, and as for your beauty, it is such that your husbands need not fear that any men will want to run away with you."

The eyes of Sâhibâ reddened with rage and her black curls glistened like angry cobras :—

" If we are not good enough for you, " said she," go and marry one of the Sîâl girls ; go and play your flute among their houses and entrap some of their women. If you don't like our beauty go and marry Hīr. Seek her day and night that you may entrap her. You

can beguile women even out of the palace of Rânî Kokilân. If you cannot get her out of the door by day, pull down the back wall and take her away by night."

Rânjha replied : " Men who have sisters-in-law like you should drown them in the deep stream. I will bring back Hîr of the Siâls in marriage and women like you shall be her hand-maidens." And he turned and went away in a rage ; and Sâhibâ looking over her shoulder, said to him :—" You should be quick about this marriage business, or the beauty of Hîr will fade and you will be too late."

So Rânjha with his flute under his arm left his father's country declaring that he would no longer eat or drink in Takht Hazâra. And it came to pass that a herdsman ran and told his brethren, and they said to him :—" Rânjha, tell us what has befallen you that you quit our home. Our wives are your maidservants and we are your slaves."

And his brothers' wives besought him saying :—" WE shed tears of blood when you talk of departing. We give our life and our property and ourselves as a sacrifice for you." Rânjha replied :—"Why do you try to make me change my mind ? For many days the food and water of Takht Hazâra have been hateful to me. First with your taunts you burnt my heart and separated me from my brethren, and now you turn round and say smooth things. You cannot prevail. MY mind is firm. The drum of my departure has sounded and I will leave the home of my fathers."

So Rânjha quarrelled with his brethren and left Takht Hazâra.

CHAPTER 2.

(Rânjha reaches the Mosque.)

After much journeying he reached a mosque, which was as beautiful as Holy Mecca or the great Mosque at Jerusalem. And hunger and cold fell upon him and weariness of travel. Then he took up his flute and played, and strange things happened. Some became senseless and others' hearts yearned when they heard the music. Not a man or woman remained in the village. They all thronged round the mosque. Last of all out came the *mullâh* who was a very bag of quarrels. And the *mullâh* seeing Rânjha said : " Who is this infidel with long hair ? This is no place for rogues. Cut off your long hair so that you may be acceptable in God's sight."

Rânjha retorted to the *mullâh* :—" You have a long beard like a venerable Shaikh, yet you behave like a devil. Why do you send innocent travellers and poor *faqîrs* like me away ? You sit in the pulpit with the Qurân in front of you, yet your mind is set on iniquity. You lead the village women astray ; you are as a bull among cows." The *mullâh* replied : " Mosques are God's houses and evil livers are not admitted therein. You have abandoned prayer and keep long hair and scented moustaches. Such men we beat out of mosques. Dogs and beggars are alike impure, and both should be whipped." To which Rânjha gave reply :—" O deputy of Allâh, may your sins be forgiven and in your mercy grant pardon to my faults. Tell me, O learned in wisdom, what is clean and what is unclean ? What is right and what is wrong ? What is prayer made of and of what is it built ? How many ears and noses has prayer ? What is its length and size and with what is it caparisoned ? To whom was prayer ordained in the beginning ? "

Whereupon the *mullâh* protested that he knew all the doctrines of the faith and all the prayers ordained for believers, and could lead the pious across the bridge of salvation, "but," said he, "lewd fellows like Rânjha should be spurned from the assemblies of honest men."

Hearing this, Rânjha jested, right merrily at the *mullâh's* morals and his baudy tricks, so that his hearers were much astonished and not a few were mightily pleased. And he teased the *mullâh* sorely saying :—" *Mullâhs* run after women in mosques and cultivate land like laymen. They are like curses clinging to the House of God. They are like blind men, lepers and cripples, always waiting greedily for a death in the house, so that they may take the dead man's raiment. They arise at midnight ; their fat bellies are smitten with hunger and they cry for something to eat. Under the shelter of Holy Writ they curse the living, and when poor wayfarers and strangers come to beg for succour they cry : " Begone, begone ! ' "

The *mullâh's* face was blackened. He hung his head and there was no spirit left in him. So he said to Rânjha :—" Remember God and cover your knees. I give you leave to pass the night in the mosque. but see to it, foolish Jât, that you leave it with covered head at early dawn, or I will summon four lusty scoundrels who will belabour you with cudgels and thrust you out of the assembly."

So Rânjha slept in the mosque during the night and at early dawn he set forth on his travels. In his heart he remembered Hîr and his mind was set on how he might compass his desire.

As he set out, the skirt of night was lifted and the yellow dawn appeared. The sparrow chirruped and the starlings began to sing. The men took their oxen out to plough, and the girls brought their milking stools and cleaned their milk cans. The women of the household began to grind corn, while others kneaded flour with their hands : the noise of the grinding stones was heard in every courtyard.

CHAPTER 3.

(Rânjha reaches the banks of the Chenâb.)

At the third watch of the day, when the sun began to slope to the west, Rânjha reached the bank of the River Chenâb. Many travellers were assembled at the ferry waiting for Luddan the ferryman to take them across. Now Luddan was as fat as a leather bag full of honey, such as trader folk bring home when they come with merchandise from Kashmîr. Rânjha said : " Master ferryman, for the love of God take me across the river." And Luddan smote his fat paunch, laughed, and with a bawdy oath replied :—"We know naught of God's love. We ply this ferry for gain." And Rânjha entreated him saying :—" I sorely need to reach my journey's end with despatch. I myself will take an oar. Luddan replied: "He who is for yonder shore, let him pay his pence. Him who gives his pence we will take across ; even though he be a dacoit or thief we will not repeat his name, but we chase away all beggars, *faqîrs* and those who eat unlawful meats like dogs. Those who attempt to enter our boat forcibly we throw into the river. Even the son of a Pîr like Wâris,[1] we will not take into our boat for nothing." At last Rânjha, weary of entreating the ferryman. sat down in a corner by himself. He drew out his flute and played

[1] Reference to the poet.

the sad music of separation from one's beloved; and he wept hot tears as he thought of the evil fortune that had befallen him. Hearing his sweet music, all the men and women left the ferry and sat round Rânjha. The two wives of Luddan took his feet in their hands and pressed them. And Luddan's heart was angry within him, and he muttered :—" This youth is a wizard. He has cast some spell over my wives." And he appealed to the villagers around him saying :—" Save us from the wiles of this Jâṭ. He will beguile all our women-folk away."

But they heeded not his word, so powerful was the flute's enchantment. Then Rânjha having solaced his soul with music, paid no heed to the entreaties of the folk at the ferry, but taking his shoes in his hand, set his feet in the river. And the people said :—" Sir, go not down into the river! The stream of the Chenab runs deep and strong. Even long poles cannot touch its bottom. One's life is lost at the mere sight of the waves of the Chenab." Luddan's wives tried to prevail on him to return and caught the skirts of his clothing. But Rânjha replied to them :—" It is best that those in trouble should die. They that are happy do not quit their homes. My parents are dead and I have been tormented as Joseph was tormented by his brethren." So Rânjha tied his clothes on his head and putting pride away from his soul, called on the names of God and Khwâja Khizr, the prophet of the Waters, and essayed to cross the river.

But the people ran and caught him and brought him back, saying :—" Friend, enter not the river or you will be drowned. We ourselves will carry you on our shoulders. We are your servants and you dwell as it were in the apple of our eye."

So they caught Rânjha by the arms, put him in the boat and seated him on the couch of Hîr. And Rânjha made much questioning concerning the couch and the fine linen thereon. And the people answered :—" This is the couch of a Jâṭ damsel, the daughter of Mihr Chûchak. She is as lovely as the moon. The Queen of the Fairies always seeks GOD'S protection from her beauty. Those who have become a prey to her charms can find no shelter on earth. Her beauty slays rich Khojas and Khatris [2] in the bazaar, like a murderous Kizilbâsh trooper riding out of the royal camp armed with a sword. Luddan and his boatmen are afraid of her, even as a goat fears the wolf. She is the pride of the Siâl assembly. Her name is HÎR. (Quoth the poet! "This is not a boat but a marriage procession.")

So Rânjha bid all the passers-by sit on the couch, boys and men, rich and poor. They surrounded him like moths round a lamp. And Luddan repented him that he had not taken Rânjha across at first, " For, I fear." said he, " that this robber of the Chenâb may by his magic beguile away my wives from me."

Now the shepherds took the news to the village that a young man was singing in the boat :—" Flowers drop from his mouth when he speaks. Luddan's wives are in love with him, and he sits on Hîr's couch." And the people of the ferry asked Rânjha his story :— " Whence have you come? Why have you left your home? You seem very delicate. Has nobody given you any food, not even a drop of milk to drink? So Rânjha told his story unto the people, saying :—" I was the darling of my parents, but see now the work of God, in what strange wise fate has dealt with me."

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[2] The merchant class in N. India

CHAPTER 4.

(Hîr and her companions come to the Ferry.)

How can the poet describe the girl friends of Hîr ? They were fair and bright with beauty. Lovers became like moths round the lamp of their loveliness. Their eyes were pencilled with the collyrium of Ceylon and Kandahâr. Their eyebrows were like the bows of Lahore and their eyelashes like the arrows thereof. Neither the Chinese nor those of the North can rival the features of the Siâls. When they walked hand in hand down to the river their lovers were slain in battalions. The music of their bangles echoed as they walked. Their foreheads were as fair as the porch of a mosque.

Last of all came Hîr surrounded by her friends even as an eagle floats through the air. She was proud of her beauty and handfuls of pearls swung from her ears. The ring from her nose shone like the polar star. Her beauty was as mighty as the onset of a storm. When the red shift on her breast quivered in the sun, whosoever saw it forgot both Heaven and Earth.

Poet, how can you praise the beauty of Hîr ? Her eyes were as soft with love as the eyes of a deer or a narcissus, her cheeks were as bright as roses. Her features were as lovely as the curves of a manuscript written by a cunning scribe. When her eyes flashed it was as if the armies of the Panjâb had fallen upon Hindûstân. Her lips were red as a ruby and her chin like an apple of the north. Her teeth were like pearls and beautiful as the seeds of a pomegranate. Her nose was like the blade of Husain's sword ; her locks were like black cobras sitting on the treasures of the Desert. She stood like a cypress in the garden of Paradise. Her thighs were as white as camphor and her leg as shapely as the pillar of a minaret. To look at her was as the vision of the Night of Nights (*lailatul-kadir-shabrât*). The redness of her lips made a man cry "Oh God ! Oh God !" The onset of her beauty was as if armies from Kandahâr had swept over the Panjâb.

Thus Hîr and her girl friends came to the river to bathe. The tinkling of their anklets was heard from afar. They thundered like a cloud when they drew near the boat. They descended on the boatmen as a hail storm sweeps over a field. They belaboured Luddan the ferryman with their whips. They ordered the guards of the ferry to be bound hand and foot. Hîr spoke straightway and said :—"Luddan, you black-faced rogue, why have you defiled my couch ? Whom have you allowed to sleep on my bed ? Have you no respect for me or fear of God that you have done this thing ?"

So they ran to the boat and looked at the couch and, behold, a comely youth was sleeping thereon with a red shawl over his shoulders. And Luddan lifted up his hands and said :—"Spare us, Lady, we are innocent. We did not invite the lad to sleep on your bed ; he has come here himself without our invitation. The songs that he sings have cast a spell over our hearts. Be not proud of your beauty, Queen, nor be overbearing to your servants. Even tyrants fear God. Take heed that you become not like Zulaika when her eyes fell on the beauty of Joseph."

And Hîr made answer in her anger :—"This lad takes no heed of aught that may befall him. Does he not know that this is the kingdom of my father Chûchak ! I care for no one, be he a lion, an elephant or the son of a noble. Does he think he is the son of Nâdhu Shâh or that he is the Pîr of Baghdâd ? I have a thousand slaves like him and I care not a whit for such as he.

And Hîr turning to Rânjha said :—"Sleeper, arise from my bed. Who are you and why have you chosen my sleeping place ? One whole watch of the day have I been waiting

with my girl friends. Tell me, why are you sleeping so soundly ? Have evil days befallen you that you run the risk of being flogged? Has sleep not come to you all night long that you sleep so sound a slumber ? Or have you heedlessly slept on my bed thinking there was no master thereof forsooth ? "

And Hîr cried aloud in her wrath to her maidservants to belabour him with cudgels. The queen in her wrath was furious to behold.

CHAPTER 5.

(The meeting of Rânjha and Hîr.)

And Rânjha opened his eyes and beheld Hîr and said :—" Be gentle with me, Sweetheart."

And Hîr's heart melted within her even as the snows of Kashmîr melt under the tyrannous sun of June.

Rânjha had his flute under his arm and earrings were in his ears. His beauty was as the beauty of the full moon. Their four eyes met and clashed in the battlefield of Love. The heart of Hîr swelled with happiness even as a loaf swells with leaven. She sat in his lap as lovingly as arrows nestle in the embrace of the quiver. They conversed happily one with the other. Love triumphant rode on the field of victory. The soul of Hîr was sore perplexed within her. She abandoned the pride of her beauty and became submissive unto Rânjha.

" It is well," quoth she, " that I did not beat you or say anything that was unbecoming."

(Poet Wâris, none can withstand when eyes fight with eyes in the tourney of Love.)

Rânjha replied :—" This world is a dream. Even you, proud Lady, will have to die. You should not be unkind to strangers or treat poor men with haughtiness. Take back your couch and quilt and I will depart hence and be no more seen."

And Hîr made reply :—" This couch, Hîr and everything of mine is yours. Surely I did not reproach you. I clasp my hands in front of you. I swear I never lifted a finger against my Lord. I have been wandering masterless amongst my friends, and now God has sent me Rânjha to be my Master."

And Rânjha replied :—" Oh beauteous Lady ! Lovers, *faqîrs* and black cobras cannot be brought to submission without incantations. The wine of your beauty has intoxicated me, but you walk disdainfully."

Hîr replied :—" I am your slave. Tell me, Friend ! Whence have you come ? Has some proud woman driven you from your home ? Whither and why are you wandering ? What is your name ? Of what caste are you ? Who is the wedded wife you have left behind, for whom you are sorrowing ? Your eyes are as soft as the eyes of a deer. Flowers drop from your mouth as you speak. I am even as your slave. Tell me friend, would it please you to graze my father's buffaloes ? The herd belongs to my father, but you will be my servant. Does that plan suit my Lord's fancy ? When you drink of my father's grey buffaloes' milk you will forget all your sad songs."

Rânjha replied :—" Girl, I am Rânjha and a Jâṭ by caste. I come from Takht Hazâra. I am favourite son fo Chaudhri Mauju. On his death evild ays befell me. My brothers by cunning stole the best fields. My portion was stones and bushes, and no rain fell thereon. My brothers burnt me with their taunts until I became like to roasted meat. If your loveliness so please I will graze the herd under the shadow of your eyes, and do whatsoever your heart wishes. But how shallI be able to meet you ? Let usdevise some plan lest you go away with your girl friends, desert me and kill me in my helplessness."

Hîr replied with folded hands :—" I will remain your slave, and all my handmaidens will do your bidding. Is not the forest a meet place for the clashing of four eyes and the meeting of four lips ? Journeys end in lovers' meeting. God has given me the cowherd for my lover and I have forgotten the love I had for all my old friends and acquaintances."

Rânjha replied :—" Hîr, you will sit among your girl friends at the spinning parties. I shall wander alone and disconsolate in the courtyard, and no one will take any heed of me. Do not feed me on bread and then deceive me, and expel me from the courtyard. Hîr do not beguile me. If you mean to be true, keep to your plighted word. Do not first be kind to a stranger and then turn your back upon him."

Hîr replied :—" I swear by my Father—and may my Mother die—if I turn my face from you. Without you I declare food to be abhorrent to me. I will never give my love to any other man. Sitting on water I swear by Khwâja Khizr, the god of the waters :—' May I turn into a pig if I break the oath of Love. May I be a leper and lose my sight and limbs if ever I seek any husband save Rânjha.' "

And Rânjha replied :—" Hîr, the way of Love is difficult, and my heart is perplexed within me. Love is more fearful than a sword or spear or the triple venom of the *chuselra* snake. Pledge me your faith that you intend to be true. Remember that on the day of Resurrection those who have broken faith will meet those whose trust they have betrayed."

CHAPTER 6.

(Rânjha becomes Chûchak's cowherd.)

So Hîr pledged her faith and Rânjha trusting in her stood before Mihr Chûchak. Hîr went into the presence of her father and made Rânjha stand beside her.

(Quoth the Poet : " See what a net of deceit Hîr, the Jâṭ girl, has spread ! ")

And Hîr said :—" My father, hail ! May my life be sacrificed for you, under the shadow of whose protection my youth has passed happily in the Sandal Bâr. Verily have I swung on cords of silk in the gardens of beauty ! My father, I have found a servant who can tend our buffaloes."

And Chûchak replied smilingly :—" Who is this boy and whence has he come ? His body looks so soft that if you touch him a bruise will come. He is not fit for buffaloes work. He seems of such gentle birth that methinks he will consider the buffaloes his own and himself no one's servant. The splendour of God shines in his face. It is not meet that he should be a herdsman."

And Hîr replied to her father :—" My father, Rânjha is of gentle birth. He is the son of a Chaudhri of Takht Hazâra. 'Tis a real jewel that I have found."

And Chûchak said :—" He seems to be a mere lad, but he has wise eyes and a kindly disposition. But why is he sad and why has he left his home ? Is he meditating any deceit in his heart ?"

And Hîr replied with subtlety :—" My Father, he is as learned as Solomon, and he can shave the very beard of Plato. He has cunning to trace out thefts and he speaks with wisdom in the assembly of the elders. He can decide thousands of disputes and he is learned in the wisdom of the Dogaṛ Jâṭs. He can swim buffaloes across the river and recover stolen cattle. He keeps all the herd as it were in the apple of his eye. He is one in a thousand in a country where thieves are many and good servants scarce. He stands steadfast in his duty as a wrestler stands firm in the midst of the arena."

And Chûchak replied with tenderness to Hîr :—" You are championing his cause with zeal. We will see how the boy turns out. We accept what you say ; the boy can be given charge of the buffaloes., but bid him take care, as it is no easy task to tend buffaloes in the Bâr."

(Quoth the poet : " Lovers are fortunate whose tangled affairs have been put straight by the kindness of God.")

Then Hîr came and told her mother :—" Mother, the difficulty that has so long beset us has at last been settled. The herd will no longer be masterless nor go astray in the forest. I have entrapped a Jâṭ, a real jewel. I entreated him kindly and beguiled him with sweet talk and I have at length persuaded him to be shepherd of our cattle."

And thus it came to pass that after a little Hîr came to Rânjha and consoled him with sweet talk. And the boys of the village laughed and said to Rânjha :—" Now you will live on milk and cream all your life long."

And Hîr said :—" You should not mind the jests of these rude boys. I will bring you butter and sugar and sweet bread. Go and drive the buffaloes into the forest and trust in God. I and my sixty maids will accompany you and together we will track the footprints of the lost cattle."

CHAPTER 7.

(Rânjha meets the Five Pîrs in the forest.)

God showed his mercy and the Bâr was covered with green, even with innumerable grasses and herbs. The buffaloes formed into a black line like a snake and set out for the forest and Rânjha took upon himself the task of a herdsman. He called on the name of God and entered the forest. And the sun smote him sore and he was in great tribulation.

Good fortune however came to him and he met the Five Pîrs in the way. First came Khwâja Khizr, god of all the waters, then Shakarganj, the holy saint of Pâkpattan. Then Shâhbâz Qalandar, the holy saint of Uch, and Zakarîa, saint of Multân, and Sayyid Jalâl of Bukhâra, whom men also call Makhdûm Jahânîân. And Rânjha saw by their countenances that they were holy men and besought their help.

The Pîrs replied :—"Child, eat your fill and drink grey buffaloes' milk and live on the fat of the land. Dismiss all sadness from your mind. God himself will set your affairs right."

And Rânjha replied :—" Sirs, I am in great distress. You are mediators with God and I salaam before you seven times. I beseech you bestow the girl Hîr upon me, for the fire of Love is devouring me."

The holy Pîrs answered and said :—" Child, all your wishes will be fulfilled ; your arrow will hit the target, and your boat will reach the shore. Hîr has been bestowed on you by the Darbâr of God. My child, remember the Five Pîrs in the time of your distress."

Thus by the grace of God and the kindness of the Five Pîrs, Hîr, the Jâṭ girl, was bestowed on Rânjha.

(Quoth the poet : " When the days of good fortune come, all the *pîrs, fakîrs* and *amîrs* are ready to help.")

The Five Pîrs were gracious unto Rânjha. Khizr gave him a turban tuft, Sayyid Jallâl a dagger, Zakarîa a stick and blanket, Lâl Shâhbâz a ring, and Shakrganj a kerchief. And they said :—" No one will do you harm. God has made you the owner of these cattle."

And the buffaloes streamed out into the forest and were the glory of the land, even as swans are the glory of a lake. There were black buffaloes, grey buffaloes and brown. Some had horns upturned, others drooping, others curly horns. Some were lazy and mild tempered : others were fat and lusty and of fiery spirit. They gambolled and jumped and threshed their tails from side to side. They swam in deep water. Their soft eyes were like lotus buds and their teeth like rows of pearls. Rânjha drove the cattle into the forest and they were happy with him and hearkened to his voice, and he drove them whithersoever he listed.

CHAPTER 8.

(Hîr and Rânjha meet in the forest.)

Hîr Jaṭṭi set out from Jhang Sîâl. She came as a cloud of beauty from Paradise to fertilise the Sandal Desert, or as the soul coming to awaken the body. She came to fulfil the eagerness of her heart, for she was possessed with love for Rânjha. She brought him boiled rice, sugar and butter and milk, and she said with weeping eyes :—" I have been searching for you all over the forest." And she served him with all manner of attention. And Rânjha told Hîr that according to Muhammadan law the promises of women were not to be trusted :—

" God himself hath said in the holy Qurân : 'Verily your deceit is great.' Satan is the Lord of evil spirits and women. Women falsify the truth and feel no shame. The word of women, boys, hemp-smokers and *bhang*-drinkers cannot be trusted. Only if you intend to keep your word, Hîr, can the son of Mauju endure the humiliation of being a servant."

Hîr replied :—" Do not upbraid women. None can be so persistent or steadfast as a woman. For the love of Joseph Zulaika renounced her kingdom. For the love of Mâhîwâl Sohnî was drowned in the river. Is not the love of Laila known throughout the world and does not the grass grow green on her tomb to this day ? Sassi died a martyr in the burning sands and Shirîn died too for the sake of her lover Farhad. Had not prophets and saints mothers that bore them ? Was not Eve Adam's equal ? Men cannot be as bold as women. Ask Wâris the poet, he knows this well. As God and the Prophet are true, I give you my plighted word that I will be your slave as long as blood runs in my veins. I am yours to do with as you will. You may sell me in the bazar if it so pleases you." So Hîr comforted Rânjha with sweet words and poured out all her soul to him. She said :—" We shall be surrounded by enemies and you must confront all troubles with patience. The waves of the Ocean of Love are heavy with fate. They will either take us ashore or drown us. But beware of Kaidu, my wicked uncle. He is like Satan and bent on mischief. The world will reproach us and those who are ignorant will cast taunts at us, but the true lover sacrifices his life for his beloved. Lovers have no support but God."

Thus every day Hîr used to take a bowl of rice and pudding to Rânjha in the forest, and she swore to be true to him. She gave up her spinning and no longer sat with her girl friends. She was with Rânjha all the day. She set aside the blanket of shame. And the folk of the village put their fingers in their mouths in amazement, beholding her wantonness.

(Quoth the poet :—" Those who commit sin will burn in Hell.")

The news spread over the whole of Jhang that Hîr had fallen in love with a shepherd and that she went to visit him every day in the forest.

CHAPTER 9.

(Hîr's mother is angry with her and Kaidu finds her in the forest with Rânjha.)

When Hîr came back from the forest, her mother rebuked her saying:—" The taunts of the village-folk have consumed us utterly. Would that no daughter Hîr had been born to me ! If you cease not from wickedness your father Chûchak and your brother Sultân will cut you in pieces."

And Hîr replied :—" Listen Milkî, my mother ! as long as breath remains in my body I will not leave Rânjha. Yea ! though they carve me into little pieces and I become a martyr at Karbala. And so I shall go to meet the famous lovers of old, I shall see Laila, and Majnûn and Sassi who was drowned in the river."

And Milkî was wroth with Hîr and said :—" This then is the reward your father and I receive for the love we have bestowed on our daughter. We thought we had planted a rose in our garden but it is a prickly thorn. You visit Rânjha daily in the forest and take him food and cake and pasty. You heed not what your parents say. Daughters who are disobedient to their parents are not daughters but prostitutes."

But Hîr would not listen to her mother and continued to visit Rânjha in the forest.

Meanwhile Kaidu the cripple, Hîr's uncle, constantly urged Chûchak to chastise Hîr. He kept watch over her footsteps as a spy. He smelt the savour of the pasty and he secretly followed Hîr when she went to the forest. At last the cunning of the cripple succeeded. Hîr had gone to the river to fetch water and Rânjha was sitting alone, so Kaidu in the guise of a mendicant *faqîr* came to him and begged for alms in the name of God. And Rânjha, thinking he was truly a holy man, gave him half of his pasty. Kaidu gave him a *faqîr's* blessing and retired towards the village.

When Hîr came back from the river she asked Rânjha where the other half of the pasty was, and he told her that a crippled *faqîr* had come and begged in God's name, and as he seemed a saintly man he had given him half the pasty. Hîr replied :—" Rânjha, where have your wits gone ? That was no saintly *faqîr* but my Satanic uncle Kaidu who goes about to destroy me. Did I not warn you ? He is as evil as Satan. He separates husbands from wives and mothers from daughters. He is a great hypocrite, for what he sets up with his hands by day he kicks down by night with his feet. He will put in motion the well-gear of destruction and will drop *ak* juice into our milk." Rânjha replied to Hîr :— " Kaidu has only just left and he cannot be far away. Go and stop him on some pretence."

The heart of Hîr was scorched with anger against Kaidu so she ran and overtook him in the way and fell on him in her wrath like a tigress. She tore off his *faqîr's* cap and ropes of beads and threw them on the ground. She thrashed him even as a washerman beats his clothes on the washing-board. She thundered in her wrath :—" Give me back the pasty if you wish your life to be spared ; else I will bind you hand and foot and hang you to a tree. Why do you pick quarrels with girls? Half of the pasty fell on the ground : the other half Kaidu snatched from Hîr, and having secured his prize, the cripple ran off as fast as his crooked legs would carry him to the village.

Then Kaidu came before the council of the village elders and said :—" See, here are the pieces of pasty which Hîr gave to Rânjha. Will you now believe when I tell you she is a shameless hussy ? Why does somebody not tell Chûchak to chastise her ? She is bringing shame and humiliation on the kindred. Chûchak should have repented the day on which he engaged this cowherd. His wits must have forsaken him that he has not turned Rânjha away." And they came and told Chûchak what Kaidu had been saying in the assembly of the elders.

And Chûchak was wroth and said :—" Kaidu is a tale-bearer and a liar : he chases moths all day. He thinks he becomes a perfect *faqîr* by wearing a rosary. He thinks the girdle makes the *darvesh*. Why does he wag the tongue of slander against Hîr ? She

only goes to the forest to play with her girl friends." But the women of the village mocked at Milkî saying :—" Your daughter is a bad girl and our hearts are burnt with shame like roasted meat. The drum of her shame has been beaten throughout the whole valley of the Chenab. If we speak to her she is insolent to us. She has the pride of a princess. She goes to the forest under the pretence of going to the mosque with a Qurân under her arm. People think she is reading in the mosque, but she is getting another lesson from a different chapter. She is a bad example to the village and we are beginning to be anxious about our own daughters."

And Kaidu said to Milkî:—" For God's sake get your daughter married. The Qâzi always says :—'Marry a naughty girl as soon as you can.' Or else break her head and cut her into small pieces, as she is a disgrace to the village. Why do you not plaster her mouth up, as you plaster up your cornbins ? "

And Milkî was at last tortured to frenzy by these taunts, and said to Mittu the barber woman : " Go and call that Hussy Hîr and say her mother wants her." So Mittu went and called Hîr. And Hîr appeared and laughingly said to her mother :— " See, I am here." And Milkî said : " You bad girl. You should be drowned in the deep stream for causing such a scandal. Grown up daughters who venture outside their father's house should be thrown down the well. You are so fond of your lover, Hîr, that we shall have to find a husband for you. If your brother comes to hear of your goings on, he will hurry on your betrothal or he will hack you in pieces with his sword. Why have you cut off the nose of the family and covered us with disgrace ? Come, Mittu, take off her ornaments. What is the good of giving jewellery to a girl like this ? She is tarnishing the honor of Jhang Sîâl. We will dismiss the cowherd to-night. What do we want cowherds for ?"

And Hîr replied :—" Mother I am very fortunate in that God has sent this cowherd to your house. All men thank God when they get such a treasure given them. What the Pen of Destiny has written has come to pass. Why do you noise abroad the whole affair ? Do you not know that three things should be kept secret, fire, a sword, and Love ?"

Thus Hîr withstood her parents to their faces and refused to give up Rânjha. And Milkî said to Chûchak:—"See how the girl withstands us to our faces. All our kith and kin put their fingers in their mouths with amazement and talk sarcastically about us. She has levelled the pride of the Sîâls to the dust."

And Chûchak replied :—" Give her away at once. Thrust her out from the village. She is altogether abominable. Why did you not suffocate her when she was born, Milkî, or poison her when she was a baby ?"

CHAPTER 10.

(Scandal spreads in the village and Chûchak dismisses Rânjha and then recalls him.)

So when Rânjha brought the cows back that night Chûchak was wroth, and he called Rânjha and in the presence of all his kinsfolk rebuked him saying :—" Friend, give up the buffaloes and go away ! You have become a subject for scandal and evil tale-bearing. Tell

me, brethren of the Sîâls. what use have we for a cowherd like this ? I did not engage him to be a bull among my cows. I meant him to take buffaloes and not girls into the forest; We eat taunts all day long on his account."

Thereupon Rânjha threw down his shepherd's crook and blanket and quitted Chûchak's herd of cattle, even as a thief leaves the hole in the wall when he hears the watchman's footsteps. And he spake to Chûchak in his anger :—" May thieves take away your buffaloes and dacoits run away with your calves. What do I care for your buffaloes or your daughter ? For twelve years I have been grazing your buffaloes and now you turn me away without wages. You are looting me like a *bânia* (Hindu trader) whose ledger stays quietly in his shop while the interest swells into a mountain. So your daughter stayed in her house and you got my services for nothing." So Rânjha in a rage shook the dust of the Sîâls off his feet and gave up the service of Chûchak.

But as soon as Rânjha had gone, the buffaloes refused to graze any longer. Some were lost, some were drowned : others were devoured by tigers or got lost on the further bank of the river. The Ṣiâls made attempt to recover their cattle but to no purpose, so Chûchak repented of his decision saying :—" The buffaloes will not graze. We are worn out with our exertions." And Hîr said to her mother :—" My father has turned the cowherd away and see the poor condition into which the cattle have fallen. People do not think my father has dealt fairly with the cowherd."

And Milkî said to Chûchak :—"All the people curse us for having turned the cowherd out without paying him his wages. Had he asked for his wages you would have had to pay him a whole bag full of money. Go and beseech him to come back. Tell him Hîr is disquieted by his absence."

Chûchak said to Milkî, his wife :—" Go you and pacify him. Tell him to graze the buffaloes till Hîr's marriage. Let him enjoy happiness. Who knows what may befall between now and then ? We Jâts are known to be sharp customers. We must get him by hook or by crook "

So Milkî went to her brothers' and their wives' courtyard and enquired where Rânjha had gone, and having found him she entreated him saying :—" Do not fret over much about the quarrel you had with Chûchak. Parents and children often fall out in such small matters. Come back and milk our buffaloes, and spread Hîr's couch. Since you have gone she has been much displeased with us. Only you can pacify her. Our cattle, our wealth, the Sîâls and Hîr herself are all yours." And Hîr said to Rânjha :—" You should hearken to my mother for is she not the mother of your beloved ? My parents have not yet decided on my betrothal, and marriage is a long way off. Who knows which side the camel will sit down ? "[3]

So Rânjha hearkened to the words of Hîr's mother, and once more became Chûchak's herdsman, and he drove the cattle into the forest : and he bathed and called on the name of God. And Hîr brought him roasted barley and wheat flour mixed with sherbet, and she bowed herself before him. Love in person ministered to Rânjha.

One day the Five Pîrs appeared before him, and Rânjha bowed himself to the ground, and Hîr was with him. And the Pîrs said :—" Children, we salute you. Remember God. Do not tarnish the word of Love. Rânjha you are Hîr's, and Hîr is yours. A pearl and a ruby have come together. Your Love will cause trouble and strife in the world. The world will taunt you, but be brave and steadfast. Do not abandon love and remember God day and night."

[3] *I.e.*, Which way the wind will blow.

CHAPTER 11.

(The Kazi admonishes Hîr but she refuses to give up Rânjha.)

Now when Hîr came back from the forest her parents sent for the Kazi and the Kazi sat between Chuchak and Milkî, and Hîr was made to sit in front of the Kazi.

And the Kazi said : "Child with all gentleness we give you counsel. Take heed unto our words with patience. It is not becoming for the daughter of Chuchak to talk to cowherds and penniless coolies. You should sit in the assemblies of women in their spinning parties. Turn your red spinning wheel and sing the merry songs of the Chenab. Your demeanour should be meek and modest, remembering the dignity of your father and his family. For Jats carry weight in the world and girls should think of their parents. They should not gad abroad. In a few days the messengers of your wedding will be here. The preparations for the marriage[4] are all but complete. The Kheras will bring a marriage procession in a few days to take you to the house of your husband."

And Hîr replied to her father : "As wine-bibbers cannot desert the bottle, as opium-eaters cannot live without opium, so I cannot live without Rânjha. As the stain of mango juice cannot be washed away from clothes, so the stain of love cannot be erased when once the heart has fallen a victim. Love is like baldness. You cannot get rid of it even in twelve years."

Thereupon Chuchak said to Milkî : "You have spoilt your daughter with too much kindness. She listens to nobody's advice. Rip open her belly with a sickle ; pierce her eyes with a needle, and smash her head with a milking stool.

The Kazi said : "Those who do not obey their parents will be burnt alive. The girl seems to welcome death and the stake. Girl, you should beware of Love. Under pain of Love Sohni drowned herself in the river. Sassi died a martyr in the desert. When fathers become angered they hew their daughters in pieces. They bind them hand and foot and cast them into a deep pit. If we say the word you will be done to death at once. If evil doers are killed, God does not avenge their death."

And Hîr replied to the Kazi : "Woe to that nation that destroys its daughters.[5] It will be accursed and utterly perish from off the earth. The blood of the victims will bear testimony. Those who kill their daughters will be accounted sinners in the day of resurrection. God will say, 'Eat them, as you have killed them with your own hands.' I will be submissive in all things to my parents, but do not ask me to give up the shepherd. I have pledged my faith to him. Mother, if you wish for happiness in this world, give Hîr in marriage to Rânjha. It is easy to give advice, but difficult to pursue the path of Love."

And Milkî replied : "My daughter, all the people taunt us when they see your wicked ways. You are a black-faced wanton. You are thinking of Rânjha all the time. You weary the body and soul of your parents with sharp words. You bark like a bitch day and night."

And Sultan, Hîr's brother came forward and said : "Mother, she puts us to disgrace in the whole world. Do not keep such a bad daughter. Give her poison and get rid of her at once. If she does not obey you and sit in purdah, I will kill her. Do not let the shepherd into this compound or I will cut him into little pieces. Mother, if you do not bring your daughter into submission I will burn the house down."

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4 See page 15.

5 Female infanticide is not uncommon in India.

Hîr replied to her brother : " Dear brother, my life is yours. When four eyes have met and clashed in Love, the course of Love cannot be stopped. My fate was written by the Pen of Destiny on the first Day of Days. The Pen and the Tablet of Destiny prostrated themselves before Love. How can poor Hîr withstand it ? All the Jat girls of Jhang are in love with him. My dear brother you should pray to God that all the girls should follow the example of Hîr. You should sacrifice a thousand sisters at the feet of Love."

And the Kazi yet again urged Hîr to desist from her evil ways saying that girls who disobeyed their parents would be losers in the day of Judgment. And Hir made answer to the Kazi : " Lovers cannot disburden themselves of the burden of love. Know, Kazi that I will never accept a Khera in marriage even though I am bound with iron chains or ropes. If I turn my face from Rânjha and desert Love to-morrow I shall be disbarred in the Resurrection from the company of Lovers. To this burden of shame I will never consent. I deem the infamy of the world as a pleasure as long as I keep the Love of Rânjha. Waris, I shall be called the Hîr of Rânjha in heaven, in the assembly of Fatima the daughter of the prophet."

And the Kazi was wroth and said : " Nobody can stop or stay this wicked girl. Hîr's pride knows no bounds. She must be given away in marriage at once."

And Hîr called aside one of her girl friends and sent her to Rânjha at once with the following message : " My parents and the Kazi are oppressing me and my life is being taken from me even as sugar is pressed out of a sugar mill. You, friend, are living happily but an army of sorrows is invading me."

And the girl went and gave this message to Rânjha and told him to comfort Hîr as she was being humiliated.

CHAPTER 12.

(Rânjha has audience of the Five Pîrs and Mithi discourses on Love.)

And Rânjha when he heard this was sad and desired in his heart to call on the Five Pîrs ; so he bathed in the river and then took his flute and began to play. And he stood before the Five Pîrs with folded hands and weeping eyes, and he prayed : " For God's sake, help me, or my love will be ruined." And the Five Pîrs at once came to his help, saying : " We have seen in our dream that your mind has been perplexed and your soul sore troubled within you." And the Pîrs said : " Sing to us two or three songs as our heart is yearning for song."

So Rânjha began to sing before the Five Pîrs. He took his flute and cunningly ran his fingers over the notes. He played the seven modes, even the modes of Kharj, Rakhab, Sanehar, Panebam, Maddam, Durat, and Nikaoli, and with much skill he kept time to the beats of the drum, and he also played many variations on these tunes, even from Urab unto Gaddi Dum. And he sang all the songs that men sing, even the song of Bishenpatti and the songs that the women of the Manjha sing, the song of Sohni and Mahiwal and the songs the hillmen sing. He declaimed the shrill verses of Kabit, the songs of the Gujars and the songs of the women of the east. And with the singing and the music he became as one in a trance. He swayed like a cobra. And the hearts of the Five Pîrs were moved hearing Rânjha sing, and they said : " Ask any favour of us and we will give it."

Rânjha replied : "Admit me to your holy order ; make me a Malang and give me Hîr as my Malangai and Mate." And the Pîrs said : "We will be your helpers. Hîr is yours but use her not as a wife, as men use women. Do not desert her nor take her away from her parents house for she is no penniless girl nor a girl of mean birth, and remember to cast your eyes on no other woman than Hîr."

And Rânjha being perplexed in heart went to Mithi the barber woman and asked her concerning the ways of women and Love. And Mithi replied : "The way of Love is hard and the path is tortuous. The taste of Love is as bitter as poison. The very letters of Love عس ISHQ are like the coils of a snake and only very wise men know its secrets. Love to the potter woman is part of the days work like eating and drinking; the love of a shepherdess is fierce like a wolf ; the love of a Sikh woman is as violent as the current of the Chenab. The love of a shroff woman is as clear cut as the year 37 on the coins of Muhammad Shah. The Bengali woman's love is fitful. The Hindustani's is childish. A little girl's love is fretful and peevish : she is always taunting and reproaching her lover. Kanjars know not what love is. God's curse on the casual light—o'loves. Touch them not. The love of a Khatri woman is as soft as dough. The hill woman loves openly but the Peshawar woman in secret. But hark ye. The birth place of Love is among the Sials. Jhang is the father of Love and the Chenab is its mother. Did not Love exist from the beginning of the world ? Did not God love Muhammad ? Did not the holy saints know Love even Adam and Eve, and Zakaria who got caught in a tree and sawn asunder ? Did not Abraham love Ishmael ? Was not God displeased with King Solomon and did not He cast him down from his throne in his displeasure, in the twinkling of an eye ? Love also slew Hasan and Hosain the holy martyrs, and is not the list of earthly Lovers long and famous —even Mirza and Sahiba, Chander, Badan, Sherin, Kamrup, Sassi and Punnoo, Laila and Majnun, Sohni and Mahiwal, Joseph and Zuleika."

And Rânjha and Hîr took counsel how they might conceal their plans from Hîr's parents ; so they decided to take Mithi the barber woman into their confidence so that they might meet in Mithi's house. And Hîr slipped five gold coins into Mithi's hands and made her promise not to tell the secret to the other girls. And Mithi's heart grew warm when she saw the money. Verily without money there is no kith or kin or kindness in the world Without money there is no wit nor wisdom. With the help of money the fool is the equal of the wise man. Waris, if you trust in God, he will give you your portion of the good things of this world.

Mithi's house was near the watering place of the cattle, a little aside in a quiet corner. It was full of quilts and beds and soft coverlets, and Mithi used to scatter flowers for Rânjha and Hîr to walk on. Rânjha's orders were obeyed throughout the house and he was treated with as much honour as a son-in-law. And Hîr used to come during the night and stay till one watch of the night remained and then slip back to her own house. In the morning Rânjha drove the buffaloes out to graze in the forest. Under the pretence of bathing, Hîr and her girl friends used to meet him in the forest on the banks of the Chenab. And the banks of the Chenab laughed and shook with their merry making. Rânjha played on the flute and Hîr and her girl friends sang the merry songs of the Chenab. Sonia, the goldsmith girl wrung the water out of her dripping hair and shook it over Rânjha, and then kissed him and ran away laughing. The daughter of Sadoo the weaver clung to him as a leather water-bag clings to the back of the water-carrier, and Miran and Bibi, the daughters of Fatto

the wood-seller ran and caught Hîr and Rânjha and pressed their two faces together. Sanpatti, the shepherd's daughter, mocked them, and when Rânjha ran after her she dived into the water like a tall water fowl and escaped. Some stood like cranes among the tall reeds ; others swam like otters. Some waddled to the banks like a crocodile : others floated on the water like dead fishes. Hîr swam round Rânjha alone and floated towards him with roguish glances. With much cunning she set herself to catch that fish of Takht Hazara.

But the shepherds heard of these things and came and told the news to Kaidu ; and Kaidu said to Milkî : "Your daughter is a daughter of shame. She plays with the shepherd in the pools of the Chenab river. She has tainted the honour of the country side. We have tried all we can, both her parents and the Kazi and I, but we can do nothing with her."

So Milkî sent Aulia the barber, Alfoo the shoemaker, Jammoo the ploughman and Doodoo the baker to fetch Hîr. And they went and said to Hir: "Your mother is very angry with you. Chuchak and the assembly of elders will thrash you."

And to Rânjha they said: "A great calamity will befall you as Milkî threatens to kill you. The Sials are so filled with wrath that they have not kindled fire on their hearths the whole day. The whole tribe is angry. The Sials have determined to kill you.

So Hîr came and salaamed to her mother, and her mother said to her : "You shameless hussy, you loud tongued abandoned harlot, you slit-nosed prostitute with cat's eyes. You are a pool of filthy water as dirty as the bottom of a tank. You can teach the cows to frisk when the bulls come after them and you must know full well how bull buffaloes run after the cows. Fine mating there has been in the forest. You have dragged the name and fame of your family in the mud. You have caused your scandal to be noised abroad in every street and alley of the village."

And Hîr replied angrily to her mother : "The mouth of a liar is a foul thing. Why are you speaking lies ? Mother, what is the good of this overmuch talk? The cowherd was in the jungle and I was playing with my girl friends. Whose she ass have I stolen ? Why has this storm burst on my head ? Why publish in the four corners of the city what is only known to a few ? May pain rot and disease consume the unfortunate daughter of Milkî. I will not give up Rânjha even if my great grandfather comes and tries to make me do so."

And Milkî was silent before Hîr as she saw that Hîr was determined and that her heart was fixed, and that she had no fear of death at all. And Kaidu, the lame, the tale-bearer, the son of Satan, went about the village with his wicked half-closed eyes saying : "you fools why do you not take my advice ? Nobody will give you better counsel. I tell you the girl walks arm in arm with Rânjha all day in the forest. If you do not take care he will run away with her, and where will be the honour of the Sials ?"

CHAPTER 13.

(Hîr thrashes Kaidu and Kaidu complains to the village elders.)

And Hîr's girl friends came to her saying: "Your evil uncle is stirring up the whole assembly of elders against you. He has noised the whole affair in the bazaar by beat of drum. If this goes unheeded who will call you Hîr ? He should be taught a lesson which he will not forget. So Hîr took counsel together with her girls, and at her bidding they waited for an opportunity and caught Kaidu and surrounded him like a potter

catches his ass. They tore off his beggar's girdle and threw him on the ground. They beat him on the back and over the head. Their blows resounded like the hammers of the coppersmiths. They pulled out his hair and blackened his face with soot. They broke his cups and cooking pots.

Kaidu cried out like a thief in the hands of the constable, and in his rage he bit them, scratched them and tore thier clothes into ribbons. But the girls crowded round him and kept him at bay, even as the Police guards encircle Lahore. They then burnt his hut and let the dogs and the chickens loose all over his property.

And with blazing torches they went off triumphantly to announce their victory to Hîr. How can I describe the prowess of these fair beauties ? It was as if the royal armies had returned to Lahore after subduing Muttra. And Kaidu with blood flowing from his wounds and with torn clothes raised a great hue and cry saying : " I come for justice. Administer justice, O assembly of elders ! They have set fire to my hut. Dogs and cocks and hens have looted my opium and bhang. They have broken my pots and pans and the bowl my master gave me. They have thrashed me and humbled me before the whole world. I am wearied with weeping. I will lay my complaint before the whole world. I will seek justice from the Kazi."

And Chuchak turned to Kaidu and said : "Go away cripple. You are the prince of rogues and are always seeking quarrels. You worry people and then come and howl before the elders. You tease girls and then try and get them into trouble."

And the elders sent for the girls and asked them why they had beaten the poor lame fakir. " Had they detected him in any wrong doing ?"

The girls put their fingers into their mouths with amazement and replied : "He is a lewd and wicked fellow. He pinches our cheeks and handles us in a mighty unbecoming fashion. He spies out our coming and goings and he chases us as a bull chases a buffalo."

Then Hîr and her companions came before Milkî and complained saying : "We are your humble servants. Kaidu is a mad dog to be spurned. Why do you not drive him away ? We have not touched him. Why do you not believe us ? It is indeed a strange word. He treats us outrageously and picks a quarrel with us, and then you go and console him with soft words. You are kind to a quarrelsome knave like him and make your daughters stand before the village elders. This is a new kind of justice. We are your humble obedient servants."

And Kaidu again made a great hue and cry before the assembly and asked for redress and justice. And the elders advised him to be patient and quiet. saying : " The girls have behaved exceedingly foolishly. The fakir has been very hardly dealt with." Then they scolded the girls and consoled the cripple, promising to build him a new hut and to give him more 'post' and 'bhang' and all the things the girls had destroyed. And Kaidu grumbled and was discontented in his heart and muttered : " These elders have lost faith and have abandoned justice. They shew partiality to their daughters. It is a poor consolation they have given me. Verily it is a case of : 'A blind king and oppressing officials.' "

And Chuchak answered Kaidu sharply and said : " Our village elders are not men without shame or fear of God. We do the thing that is just, and hate the thing that is evil. Let me see with mine own eyes that your story is true and I will cut the throat of the wicked jade and turn the shepherd out of the country."

And Kaidu muttered to himself : "I will grind Hîr's flesh into small pieces like bhang, and I will make a rope of the hair of the shepherd." And he replied to Chuchak : "If you do not beat her after seeing her shame with your own eyes, then the assembly of elders are liars." So Kaidu revolved in his own mind how he might catch Hîr and Rânjha in the forest and bring Chuchak to see them, for he reflected : "Who will punish his daughter merely on what I say ? Who will set the village on fire to avenge the loss of one sheep ?"

So Kaidu lay in ambush in the forest like a closed fist. He hid himself like a dog in the bushes. The next morning Rânjha drove the cattle into the forest, and after two watches of the day had gone, Hîr and her companions in their scarlet clothes came into the forest. The forest was all ablaze with the beauty of the Sial girls. And the girls played "Toss the red handkerchief" (*Lal Kachorni*) together and then went back to their homes. Rânjha and Hir stayed behind and slept together peacefully in the forest. And Kaidu spying them together alone ran off to the village as fast as his crippled legs would carry him, and said to the assembly of the elders : "Come and see strange things in the forest."

CHAPTER 14.

(Chuchak finds Rânjha and Hîr in the forest.)

Chuchak muttered to himself: "We have been dishonoured before the whole assembly." And he saddled his horse and took a spear in his hand. It shone like lightning. The clatter of his galloping sounded from afar in the forest. And Hîr heard the noise and was afraid of the coming of her father. And she said to Rânjha : "Get up, my father is coming." Then she wept and said : "I shall not come again here so forgive me." And she hurried from Rânjha's side.

Mehr Chuchak was tortured to frenzy on seeing them alone in the forest. He said : "See the tyranny of God. Women are roaming about here alone in the forest." Shame pierced his heart. He quivered with rage and said : "I will break your legs in two and cut off your head. Only thus will the scandal be stopped."

And Hîr turned towards Rânjha and said : "Shepherd, leave your buffaloes and go away to your home. No one in future will care for you or bring your food. Forgive me, my father, for what has happened. I am your own dear daughter and it is not meet for men of gentle birth to bring about their own disgrace by publishing abroad their daughter's defects."

Chuchak stood bewildered like a saint that has drunken deeply of bhang, and he bethought him that Hîr ought to be given away in marriage soon.

Now when Rânjha became a shepherd and tended the buffaloes of Chuchak, news was taken to his brethren in Takht Hazara. The brothers of Rânjha wrote to the Sials saying : "You have employed the son of Mauju Chaudri as a shepherd. How strange are the doings of Almighty God. He left us in anger and we have been searching for him day and night. All his fields have been made ready for cultivation ; we have bushels of grain ready for him when he returns, the produce of all these years that he has been away. He has been in our minds always, and our wives who were his comrades are weeping for him. He has cut off our nose by becoming a grazier of buffaloes. We shall be grateful to you if you will send him back ; otherwise we shall have to come with a special embassage to lay our request before you."

And Chuchak replied : "We have employed Rânjha as Hîr's servant. Had he been an evil man, we should have expelled him. The whole village stands in awe of him and all the shepherds obey him. Why have you turned such a young man as this out of your house ? He is neither lame nor lazy nor clumsy fingered. We will not turn him out, but if he wishes to see his brothers no one will prevent him."

And Rânjha's brothers and their wives wrote tauntingly to Hîr and said : "If you want boys to debauch we can supply you with plenty. It is a matter of amazement how much debauchery is being taught nowadays. You have robbed us of our brother-in-law whose face was like the moon. You should pick out a bigger man for your love intrigues. This boy Rânjha is too young to know what love means." Now Hîr had the letter read out to her and she told the contents to Rânjha, and after consulting him, she caused the following answer to be written on her behalf.

"Your letter has been received. We are shocked at its contents. We have employed Rânjha as a grazier of buffaloes and we will not let him go. The once plucked Bel flower cannot be reset on the branch. Broken glass cannot be united. The bones that have once been thrown in the Ganges cannot return. Past times can never come back. The contract of love once entered on cannot be broken."

And Rânjha's sisters-in-law replied to Hîr : "If you wish to challenge us on the score of beauty we are ready to accept the challenge. We are all of us beautiful and all our lives we have been servants of our dear Rânjha. He is like the moon to us and we are like the Pleiades to him. He beats and abuses us but still we are his servants. You may take another slave from us in his stead and we shall be grateful. We have been sore distressed by his absence and we are like swans separated from the herd."

To this letter Hîr replied as follows without the knowledge of Chuchak: "Greetings. What you ask me about Rânjha is impossible. I swear on the Koran I cannot give him up. Why are you so fond of him ? His love is with me. In the assembly of the girls we sing songs about him. You are fine sisters-in-law. You are always squabbling with him. Your taunts have made him as thin as a piece of board."

To this Rânjha's sisters-in-law made reply : "He belonged to us but you stole him. You rob us of our money bags and then play the usurer over us. You come to borrow a light and then claim to be mistress of the house. The simpleton fell into your wily clutches like a blind mouse hunting for food in an empty corn bin. May the curse of the Poet Waris Shah fall upon you, Hîr, for you have robbed us of our dear brother-in-law."

And Hîr replied : "Did Rânjha's sisters-in-law love him so much when they turned him out of his father's house ? Did not his brothers expel him for a few roods of land ? He slipped away from his home in despair even as a pearl slips off a silken thread. He roams all day in thick forests and has sold his soul to this sinful personage. He refuses to go however much you exert yourselves. You can let his brothers know that we do not intend to restore him even for hundreds of thousands of rupees."

CHAPTER 15.

(Chuchak proposes to get Hîr married.)

Now during all this time Chuchak was perplexed in his heart about his daughter Hîr ; and he called his relations and castefellows together in an assembly to consult about Hîr's marriage. He was undecided whether to give her in marriage to Rânjha or elsewhere.

Chuchak was determined to marry her somewhere to avert disgrace, and his brethren agreed with him, but they urged that Sials had never given their daughters to the Rânjha tribe and that they would be disgraced if they give their daughter to such lowly and needy folk. The brotherhood recommended an alliance with the house of the Kheras as being Jats of good lineage whom Chuchak would be proud to own as relations. They said that the Kheras had already sent their barbers to propose the betrothal. So Chuchak took the advice of the brotherhood and announced the betrothal to his friends and relations. The women of his household beat drums and gave presents to the minstrels and gave them bowls of sugar. They sang songs and made merry. The Kheras received the news with great joy. They assembled in crowds and danced with delight. They distributed dishes of milk and rice. But when Hîr and Rânjha heard the merriment, sorrow fell upon them and their heart turned to cursing. Hîr was angry with her mother for betrothing her against her will and said she would never go with the Kheras however much her mother tried to make her. "When did I ask you for a husband," she exclaimed: "Why do you try to conceal designs which cannot long remain hidden. You have betrothed a swan to an owl. You have mated a fairy to a bull."

And Hîr said to Rânjha : "Great Tyranny has fallen upon us. Let us go away to some distant part of the country, for when once I am admitted into the house of the Kheras they will never allow me to come back. We have been fighting on the battle-field of Love. It does not become a gallant warrior to desert the battle-field."

Rânjha replied : "Love does not taste well if it is composed of theft and stealth and abduction. You are asking me to run away like a thief that has been found out."

Now the girls of Jhang Sial assembled together and came before Rânjha and asked :— "How fares it with you now ? You have been grazing buffaloes day and night and now all the preparations for the marriage have been made and the barbers have delivered their message all over the country. Foolish man, ask the girl why she is treating you like this. You should say to her : 'If you intended to turn your face from me why did you made me undergo such hardships ? You have helped me on to the roof and now you kick away the ladder. That must be all, Hîr, our friendship must now end.' "

Rânjha replied to the girls and said : "The uttering of many words is folly ; all ills must be borne with patience. If God is good, the Khera and Hîr Sial will never mate together. The patience of the heart is victorious over the world. You chattering women know nothing of Love. Verily Love is a bitter herb and sour to eat. Patience alone can mend the cloven sky. Those who keep silent always succeed."

And Hîr's girls came and said to her: "You have been insincere and have deserted your faith. Your Lover Rânjha is ready to throw away his shepherd's stick and blanket and to leave your father's country. If you intended to break faith with him why did you first encourage him and then break his heart ? He has borne the taunts of the whole world for your sake and you have been a great tyrant. Remember that the throne of God trembles when a man is deprived of his right."

And Hîr replied to the girls: "Hide him under your sheet and bring him to me disguised as a girl, but do not let my parents know. We shall then be face to face and you can decide like a true judge. Those who have been true will be acquitted and those who have been false will be blamed. I have been telling this lover of mine to run away with me but he missed his chance. Why does he turn round now and bewail his lot."

So one night the girls brought Rânjha disguised as a girl, and Hîr and Rânjha once again pledged their troth to be true to one another.

CHAPTER 16.

(Hîr is married to Saida against her will.)

Meanwhile the Kheras asked the Brahmans to consult the augury of the Stars and to fix the marriage.

The Brahmans fixed Virwati (Thursday) in the month of Sawan for the wedding: But Rânjha all this time was sad in his heart. Meanwhile all the kitchens were busy making preparations for the feast, and fine flour, sugar and butter melted into each other's embrace as an affectionate sister-in-law embraces her brother-in-law.

There were all sorts of "pilao" and soups and all kinds and varieties of rice, even Mushki and Basputti and Musagir and Begami and Sonputti. And they brought baskets of clothes of all kinds—huge plates of every sort of sweetmeat and divers fruits. And there was no end to the ornaments, armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings and noserings which were prepared as a dowry for the Bride.

There were large dishes and small dishes. There were "surma" boxes for the bride to paint her eyes. There were drinking bowls of all sizes, frying pans, kneading dishes, spoons, rolling pins, milk cans and dinner trays, all of costly and regal magnificence. The lovers of the guests turned green with jealousy when they saw the abundance of good things. The potter women brought earthen pots and the bakers brought fuel from the forest. The water carriers rushed about drawing water from the wells. Men with ropes and poles were carrying large cooking-pots and others were carrying old fashioned guns and culverts. A large host of people came to enjoy Chuchak's hospitality. There were multitudes of barbers cooking the food. Chuchak has gained credit in the world and the people are praying for his long life and prosperity.

And Rânjha left his buffaloes and sat in a corner sad at heart.

Meanwhile flocks of beautiful women lined the tops of all the houses to watch the marriage procession. They were as delicate as fairies and as beautiful as houris. Their fairy forms must have been compounded of musk and perfume. They exchanged ribald songs and pleasantries with the women of the bridegroom's party. They flashed their beautiful red eyes and sang in sweet tones. They uncovered their heads and shoulders and showed their rounded breasts. They gazed at their own beauty in their thumb looking-glasses. They were tantalising their maddened lovers. They clapped their hands and danced and sang songs of welcome to the Bridegroom. They greeted every body as they passed with some new song.

The crowd and the noise was as great as at the Fairs of Pakpattan or Nigah or Rattan or Thamman, where women flock to kiss the tomb of the saint and attain the achievement of their desires.

The girls went wild with jealousy when they saw the costly robes of the married Sial women. Then came the musicians, the dancing girls and the jesters and the ministrels with trumpets and cymbals even from Kashmir and the Dekkan. The horses neighed and the ground quivered with the trampling of many hoofs. There were grey horses, piebald horses, duns and roans, and chestnuts groomed to shine like the sun and gorgeously caparisoned. Their ears were quivering with excitement. They were ridden by handsome Khera youths, and the dancing girls sang and declaimed with amorous gestures, and they danced like peacocks. The men beating the drum chanted songs. The riders had spears in their hands and were merry with good drink. The folds of their turbans were soaked in saffron. The saddle bells tinkled as the horses neighed and caracoled. Thus the marriage procession came from Rangpur to Jhang and they halted at the

village guest house. And mats were brought for them to sit on and huqqas of gold and silver and brass were brought for them to smoke. Garlands were flung round their necks. The minstrels sang to them and the Kheras distributed money to the minstrels with lavish hands.

When the procession arrived Rânjha's soul and his heart was scorched like roasted meat, and he said to himself sadly: " Saida is drunk with joy to-day though he has not touched wine. Saida has become a Nawab and Hîr his princess—who cares for poor Rânjha the shepherd. Death is better than life without my beloved." And the people in their pity for Rânjha said "Chuchak has been cruel. He has broken his word and disgraced his Faith."

Meanwhile the members of the marriage procession girded on their belts and proceeded to the house of the bride. The oilmen held their torches in their hands to light the way for the procession and the barbers presented dishes of sweets to the bridegroom's party. Then five rupees and a shawl were given to the Kheras. When the relations of the bride and the bridegroom met they put the bridegroom and his best man on horseback.

Then the fire works began. Three were stars and catherine wheels, bombs, balloons, and coloured rain rockets, and set pieces of elephants, stags, peacocks, coloured circles, and moving thrones and revolving moons. All the neighbourhood flocked to see the fireworks. After the fireworks came the dinner, and rice and sugar and butter were distributed in big dishes, and the singing women sang songs and were given money.

The bride and bridegroom were made to sit facing each other and each one put " surma " in the other's eyes, and the fun waxed fast and furious and the girls pestered the bridegroom with jokes and riddles and questions. They gave him a sheaf of wheat and 'asked him if he could weave a basket. They made the bride close her fist and asked the bridegroom if he could open it. They threw a pair of women's petticoats over his head. 'Try and lift this heavy cup with one finger,' shouted one girl, ' bring us some stallions' milk,' said another. ' How can you work a well without bullocks ? ' said a third. ' Can you pitch a tent without poles ? Can you put an elephant into a saucer?' said another. They tickled him under the chin and asked jeeringly, why he had brought his old mother along. To whom did he want to marry her ? Was he hunting for a husband for his sister among their shepherds? At whom was his best man's mother casting her eyes. "We can get the very cowherd you want for your mother."

And Saida replied mockingly : "You are as lively and as wise as Belkis the wife of Solomon herself and your wit burns us up entirely. Go to Dhonkal and you'll see a tent pitched without poles. Yes, I can make a well go without bullocks—take off your clothes and jump in. I have already married your cowherd's sister and we can supply lusty men to suit all of you. I am ready to take all of you home with me." Thus they jested and feasted at the marriage feast of Hîr and Saida.

The Kazi who was to solemnise the marriage was given a seat on the floor. They appointed two witnesses and an attorney and prepared to offer prayers. They told Hîr the five principles of Islam and made her recite the " Kalma." They told her the definition of Faith and made her repeat " there is only one God and Muhammad is his Prophet." They made her read the six Kalmas and taught her the Five Times of Prayer. And Hîr the Sial said angrily to the Kazi : " Why bother your head to pick a quarrel ? I do not intend to turn my face away from Rânjha. What have Kazis and the " Shara " to do with True religion ? There is a big well in Hell into which Kazis will be thrown by God."

The Kazi again admonished Hîr but she was displeased and refused to say a word to him. The Kazi said to Hîr : " You should obey the orders of your religion, if you wish to live.'

Hîr replied : " I shall cry out in the Court of God that my mother betrothed me to Rânjha and has broken her promise.....My love is known to the Dhul Bashak (the cobra that supports the world), to the Pen and the Tablet of Destiny and to the whole earth and Sky."

The Kazi said : " Proud Beauty, wrapped in musk and insolence. The prophet has ordained marriage and God has said in his holy writ " MARRY." Obey the bidding of your parents and accept the Khera as your husband. Are you the queen of Jamshid or the daughter of Nadhu Shah that we should be afraid to tell you the truth ? I will beat you with the whips of the Shara (the holy scriptures) and administer the justice of Umar Khatib."

Hîr replied : " Where the love of Rânjha has entered there is no place for the authority of the Kheras. If I turn my face from Rânjha what shelter will there be for me in the day of judgment ? "

The Kazi was wroth with Hîr for her obstinacy and he asked her angrily : " Tell me who solemnised your marriage with Rânjha, and who were your witnesses ? Who was your attorney? Without witnesses a marriage is invalid. These are the clear directions of the law of Muhammad."

And Hîr asked the Kazi : " Who taught you the law ? You have no true knowledge of it. The soul of the Prophet solemnised our marriage. By the order of God, the polar star [Kutub also mean the chief of the saints] was my attorney. The angels Gabriel, Michael, Israel and Israfil were the four witnesses." Thus for a whole watch of the day did Kazi admonish Hîr and urged her to accept the marriage arranged by her parents. But she would not listen and steadfastly refused to be the wife of any one but Rânjha. The arguments and threats of the Kazi were of no avail for the colour of Ain Shin and Kaf [the three arabic letters (عشق) ISHK spell Love) had entered into her soul.

And Chuchak said to the Kazi : " Listen to me. The marriage procession of the Kheras is sitting at my door, and if the marriage is not accomplished I shall be disgraced and the face of the Sials will be blackened. All the folk of my own household are questioning me. My kith and kin from afar off are asking why the marriage ceremony has not begun. There is no man whom I respect and trust as I trust you. I will give you anything you ask if you will bring this affair to a successful conclusion."

The Kazi replied : " You can only gain your object by deceit. The powerful and mighty have a way of their own. It only Pirs, fakirs and saints who are afraid of using violence. Tell the bride's attorney that consent to the marriage must be wrung from Hîr, even against her will. Let us gag her and read the marriage service."

(Quoth the poet : " Kazis have no fear of God and eat the bread of iniquity".)

The Kazi said : " Make haste, Chuchak, and bring your kith and kin. Call the witnesses and the attorney. I will solemnise the marriage. If Rânjha the shepherd makes any trouble we will cast him into the fire."

So the Kazi, by guile, against Hîr's will solemnised the marriage. The witnesses and the attorney ran away afterwards as a camel flees on seeing a lion. And Hîr said to the Kazi : " May the curse of God fall on you and all such rogues and liars. If you are so anxious to give a bride to the Kheras, why not give your own daughter to them ? God's curse on all Kazis and bribetakers."

CHAPTER 17.

(Hîr is taken to Rangpur.)

Thus was Hîr married by stratagem and put into the wedding palanquin by force. She was put into the doli (palanquin) moaning and crying. The Kheras took her off as thieves drive off stolen cattle. When Hîr was put into the palanquin she made bitter lamentation even as a swan separated from the flock, and she cried out to Rânjha and said : " To-day your wealth has been looted by Kheras. Takht Hazara and Jhang are left masterless. These are the wages of deceit with which the Sials have repaid you for your grazing. Who will take care of you when I am away ? You will wander in misery and loneliness. Oh, Rânjha, see my long hair has fallen down all over my breast in my misery. My jewellery is unkempt and uncared for. The bull, the snake (Bashak Nag), the earth and the sky have turned against me to destroy me. Other brides have bought clothes of green, red and yellow but I wear only mournful white." Thus did Hîr lament on being parted from Rânjha.

Meanwhile the buffaloes were ill at ease without their master Rânjha. They gathered together on the bank of the river and lifted their mouths in protest. They pushed folk hither and thither with their horns and broke the pots and the pans of the village. Then the people bade them conciliate Rânjha by kissing his feet.

And all night the Kheras marched with the palanquin of Hîra, and at dawn they reached the forest, being mightily pleased with the bride they were carrying off. And they halted and sat down to eat and drink and be merry. And they prepared to go hunting.

But Rânjha who had followed the procession sat apart and his heart was sore within him. But no one paid any attention to him.

The Kheras rode after deer and hunted lions and foxes and showed much cunning with their bows and arrows. And they roasted the meat that they had killed and set aside a portion for Hîr. And Hîr finding herself alone and the Kheras merry making, made a signal to Rânjha, called him into her palanquin and embraced him tenderly.

One of the Kheras noticed this and brought news to the rest and they were very wrathful. But Hîr broke her necklace and pretended she had called Rânjha to help her pick up the pieces. She added that if any one touched him, even with the end of a feather, she would poison herself. Whereupon the Kheras kept silence and urged the procession to move on. And at last the palanquin reached the village of Rangpur and the women came out to greet the bride and sang songs of welcome. The girls lifted the bride out of the palanquin and poured oil over the threshold. Hîr's mother-in-law swung water round the bride's head and drank it and gave thanks to God. They drew aside her veil and placed a Koran and five gold mohurs in front of her, and her mother-in-law and husband's sister laughed and made the midwife sit by her side. They gave presents to the midwife and other menials. When they espied Rânjha sitting near, they snatched the basket from his head and frightened him away. The village women congratulated Saida's mother on the bride. But Hîr kept her own secret in her heart and she alone knew it. Rânjha's heart was sore within him. He drew near to Hîr by stealth and spoke to her. She protested that Fate was too strong for her and that she could do nothing for Rânjha. Whereupon Rânjha upraided Hîr for first encouraging him and then abandoning him.

Hîr replied : " Rânjha, this love of ours must last for all our life long. The Five Pirs stand witness between you and me. I swear I will never be the wife of Saida. If he approaches me I will turn away from him. Surely the Five Pirs will punish him if he tries to come near me. Listen, I have a plan how we may meet again. I will write to you

that you should come and see me in the disguise of a fakir (religious mendicant). Abandon all your caste and position. Shave your head and become a wandering beggar. In this guise you will be able to have a glimpse of me. If you do not come and see me my soul will vanish away."

[There follows in the text a tirade against Jats generally and against the Sial Jats in particular. As bringing out the weak points of the Jats it is of some ethnological and historical interest, but it has nothing much to do with the story so it is omitted here.]

CHAPTER 18.

(Hîr is unhappy in her new home.)

One day it was agreed that Gana or "Hunt the bracelet" should be played and all the Jat girls were sent for to join in the game. They all danced with joy in the village when the news was sent round. They were all brides and fragrant with the odours of musk, and rose and jessamine. It was as if a garden was full of 'champa' and 'chabel' flowers. Their beauty shone like the radiance of the moon. Their faces were as shapely as the cupola of a mosque. There is no happiness in the world like the joy of bride and bridegroom. Saida sat on a red firestool and the brides of the village sat round him. They flocked round Hîr and brought her a basin of milk with a bracelet at the bottom. They danced round her shaking it and asking her to dive for the bracelet. The other brides and bridegrooms threw their bracelets in and the fun waxed fast and furious. But Hîr remained pale and glum. When they seized her hand and put it in the basin it was as cold and lifeless as the arm of a corpse. So finding that Hîr was cold and dispirited and would not join in the game, the girls all gave up playing and went away sadly to their homes. The women of the village were displeased with Hîr. But she sat mute refusing to look at Saida and tears flowed from her eyes like rain from the black clouds of the monsoon.

Meanwhile the Kazi was saying to Chuchak: "You are fortunate in that all your difficulties and troubles have vanished now that Hîr has been placed in the house of the Kheras. All is silence in Jhang Sial and all are happy in Rangpur. All authority has deserted Rânjha and nobody pays any attention to him now. And Rânjha's sisters-in-law discussed the affair in Takht Hazara and they laughed at the discomfiture of Rânjha. And they wrote him messages saying: "The decree of fate must be borne. There is no trusting girls. The Kheras have plucked the flower that you used to guard so tenderly and for whose sake you wandered so many years in dense forests full of tigers and lions. Come back to us while there is yet time. We will offer a golden crest on the sacred tomb when you set your foot in our courtyard. We will present offerings to the gods if you come back to Hazara. We will dedicate a saucepan to the name of Ali. We will hold a wrestling match and we will offer garlands to Ghazi Pir. Have we not promised to light the lamps in honour of Khwaja Khizr if you return to us?"

And Rânjha replied: "Sisters, when autumn withers the flower, the humming bird has to live on hope. When the garden dries up, the nightingales wander about the jungle hoping that some bud will blossom somewhere. Only the son of a churl will run away from Love. The true knight stakes his life for Love and scatters destruction on those who oppose him."

So Rânjha resolved to become a fakir and get his ears bored and to bring back Hîr captive or perish in the attempt. And Rânjha's sisters-in-law at Hazara, when they received

this reply sat in silence and then they said : " Rânjha will never come back." Meanwhile Hîr languished in the house of her father-in-law. She refused to put on jewellery or gay clothes. She ate no food and lay awake all night thinking of Rânjha.

And Sehti her husband's sister spake to her saying: "Sister, what spell has overcome you? You are getting weaker every day. Your colour is fading away. You have become like a dried and parched straw and all your bones stand out. Your conversation is gloomy. Tell me the secret of your heart that I may cure it. [So Hîr told Sehti all her history and Sehti sat by Hîr and consoled her saying she too had a lover, Murad Baksh a camel driver, and that somehow they must contrive to help each other in their troubles.]

One night Saida full of delight placed his foot on Hîr's bed. Hîr thrust him away saying : " I have not yet said my prayers." But Saida was wilful and would not heed, so Hîr in her distress prayed to her Pir (Holy man or Saint). The Pir at once appeared and Hîr said : " I am the betrothed of Rânjha. My love is pledged to him." So the Pir chastised Saida, broke his bones and tied up his hands and feet. And Saida fell down at the feet of the Pir and begged for mercy saying : " I have sinned."

At the dawn of day Hîr took a bath in the courtyard and she sat with her head drooping downwards in grief thinking of Rânjha. Her heart inclined to God and she remembered her Pir. She meditated on the unity of God and dispelled all idolatry from her mind. Thus wrapped in the deepest contemplation she sat motionless as a statue. When the Five Pirs saw Hîr sitting in devout meditation they at once appeared by the order of God. They awakened her by placing their wand on her shoulder and they said : " Child get up. What grief has overcome you"?

And Hîr gave a deep sigh and tears came from her eyes as she replied : "The love of the Jat whom you gave to me has made me mad. The love of the shepherd has ruined me. God has made you my protector and I come to the Pirs for help in my trouble."

The Pirs were overcome with compassion, and using their spiritual power of ecstacy, they presented the image of Rânjha before Hîr, saying : " Child, spread out your skirt and receive the object of your wish." and they added, " He will meet you in person very soon for so it has been ordained by God."

[Here follows in the original a lamentation put into the mouth of Hîr in the form of a Barah Mah, *i.e.*, a lamentation of the twelve months. It is not a very good specimen of this kind of composition. There is a specimen of a Barah Mah in Macauliffes translation of the Granth.]

CHAPTER 19.

(Hîr sends a message to Rânjha.)

After a year had passed a Jat girl of Rangpur was returning to Jhang Sial to visit her own home and she came to Hîr and offered to take any message she might want to send to her parents.

" Shall I tell them," said she, " how you like your husband and how you get on with his relations."

And Hîr replied : " He is to me as thorns are to silk. The Pen of Destiny has been cruel to me. What can I do ? Give my salaam to my homefolk with folded hands and in the garments of humility and say : You have given me over into the hands of enemies. May my parents be drowned in the deep stream. I will have nothing to do with them. Then seek out Rânjha and say to him : ' Come to me or I shall die. I have thrown dust on

the head of the Kheras and spat in the face of Saida.' I long to meet him and have given offerings to the tomb of Husan and Husain, to Shuda, Ghazi and Bhola Pir that my prayer may be fulfilled."

When the girl reached Jhang of the Sials she asked the folk there: "Where is the boy who used to graze Chuchak's buffaloes and comes from Hazara? The boy who weeps and talks like a madman, who threw away his blanket and flute and lost his wits. The boy who is known among Lovers as Rânjha and who wears the garland of Love on his head. Who has been ruined by Love and wanders distractedly in the courtyards of the woebegone, because the Kheras have taken away his Hîr?" And the girls replied: "He is now a grown-up lad and has given up all affections of the world. He roams about in the forest where there are wolves and tigers. No one speaks to him. Who would touch a snake if he were ignorant of casting spells? Sister, you had better talk to him yourself. We have no influence with him at all."

[Various tedious letters in the original are omitted.]

So the girl went in search of Rânjha and said to him: "Hîr is on the point of death Her last breath is hovering on her lips. You have cast some spell over her. She shows no affection for her husband's house, although they have made all efforts to please her. She will not allow Saida to touch her and she will not go near him. She counts the stars all night and thinks of you. Go back to her disguised as a Jogi (religious medicant), and manage to meet her somehow. All things reach the appointed end when God is kind."

And Rânjha, when he heard this message, rejoiced exceedingly, and he called the Mullah to him and said: "Write for me to Hîr and tell her the pangs of separation that I endure. Write: 'You have taken rest in your newly found home. I am on thorns and burning embers. The fire of Love when once lit burns earth and sky. By deceit you induced me to graze your buffaloes. Verily women can pull down the stars from heaven. Such is their guile." Write it down, Sir Mullah, every bit. Omit no part of my complaint. Write as love writes to lover with a full heart. . . . Write that nobody cares for me now that Hîr has turned her face from me. The peacocks have flown away, and I have to live among owls."

The drum of Love beat loudly in the ears of Rânjha when he thought upon Hîr and he pondered much how he might meet her, and he said to himself: "The river of Love is deep but a boat must be fashioned to cross it. Hîr is the secret booty which the robber can only attain by self sacrifice. I must disguise myself as a fakir and this delicate body which has been fed on butter must be smeared over with the dust and ashes that become a fakir. I will go and learn some spell from a Jogi. I will have my ears bored and become his disciple. I will go and find some perfect fakir who can upset even Fate itself. I will cut myself in pieces as it were a comb, so that I may comb the locks of my beloved.

CHAPTER 20.

(Rânjha decides to become a Jogi.)

So Rânjha set off for Tilla the hill where Balnath the Jogi dwelt, for he said to himself: "Balnath surely knows the way of salvation."

And as he went from village, to village he invited those who wished to join him and become a fakir and he said: "Brothers come with me and be a fakir. You have nothing to do but beg and eat. You get your ears bored and put some ashes on your

body and all the world reveres you as a saint. Without toil or labour you can be as eminent as Nadir Shah. The mysteries of birth and the sadnesses of death have no concern for the fakir. He sleeps in the mosque free from the cares of this impure world and begs and eats. He can scold people and incur no blame. If you call yourself a Pir or a fakir everybody is your servant."

At last, after many days journeying, Rânjha reached Tilla, the hill on which Balnath lived and Rânjha bowed his head and placed a piece of gur (sugar) before Balnath as an offering, and clasped the feet of all the jogis. . . . They were all engaged in religious contemplation and prayers. They were reading Gayan Gita Bhagvat and Bharat; and Rânjha folded his hands before Balnath and said: "Make me your fakir. Let me be your chela (pupil) and you be my Pir. The straight path to God is inaccessible without the intervention of Murshids (teachers), even as rice cannot be cooked without milk."

And Balnath looked at Rânjha and found he was a lad of pleasing countenance and of a comely wit, and doubts arose in his heart and he said to Rânjha: "My lad, your looks are saucy and you have commanding airs. Your demeanour is not that of a servant but of one whom others obey. Only those whose souls are submissive can become Jogis. You are more fitted to play the peacock and to strut in the assemblies of young coxcombs. You have a silken shawl over your shoulder; you have painted your eyes with lampblack; you play on the flute and stare at women. You tie cows up and milk them. In vain you try and flatter the Guru (holy man).

Oh Jat, tell me the truth what has befallen you that you wish to relinquish the pleasures of life and become a fakir ? Jog is a very troublesome task. The taste of Jog is bitter and sour. You will have to dress as a Jogi, to wear dirty clothes, long hair, cropped skull and to beg your way through life. You will have to meditate on your guru and hold your breath in your midmost throat. You will have to give up the pleasures of birth, to cease to rejoice when friends come or to grieve when they die. You will have to abstain from casting eyes on women. You will have to become divinely intoxicated by taking kand, mul, post, opium and other narcotic drugs. You will have to think the world a mere vision. You will have to go on long pilgrimages to Jagannath, Godavari, Ganges and Jumna. Jog is no easy task. You Jats cannot attain Jog."

And Rânjha replied to Balnath: "I accept all your conditions. I beseech you to give me Jog and to drown me in the deep waters of Fakir (The state of being a fakir). I swear I have given up women and earthly affairs. Do not, Guru, pierce me again and again. You should not break the heart of one who falls helpless on your threshold."

But Balnath still had doubts in his heart, and he said to Rânjha: "What is the good of begging if man has not belief ? Only those in love with death can acquire Jog. Good men subdue their passions by riding on the horse of patience and holding the reins of remembrance Jog means to be dead while alive. One has to sing the song of nonentity using one's meagre body as a guitar. One's self has to be entirely absorbed. It is no child's play. You will never be able to undergo Jog. What is the use of asking for it ? Child, listen, God has made his abode in this body of dust. He is in everything as a thread runs through the beads. He is the breath of life in the living. He is as it were the spirit of bhang and opium. He is in the life of the world as colour is in the mendhi (Indigo). He permeates everything, even as the blood runs through all the body of men."

THE SCATTERGOODS AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1619–1723.

A COLLECTION OF MSS. COMMUNICATED BY
BERNARD P. SCATTERGOOD, M.A., F. S.A.

Edited and supplemented from contemporary records by Sir Richard Temple, Bt.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

[I am indebted to the generosity of Mr. Bernard P. Scattergood for the use of a series of papers discovered by him and of high value to students of Anglo-Indian history in the 17th and 18th centuries. Mr. Scattergood has occupied many years in collecting a mass of information regarding the Scattergoods, from the earliest times to the present day, and he has compiled elaborate pedigrees of the different branches of the family. While following up the details of a lawsuit in which the executors of John Scattergood, East India Merchant, were concerned, two large bundles of papers, each containing several parcels, were disinterred at the Public Record Office. These have been examined, classified and transcribed, under Mr. Scattergood's direction, by Miss Dorothy Shilton and Mr. Richard Holworthy, and the whole of the documents relating to India and the East have been placed at my disposal. The letters, journals, and accounts comprised in the bundles throw valuable light upon the methods of trade in India, Persia and China, and on the lives of Englishmen under the Company's jurisdiction in those regions during the last half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century.

The papers forming the collection unearthed at the Public Record Office were the property of John Scattergood, the last of the name who had direct connection with the East India Company. For information regarding his predecessors, servants of, or shareholders in, the Company, ample material exists among the records at the India Office and in Mr. Scattergood's voluminous notes. It is thus possible to present, in chronological order, the lives of five members of the Scattergood family in so far as they were connected with India and the East India Company.

I propose to divide these papers into five sections as follows :—

I. Anthony Scattergood and his connection with the East India Company at home, 1619.

II. Francis Scattergood of Ellaston, co. Staffs, and his service with the East India Company abroad, 1640-1647.

III. Roger Scattergood of Ellaston and London, Merchant-Taylor, and his commercial dealings with the East India Company at home, 1659-1679.

IV. John Scattergood, Merchant and servant of the East India Company, his career in Madras and Bengal, 1672-1681.

V. John Scattergood junior, Free Merchant, his life in India, Persia and China 1697–1723, including

(1) Journal of an expedition from Isfahân to Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbâs) in 1708, with account of expenditure.

(2) Descriptions of the islands of Junkceylon (Malay Peninsula) and Dîvî (near Masulipatam), c. 1715.

(3) Correspondence with the Company's servants and others in India, China and England, 1711-1723.

(4) Accounts, commercial and shipping transactions, miscellaneous papers, documents in Gujarâtî, Armenian, Chinese, Portuguese, &c.

Like the " Correspondence of Richard Edwards " (1669-1679), now appearing in *Bengal Past and Present*, and the " Bowrey Papers " (1685-1712), which it is hoped will be accessible to the public before very long, the Scattergood MSS. supplement the official records and furnish a vivid picture of the life of Anglo-Indians and of their relations with the Company —in this case at a period singularly barren of really human documents.—R. C. T.]

I.

ANTHONY SCATTERGOOD AND HIS CONNECTION WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AT HOME, 1619.

Anthony Scattergood, baptised at St. Alkmund's, Derby, on the 15th March 1593-4, was the eldest son of Richard Scattergood and Margaret Bate, and grandson of John Scattergood of Little Chester, near Derby, probably by Mary Lyster, his first wife.

In May 1612 Anthony Scattergood was bound apprentice for seven years to Edward Harrison, grocer, his uncle by marriage, and on the expiration of his apprenticeship, in November 1619, became "a sworn freeman" of the Grocers Company.[1] A few months previously, while still "bound" to Edward Harrison, he was " admitted and sworn Free Brother" of the East India Company " by service" and paid his fine of 10*s*. to the poor box.[2] He was thus entitled to be a purchaser of the Company's stock, but there is no record to say whether he availed himself of the privilege. A few years later, on the 17th July 1625, he was buried in his native parish of St. Alkmund's, Derby. He was " a young man of grate hope," but his early death may account for the absence of any further mention of him in the Company's records.[3]

II.

FRANCIS SCATTERGOOD OF ELLASTON, CO. STAFFS, HIS SERVICE WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1640—1647.

Francis Scattergood appears to have been the third son of John Scattergood of Chadsden and Ellaston, co. Staffs, Attorney-at-law (1586-1662), and Elizabeth Baker *alias* Stables.[4] He was baptised at Ellaston on the 8th March 1613-14. Of his early life nothing is known. He married his wife Elizabeth some time previous to 1640, probably about 1639, just before he entered the Company's service. In the Scattergood pedigree at the Heralds College (Press-mark K. 1, Visitation of Northants and Rutland, 1681), which is subscribed by his brother Dr. Anthony Scattergood,[5] Rector of Winwick and Yelvertoft, co. Northants, Francis is described as having "died young or unmarried ;" but Dr. Anthony's memory must have led him astray on this point, as it certainly did on one or two others.[6]

There is no record of any petition by Francis Scattergood for employment in the East. He is first mentioned on the 11th December 1640 at a Court of Committees, when " The Court tooke into consideration the electing and settling of their Pursers, Pursers Mates, Stewards, and Stewards Mates, and having at a former Court entered into this business but not perfected the same, they now taking a review of what they had formerly done, and

1 Particulars supplied by Mr. Scattergood.

2 *Court Minutes*, IV. 345 (India Office Records).

3 Information from Mr. Scattergood.

4 From the evidence contained in Mr. Scattergood's papers, there is strong presumption for this statement, but actual proof is wanting.

5 For an account of Dr. Anthony Scattergood and of his son, the Rev. Samuel Scattergood, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

6 Particulars supplied by Mr. Scattergood.

observing those that are wanting, elected and setled the persons hereafter following, *vizt.* . . . . for Stewards, elected . . . Thomas Coke for the *London* . . . and for their Mates . . . . Frauncis Scattergood for the *London.*" [7]

It seems probable that Francis Scattergood's introduction to the Company was brought about through the influence of some distant relatives. His great-grandfather's cousin, an Anthony Scattergood (not identical with No. I) had come up from Derbyshire to London in the 16th century and had become a citizen and freeman of the Grocers Company. He died in 1592 (will, P. C. C. *Harrington,* 64) and was buried at the Church of St. Lawrence Jury. His executor was his brother, Richard Scattergood of Little Chester, near Derby (and later of Sudbury), father of the Anthony Scattergood already noticed, who, it will be remembered, became a free brother of the East India Company.[8]

The *London,* to which Francis Scattergood was appointed, was commanded by John Proud, master, and was at first destined for Surat, but on leaving the dock in January 1641, she "gott a brush in [grazed] her keele," and was ordered to be brought back. It was found that the damage sustained was too great for her to be "fitted" for Surat, and her destination was altered to Bantam in Java. On the 24th March she was reported to be at Gravesend, ready to sail,[9] but though there is no record of a further change of plan, the original orders must have been repeated, for eventually the ship sailed to Surat, where she arrived at the end of September 1641. While at Surat, Francis Scattergood seems to have been transferred to the Company's ship *Supply* which made voyages to and from Persia in 1641 and 1642. At any rate, he sailed in that ship for Sumatra in April 1643 and reached Achin Road on the 25th May.[10]

On the 17th December 1643, Walter Clarke, agent on board the *Supply,* wrote to the Company[11] :—

> "Our howse and godowne [warehouse at Achin] being apted [suitably prepared] for our goods reception, thither conveighed them, but not Sonner unbailed, but Sould a great part of them, which are not in these bookes brought to accompt, and I doubt not, but by this time little is left, which this yeare will find markets. With Mr. Bowman, for his assistance, I left Thomas Fitch, Francis Scattergood, with another civell man belonging to our shipp, likewise a yong man who came from Bengala one a Juncke. His name is William Dawes. . . the man is very temperate, not addicted for ought I could perceave to any knowne Vice. He writteth very well, and hath some insight in accompts. Him I have entertained untill the ensueinge yeare . . . for that if it should please God to afflict Mr. Bowman with Sickness, from which noe man that comes thether is fre, he may have some one to assist him in writtinge what he may direct, neither of the other beinge usefull for more then Guardians to watch by night, which must not be neglected there."

From a letter of the Council at Surat to the Company, dated 27th January 1643-4,[12] we learn that the goods left in charge of Maximilian Bowman, Thomas Fitch and Francis Scattergood at Achin amounted to 50,000 *mahmûdîs* or about £2,500 sterling, reckoning the *mahmûdî* at a shilling, the value given to it by Terry in 1655.

7 *Court Minutes,* XVII. 365, 366, 367, (India Office Records).

8 Information supplied by Mr. Scattergood.

9 E. B. Sainsbury, *Court Minutes of the E. I. Co.,* 1640-1643, pp. 133, 134, 155.

10 See W. Foster, *English Factories,* 1642-1645, *s. v. London* and *Supply.*

11 *Original Correspondence* (in future designated *O. C.*), No. 1852 (India Office Records).

12 *O. C.*, 1888.

Three years later, on the 25th January 1646-7, the Surat Council reported to the Company that "Acheen factorie" was "cleared," and that all the Company's servants had been dispersed, "Francis Scattergood and a Seaman excepted, left there to keep your Warehouse."[13] This statement does not appear to be correct, as in a "List of Factors Etca. [and other] names in India, Persia, Etca," for 1647,[14] we find, "In Acheen, Phillip Wylde, Thomas Reynardson, Francis Scattergood, John Rose," and in a later list,[15] the salaries of the four abovenamed are entered as £70, £60, £15, and £12 per annum respectively.

Moreover, copies of two letters written from Achin in January and February 1646-7 and signed by Philip Wylde and Francis Scattergood are in existence,[16] but the originals from which they were taken[17] were so badly damaged that very little can be gathered from the broken sentences remaining. In the letter of the 28th January, Wylde and Scattergood refer to a communication of the 30th October 1646, despatched by the *Seahorse*, and intimate that the January missive will be conveyed by a ship belonging to Courteen's Association.[18] They remark that trade has been very dull, that "Great quantitye of Pepper and Tinne is Expected this yeare . . . the former worth 5½ tole [tael] the Bahar,[19] the Latter tole 13; 10 mass[20] a Bahar. Of these . . . shall endeavour to buy so soone as the Cloth findes sale."

In their letter of the 3rd February 1646-7, Wylde and Scattergood beg to be supplied with three "housservants (honest if possible) by the next," because "we are soe greate a house hold and seldome above 2 of our Company in health." They remark that "Camphore is this year cheaper," that their last letter owed its conveyance to "the Esquire Cour[teen's][21] Friendshipp," and that Captain John Smart was "very sick." The fragmentary phrases, "your Licence from Su[rat]," "of sallary," "per annum" possibly form part of a request for higher pay. A postcript adds that "Captain John Smart at writing herof Departed this Life and William Cork (a young youth) succeeds him in place."

Less than three months later, on the 20th April 1647, Francis Scattergood signed his will and most likely died shortly after. The will, preserved at Somerset House,[22] runs as follows:—

> "In the name of God Amen, I Francis Scattergood being very sicke and weake yet in perfect memory thankes be to God make this my last will and testament in manner and form followeing

13 *O. C.* 2023. 14 *O. C.* 2024. 15 *O. C.* 2070.

16 *Factory Records, Surat,* vol. 102a (India Office Records).

17 The originals, which were contained in a volume of Bombay Records, were unfortunately lost at sea.

18 For an account of the inception of the Courteen venture in India, under Sir William Courteen, see Mr. W. Foster's Introduction to E. B. Sainsbury's *Court Minutes*, 1635-1639, pp. xiv-xix.

19 *Bahar*, a weight varying in different districts. Thomas Bowrey gives the weight of the Achin *bahar*, c. 1676, as "396 l. 11 oz. 14 gr. Averdupoize" (*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 241, n. 4).

20 13 tael, 10 mace. Taking the mace as a quarter dollar and 16 mace to the tael, the tael=4 dollars, and the price of tin=64 dollars or approximately Rs. 109 for approximately 3 cwt.; or say Rs. 33 per cwt. =at 2-6 per R., £82. 10s. per ton. The pepper *bahar* was quite differently estimated as to weight.

21 William Courteen junior.

22 P. C. C., 117 *Essex* (Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, preserved at Somerset House, London).

First I commend my soul to the allmighty my maker and Jesus Christ my redeemer
Secondly my body to the earth to receave such Christian buriall as this place affordes
And for my worldly estate I bequeath as followeth

Oweing by Leonard Flint to mee fortie three mass [mace] the which I freely give him, as also five shirtes and soe many Chela purtugall Briches[23] as is in my Chest

I give unto Phillip Wilde all my printed bookes as also a Parrat my Rapier and Creace[24]

The former being satisfied I bequeath unto my wife Elizabeth Scattergood all my wages due to me from my honorable Imployers the East India Company as also whatsoever shalbe found of myne after my decease which will appeare by Inventory

In witnes of the premisses I have hereunto set my hand and seale the twenty eighth day of Aprill Anno Domini 1647

FRANCIS SCATTERGOOD

Signed and sealed in the presence of us

William Harrison
the mark of Tho. Bissell"

The will was proved on the 20th July 1648 by "Elizabeth Scattergood relict."

Francis Scattergood must have availed himself of all opportunities of increasing the pittance allowed him by the Company, for among his effects sent from Achin to Surat by Thomas Reynardson in November 1647[25] were "one Chest of Turtlee-Shell" [tortoise-shell] and "1 Parcell of pearle, with a Jemaull ring."[26]

In January 1647-8 the Council at Surat pprised the Company of Scattergood's death.

"Dead men. At A[c]heene Francis Scattergood, John Boze [? Rose] and Leonard Flint, the two latter seamen left there by the Queens Commaund[27] to keepe your howse when Mr. Turner Esqr. Came away from thence, are all deceased."[28]

Leonard Flint, then, did not live to enjoy his legacy for more than a few months, and the "purtugall briches" probably descended to another messmate.

On receipt of the news of her husband's death, Elizabeth Scattergood appears to have petitioned the Company for his arrears of salary. On the 22nd December 1648 we find that[92]

"It was at this Court ordred that Elizabeth Scattergood should receive 10 *li.* of the wages of her husband Francis Scattergood deceased in India, Mr. Stileman giving bond to repay the same, in case when the Accompts come home there shall not so much appeare to bee due unto the said Scattergood."

23 Apparently the testator means cotton britches like those worn by the converts (*chela*, disciple) of the Portuguese.

24 Malay, *kris*, a dagger.

25 *O. C.* 2048.

26 Jemaul (for Arabic *jamâl*) ring is an interesting instance of folk etymology. The gimmal (gemal. gimbal) ring was a linked ring, so constructed as to admit of being divided into two (and sometimes three) rings, taking its name from the Latin *gemellus*, a twin. In India the term seems to have been turned by Europeans into *gimmâl* and connected with the Oriental term *jamâl*, beauty, and with them to have meant " beauty ring ".

27 Achin at this date was governed by Paduka Srî, daughter of Iskandar Mûda (Mahkota 'Alam) and widow of Iskandar Thâni (Alâu'ddin Mahâya Shâh). See *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 117, 119 (footnotes).

28 *O. C.* 2062.

29 *Court Minutes*, XX. 314 (India Office Records).

Francis Scattergood left no heirs. His only son, whom he never saw, and of whose existence he probably never heard, was baptised on the 28th April 1641 and was buried five days later. His widow Elizabeth is apparently identical with the Elizabeth Scattergood who was married at Winwick, co. Northampton, on the 24th June 1652, of which parish her brother-in-law, Dr. Anthony Scattergood, mentioned above, was Rector.[30]

III.

ROGER SCATTERGOOD OF ELLASTON AND LONDON, MERCHANT-TAYLOR: HIS COMMERCIAL DEALINGS WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1659—1680.

Roger Scattergood, who was baptised at Ellaston on the 11th January 1623-4, was the seventh son and eighth child of John Scattergood of Chadsden and Ellaston, co. Stafford, and therefore most probably a brother of Francis Scattergood noticed above (No. II).

He served his apprenticeship as a linendraper to Richard Arden of Newgate Market from 1641 to 1648, became a freeman of the Merchant Taylors Company in 1649 and a liveryman in 1655-6. Before the latter date he had married Catherine,[31] daughter of William Westby of Mowbrick, Lancashire, and was living in Newgate Market, near the prison.[32]

The first recorded mention of Roger Scattergood in connection with the East India Company is on the 29th July 1659 [33] when he purchased goods at a Court of Sales to the value of £ 717-10*s*., "to paie at 3: 6 months from primo September next." From 1659 until 1663 he continued to make large purchases at the Company's sales, the amounts, in round numbers being as follows :—[34]

1659—£ 2000	1661—£ 6000
1660—£ 3500	1662—£ 1300

Some of the names, by which the various kinds of piece-goods figurin gin Roger Scattergood's sale accounts were known, have been explained in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* and Foster's *English Factories*. Others have not been traced to their source. I give below an alphabetical list of the goods and a summary of the information I have collected regarding each kind of material.

Bafta. Pers. *bâfta*, woven : any cloth. The trade name of the calicoes of Gujarât. There are frequent mentions of "baftas" in the Company's records from 1605 onwards. The term appears to have been extended and applied to various kinds and textures of cotton cloth ; for besides fine quality Broach (Baroch) "baftas," broad, narrow, white and coloured "bafts," "Synda" and "Caile Velha baftas," (*bâfta* from Sindh and Old Kîyal, near Tuticorin) which appear among Roger Scattergood's purchases, we find "baftaes made of Guzzees [*gazî*, coarse cotton cloth]." Foster, *Engl Fact.*, 1646-1650, p. 82.

[30] Information supplied by Mr. Scattergood.

[31] She was the granddaughter of Richard Fleetwood of Penwortham, co. Lancs., through whom she claimed a double Royal Descent, on the one side from Edward III, through Joan Beaufort and the Nevilles and the Stanleys, and on the other through the whole line of Welsh Kings back to Maelgwn Hir, the nephew of King Arthur.

[32] Information supplied by Mr. Scattergood, who also informs me that Roger's sister-in-law, Dorothy Westby, married Christopher Birkhead, citizen and goldsmith of London (d. 1680), father of Christopher Birkhead, elected writer for Bengal in 1716, to whom John Scattergood junior (No. V) acted as mento on his first arrival in India.

[33] *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. 6 (India Office Records).

[34] These amounts have been arrived at by collecting the various entries in the sales lists contained in *Home Series, Misc.*, vol. 6, and in the *Court Minutes* of the dates as above.

That Gujarât produced the best *bâfta* is shown by the Company's order to Surat in 1653 for as many calicoes as could be provided, especially "Gujarat baftaes." Foster, *op. cit.*, 1651-1654, p. 196. The term *bâfta* in India is now applied to silk as well as cotton fabrics. See Yusuf Ali, *Monograph on Silk Fabrics*, quoted by Yule *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Bafta. It is also the name of a cotton manufacture in Great Britain, woven especially for export to Africa.

Byram Pante. Bairâm *pânti*, in rows, having lines. A special striped "Byrami." The term "Byram" is obscure and the references to the cotton piece-goods so called do not help to clear up its origin. It is possible that it was so designated from an individual of that name, either in his honour or because he excelled in the weaving of this class of goods. There was, in fact (so Sir Dinsha Wacha informs me, on the authority of Mr. Dalal of Broach) a Parsi called Bairâm Ekoo who had an establishment of numerous handlooms in Broach and the neighbourhood in the 19th century.

In 1647, the factors at Ahmadâbâd complained of the "slackness of our Byram men in bringing in their cloth." Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1646-1650, p. 102 (See also footnote on same page). Later in the same year, they suggest the purchase of a further number of "byrams" (*ibid.*, p. 128), and in 1648 the Council at Surat note that they are forwarding some "byrams" from Agra to the Company. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Catches, Catchaes. Hind. *kâch*, *kâchhâ*, a loin-cloth, drawers, and hence, a calico used for such purpose in the East. "Catches" were manufactured principally at Tuticorin.

In 1645, a sum of £ 3,000 was invested at "Tuttacoreen" in "catches, a sort of cloth very vendible in the Manielas and all parts," and in 1647 the factors in Persia wrote that the "cocheaw cloth" was much sought after. In consequence, the *Falcon* was sent to Tuticorin to get a supply of "cattches . . . . vendable in Persia to a very good advance. But the cloth was not favourably received in England, for in 1650 the factors at Surat remarked that as the Company was dissatisfied with the "cochea" cloth bought on the Malabar Coast, no more should be provided. Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1642-1645, p. 246 : 1646-1650, pp. 100, 106, 257.

Derguzzes. Hind. *gazî*, a coarse cotton cloth, *dhar.* the body. Coarse cotton cloths, suitable for body garments. There are frequent allusions to "guzzees" in the *Factory Records*, but except in the sales lists, I have found no other mention of "derguzzes."

Gazî (literally, sold by the yard, *gaz*), like *bâfta*, seems to have been applied to any kind of cotton cloth. We find "brown [unbleached] guzzee baftes," "gussees" that are to be dyed, and "longe guzzes" among the goods sent home in 1649 and 1650. See Foster *Eng. Fact.*, 1646-1650, pp. 234, 277, 299.

Dimity. This term, indicating a stout cotton fabric with raised stripes and fancy figures, was familiar in England long before the foundation of the East India Company. The first instance of its use given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is in 1440. In the 15th and 16th centuries it was used for either coarse cotton or woollen material. The *Oxford English Dictionary* derives the word from Mediæval Latin, *dimitum*, through Greek, *di-dis*, twice, and *mitos*, thread of the warp. The same authority suggests that the final *y* may represent the *i* in the Italian plural *dimiti*.

The English merchants, however, found in India a similar Oriental term, Pers. *dimyâtî*, for a coarse cotton cloth, and the "dymittees" sent home to the Company appear to indicate this material, as there is no mention of any pattern like that on the English goods. In 1650, the factors at Surat remarked that the "dymittees" sent to England were dearer than those of 1649, but that the "difference" was made up by their larger size. Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1646–1650, p. 296.

The Persian term *dimyâṭi*, دمیاطی seems to be clearly an adjectival form of **Dimyâṭ**, دمیاط Damietta, on the Mediterranean shore of Egypt. If this is the case, the port of import has given a name to an European cloth in the East, perhaps through the likeness of the name Dimyâṭ to the already existing term for the cloth, which was a form like "dimity".

Eckbarrees. Possibly a material named after the Emperor Akbar, or less probably, from Hind. *ikbārī*, one weaving: a faced cloth. "Eckbarrees" seem to have been cotton goods suitable for "painting," *i.e.*, printing.

In 1647 the factors at Ahmadâbâd reported that they had selected sufficient "eckbarrees" for next year's provision of quilts and "chints," and in 1650 the Company was informed that the failure to send "Eckburrees" was caused by the delay in despatching them from Agra to Ahmadâbâd, "where they are pintadoed [printed]." Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1646–1650, pp. 146, 277.

Guinea-Stuffs. Cotton goods bought in India, suitable for the West African trade. These "Guyney stuffs" were provided at Surat and were manufactured there and at Bharoch. See Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1646–1650, p. 13; 1651–1654, p. 42; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Guinea-cloths.

Kerebauds (often misspelt, Kerebands). Cloths from Khairâbâd in Sîtâpur district. The term also appears as "Kerribad" and "Kerriabaud," and from the expression "Kerriabaud baftes," it seems that it indicated any cloth made at Khairâbâd. See Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1646–1650, pp. 188, 220, 254.

Longcloth. Defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "a kind of cotton cloth or calico manufactured in long pieces, especially cloth of this kind made in India." The earliest instances of the use of the term given in the *O.E.D.* are in 1545 and 1622, as follows, showing the difference between long-cloth, short-cloth and broad-cloth:

1545. One Long cloth makyth one shorte cloth and vii yards.

1622. Allowance of five *ll.* in a Long-cloth and 4 *ll.* in a Broad-cloth.

Here, as in the case of Dimity, there is a possible confusion of terms, because the earliest of the English merchants to arrive in India found there words of a similar sound indicating a material akin to longcloth, *viz.*, Hind., *lung*, a loin cloth, and *lungî*, any long strip of cloth for a wrap about the head, body or loins: turban, petticoat, loin-cloth. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Long-cloth and Loonghee.

Indian Longcloth was obtained principally from the Coromandel Coast and was sold white and brown (bleached and unbleached). The celebrated Madapollam, a longcloth made at that place in the Madras Presidency, is popular at the present day, but is known in the trade either as "Maddáppalum" or "Maddapolám" (with the accent on the second or last syllable instead of on the penultimate).

Mercoolaes. The origin of this term has not been ascertained. It is probably a perverted form of the name of the village or district whence this class of goods was first obtained. "Mercools" or "Mercoolaes" appear to have been calicoes specially adapted for "painting or chinting" and the term also indicated a very stout fabric. In 1647 the factors at Ahmadâbâd and Bharoch reported to Surat that "Our store of Sunganier [Sanganer, near Jaipur, famous for stamped chintzes] mercoles will be sufficient to supply a large quantity of.........chints broad" and that the bleaching of "mercooles" was in progress. In 1648 a consignment of "mercules, a cheap and excellent sort of cloth," was sent home unbleached. In 1651 the Company's agent at Delhi wrote to Surat that in future "paules" (tent, *pâl*, sheets) should be made of broader cloth, for which purpose "mercolls" would be most suitable. In 1652 the "mercoolees of Nyegom [? Naugaon, Hardoi district], the usual source of supply," proved so bad that orders for these goods were placed elsewhere. See Foster, *English Factories*, 1646–1650, pp. 139, 188; 1651–1654, pp. 26, 122.

(To be continued.)

MOOREES: Moors-cloths. Cloths primarily for Muhammadan or "Moor" wear. Blue and white cotton cloth, principally manufactured in the Nellore district of Madras for sale to the Muhammadans (Moors) of the Malay Peninsula. They were identical with Salempores, for which see below.

The earliest quotation for "moory" in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.* is 1696 and the derivation given is "possibly from Port. *morim*, shirting." But it is more likely that *morim* is a corruption of *mûri* than that *mûri* is a corruption of *morim*, as it was a common custom of the Portuguese in adopting Oriental terms ending in *i* to add a final *m* or *n*. Like "Baftas", "Moories" are now manufactured in England for sale to Africa.

"Moorees" are mentioned in the Company's records from 1605 onwards. In 1618 the factors at Masulipatam wrote to the Company that white "moryes" were procurable in their neighbourhood. Foster, *Eng. Fact.* 1618–1621, p. 42. In 1675 the Company sent a list of goods to be provided "at the Fort and Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] for Anno 1677." The list included "6000 ordinary Morees, 5000 fine Morees, 1000 Superfine Morees." As stated above, "Moorees" appear to have been identical with "Salempores" as regards texture, but in colour they were confined to blue and white.

NICCANNEES. The origin of this term is obscure. The goods indicated appear to have been fine striped calicoes manufactured in Gujarât, especially at Surat and Bharoch. See Foster *Eng. Fact.*, 1618–1621, pp. 51 n., 235; 1651–1654, pp. 42, 235.

PERCOLLAES (Percallas, Perculleas, Porcellaes) were white and red cotton cloths (probably also of other colours) of the same nature as "Salempores" (see below), made in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam. In th *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 272 and elsewhere in the vols.), it is assumed (on the authority of Mr. Crooke in his ed. of Yule's *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Piece-Goods) that they were spangled cloths (Pers. *parkâla* a sparkling object, a spangle), but I doubt this derivation now, and feel tempted to refer the term to some place of manufacture near Masulipatam and Pettipolee (Peddapalle or Nizâmpatam), such as the well-known village (in the 17th century) of Peddakâllê or Peddagolla near Madapollam, in the same neighbourhood.

In 1618 the manufacture of "white percallaes" at Masulipatam is mentioned, and in 1621 "Red percallaes" formed part of the cargo of the *Globe*. Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1618–1621, pp. 42, 266. That "Percollaes" was a manufacture of South India is evident from the Company's letter of 14th December 1655, where they urge their factors to "take into your consideration what Callicoes you are able to acquire either at Fort St. George, Mesulapatam, Verasheroone or elsewhere in........Parcallaes." *Letter Book*, Vol. I. And in 1669 the factors at Fort St. George wrote to Masulipatam, "We shall be able to invest all our Stocke........ in........Percalls......" *Factory Records, Fort St. George* (India Office Records), XVI. 130.

In 1676 Streynsham Master agreed with the native merchants at Masulipatam to deliver 4000 "peices fine percollaes of 15 covads [cubit, 18 inches] long, $2\frac{1}{8}$ broad, at $\frac{3}{4}$ pagodas per peice," and in 1679 he made a similar agreement with the merchants at Madapollam. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 273; II. 167.

PINTADO QUILTS. Chintz bedspreads, counterpanes. Port. *pintado*, painted. Cotton material, printed or hand-painted in colours. Pintado quilts appear to have been varieties of the celebrated Palempores of Masulipatam and its neighbourhood.

The term "pintado" was used generally in the 17th century for chintzes from Agra, Ahmadâbâd, Surat, etc., but the name "palempore" was confined to bedspreads from Madras, and especially Masulipatam.

The derivation of "palempore" accepted by Yule (*Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Palempore) is that the word is a corruption of a hybrid (Hind. and Pers.) *palang-posh*, a bed-cover, possibly perverted to "palempore" by the existence of "salempore" (see below), a cotton stuff. Pringle's suggestion (*Madras Selections*, IV. 71) that the word is derived from Palânpur in Gujarât, "an emporium for the manufacture of Northern India," seems unlikely, since the making of "palempores" was essentially a South Indian industry, and the term, though occasionally used incorrectly for chintz of various qualities, meant strictly a superior material made at Masulipatam.

In 1619 the factors at Surat stated that "Pintathoe quilts" were unprocurable at Ahmadâbâd, and in 1621 "pintado quilts" were provided from Agra. In 1653 the Company mentioned "Pintadoe quilts" among the goods to be furnished from Surat. There appears to be no instance of an order for "palempores" from the northern factories. At the same time, the fame of the Masulipatam manufacture is mentioned by Fryer in 1673. See Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1618–1621, pp. 46, 51; 1651-1654, p. 196; Fryer, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Palempore.

SALLAMPORES. The *Oxford Eng. Dict.* gives this word as "of unascertained origin. *Cf.* palampore." But there seems no reason to contest the derivation of the *Madras Manual of Administration* (vol. III, *s.v.* Sauley), Telugu *sâle*, a weaver, and Skt, *pura*, a town: cloth made in the "Weavers' Town," *i.e.*, Shalambarigudda, Tel.= Salampur in Hindustani, a district or suburb of Nellore, in Madras. "Sallampores" were half the length of ordinary "Palempores" or cloths of 18 yards long. Like "moory," this material seems to have been either a white or a blue cloth, and in the 17th century the "Sallampores" of Masulipatam bore the highest reputation.

That "Sallampores" were made in different qualities is shown by the Company's orders in 1676. Their list of manufactured goods required includes 60,000 "Ordinary Sallampoores" to be provided by their factors at Fort St. George, 20,000 "Ditto, to be provided at Metchlepatam [Masulipatam]" and 12,000 "fine Sallampoores, whereof 8000 at Metchlepatam." A further list for the following year included 60,000 "ordinary Sallampoores from No. 3 to No. 12." *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 257, 258.

SALLOWES. Now an universal term in India for a Turkey-red cotton cloth, generally known as "red saloo," with a doubtful popular derivation from Hind. *sâlû*. But it is more likely that the word is derived from Telugu *sâlu*, cloth, because in the 17th century *sâlû*, then generally white (but 1619, "Selaus, Seolas red," Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1618–1621, pp. 93, 94), came from the South and from the Deccan (Golconda). near the Telugu country.

In 1647 the factors at Surat and Gombroon wrote to the Company, "Sallooes . . . . are brought from Golconda . . . the finer qualities yield considerable profit, but the poor sorts are unvendible." In the same year we find a requisition for "salloes for ensigns and flags" at Swally. Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1647–1651, pp. 79, 100, 123. In 1676 the Company ordered 1500 "fine Sallooes made at Golcondah," and these, Streynsham Master remarked, were "the same sort of cloth as Oringall Beetelaes," *i.e.*, *beatilha*, veiling, made at Warangal. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 257, 292.

The term "sallas" is used in the present day for grey cotton goods manufactured in the Bombay Presidency.

SAPLICADOES, FLOWERD. A speckled or spotted cloth, from Port. *salpicado* (past part. of *salpicar*), speckled, spotted. Except in the Sales Lists I have found only one other mention of this class of goods in the Company's records. It occurs in a letter from Fort St. George to Masulipatam, dated 4th February 1698/9 : "Wee would have you provide some salpicadoes flowr'd and plaine, and send us hither as soon as possible."

TAFFATIES. Taffeta, taffety, an European term introduced in that form into India by traders who found the Persian term *tâfta* already existing for a similar material, *viz.*, fine glossy Chinese silk.

The English form "taffeta" is derived in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.* through O.F. *taffetas, taphelas,* or Med. Lat. *taffata,* whence It. *taffeta.* Subsequently the term became mixed up with Pers. *tâfta,* a glossy twist, in allusion to the wavy lines which appeared in the Chinese silks, to which the name was mainly confined in India in the early part of the 17th century.

In England the term has been used at different times for different varieties of silk. At the present time it designates a light thin glossy silk or union (silk and cotton, silk and woollen) material and the variety most in vogue is known as "chiffon taffeta," a fine glacé silk.

Up to 1615 all mentions of "taffaties" in the records of the East India Company refer to Far Eastern silks, such as "Taffaties Read [red]" from Macassar, and "Taffates" and "Taffatas" from China. See Foster, *Letters Received, passim.*

In 1617 Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the Company : "Clothes and stuffs are here [Ajmer] twice as dear as in Cheapside if they be not pintadoes or striped bald [napless] taffaties." *Ibid.* IV. 20.

By the latter part of the 17th century, the term "taffeta," referring to Oriental piece-goods, had acquired a wider signification and included silks made in Bengal, especially at Kâsimbâzâr. In 1675 the Company complained that all the samples sent them from that place were "taffety Wale" or striped taffaties. They ordered "6000 Taffetys raw [unfulled, unshrunk], made thicker and closer struck [woven] then the Last Sent, though they Cost a Little more," also "4000 white . . . 1000 full yellowes and 1000 full redds . . . . 2000 Mixt [of different colours] Taffetyes for Lynings of hatts . . . 3000 Light Cullers . . . 8000 Cloth [drab] coullers without Mixture . . . 7000 Mixt Cloth Coullers" also "Blacks, perfect grass greenes and Carnation," if the dyers could "attaine to dying" such colours. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 311, 316.

TAPSEILES. Plain and striped cloths. In the early part of the 17th century this term indicated either a silk or a cotton material, but later mentions refer only to cotton fabrics of various widths. The term appear to have arisen out of Pers. *tafsîla*, a rich silken stuff, alluded to in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* (tr. Blochmann, I. 93) as "a stuff from Mecca."

Tapseiles were North Indian goods manufactured in Gujarât and Sind, and were not indentical with "tappiceels (tappiseels)" and "tappie serasses" which were South Indian goods (Malay-Jav., *tapeh*, a skirt : piece-goods of variegated colour, used for any kind of cotton cloth by Europeans ; Pers. *sarâsar*, brocade, in Malay form, *serâsah*, a cotton fabric).

The *Oxford Eng. Dict.* has not derived the term, and gives only "Tapsail, tapseil, obs. rare : some kind of East Indian cotton cloth," with a quotation of 1725;

In 1619 "tapseeles thread" and "tapseele silke" were ordered to be provided at Cambay for Bantam. Foster, *Letters Received*, 1619, p. 93. In 1621 a difficulty was experienced in procuring "red tapseils," the "culler" not being usual. Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1618–1621, p. 329. "Tapsiles of white and black," some with broad and some with narrow stripes were ordered by the Company in the same year. *Ibid.*, p. 344. In 1635, in a list of piece-goods made at Tatta, we find "taffseeles," but no indication of their nature. *Ibid.*, 1634–1636, p. 133. In 1642 the "tapseels" sent to England were "part woven in Surat and part bought in Sind," and in 1651 all those sent were made in Surat. *Ibid.*, 1642–1645, p. 7; 1650–1654, p. 42.

Other articles purchased by Roger Scattergood at the Company's sales were, "Lahore Indico" in lump and dust, for dyeing purposes, and bags of cotton wool. One consignment of the latter article, bought in April 1663, "poiz," *i.e.*, weighed 666 lbs. "Suttle," the "Tare" being 30 lbs. and the "Trett" 25 lbs.[35]

In 1661 Roger Scattergood became a freeman of the East India Company. At a Court of Committees held on the 26th June, is the entry: [36]

> "Mr. Roger Scattergood was this day admitted into the freedome of this Company by redemption for 5 li."

In the following October he exercised one of his privileges as a freeman by investing £ 1000 in the Company's stock.[37] Two years later he appeared to be in want of ready money. At a Court of Committees held on the 17th February 1663-4,[38]

> "Mr. Roger Scattergood appearing about his Debt he stands charged with and being required to cleare his Goodes and take them away, he pleaded for remission of the interest due on them, whereupon the Court told him that he paying in the Principall should have his goods delivered him and the interest be charged to his Accompt, and if they find reason for it, they will hereafter take it again into their consideration, upon which he declared he would submit to them, hopeing they intend him a kindnesse."

The amount due for goods purchased by him from the Company must have been over £ 1000, for on the 4th March of the same year,[39]

> "Mr. Roger Scattergood having promised the Committee to pay in 1000 li. in part of what he owes the Company, the Court now directed that he passe his twoe warrants for devidents of 300 li. to that accompt and bring in 700 li. more to make up the Summe and that he shall be allowed as well as charged with what interest is due to or from him."

Presumably the Court's directions were complied with, but Scattergood's credit had suffered and he could not get delivery of any goods thereafter unless the money was forthcoming. On the 6th June 1664,[40]

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35 "Suttle," an old variant of "subtle," is an obsolete commercial term formerly used to denote net weight of goods, after "tare," allowance for receptacles, and "tret," allowance for waste, had been deducted.

36 *Court Minutes*, XXIV. 377 (India Office Records).

37 *Ibid.*, 415.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 736.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 745.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 787.

"It was Ordered that 300 peeces of broad Tapseiles bought by Mr. Chevall for himself and Mr. Scattergood, on which there is 30 li. and upwards due for interest shall be delivered when the Principall mony is paid and the interest to be charged on Mr. Scattergood's Adventure [shares in the Company's stock]."

It was probably in order to secure possession of these goods that, a month later, Scattergood sold a part of his stock. Among the "Transports" [transfers] "read and approved" on the 8th July 1664,[41] is one of £600, "wherof 300 li." was "paid in by Giles Thornburgh to Roger Scattergood." Taking the "broad Tapseiles" at 19s. each, the current value of those goods at that period, the amount due on the 300 pieces would be £285, plus more than £30 interest, so that his debt was well over the £300 that Thornburgh paid for the stock.

By the end of the year the unhappy Roger's credit had sunk still lower. In a list of "Debts oweing to the East India Company on Goodes sold yett remayning in the Suratt Warehouses,"[42] his name appears as a debtor for "Callicoes out of time," or beyond the six months allowed for payment, £3345. 3. 0, and for "Callicoes in time," £2374. 6. 8, a total amount of £5719. 9. 8. Taking into account the value of money in those days, the sum was a heavy one, and as other similar large amounts were due from various purchasers, it is not surprising that the Court passed a resolution on the 10th February 1664-5,[43] to sue certain of their debtors. It was no doubt in order to avoid such action against himself that the unfortunate merchant took measures to stave off the evil day. On the 24th February,[44]

"Mr. Roger Scattergood moveing the Court this day that they would be pleased to permitt him to take away goodes to the vallue of his Devidents which are 500 li., and he would pay them in 2500 li. on his accompt by the fine of March. Upon consideration whereof and how his accompt stands with the Company, they did consent that he clearing all his old bought goods amounting to about 3300 li. by the fine of March next with what interest shall be due thereon, they would allow him his Devidents on the last payment thereof, which being made knowne unto him by Alderman Bathurst, he brought them in word that Mr. Scattergood declared himself content and satisfied therewith."

A subsequent enquiry into his account seems to have reassured the Company regarding his solvency. On the 16th March 1665,[45]

"Mr. Kendall acquainting the Court of the State of Mr. Roger Scattergood's accompt and of his desire thereupon, the Court Ordred accordingly that he might receive to the vallue of his dividents of 40 per cent. resting in the Companyes hands of his old bought goods, Cleareing soe much of the interest for [what] is due on that part of the goods and to be allowed intrest for his dividents for the time they have remained in the Companyes hands since they were payable and that he may also be allowed the next Divident of 40 Per Cent. on what goods he shall buy at the next Sale as any other Adventur[er]."

At a sale held five days later, Roger Scattergood's name appears as a purchaser of about £700 worth of piece-goods.[46]

Shortly after, however, on the 25th May 1666, the following resolution was passed[47]:

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41 *Court Minutes*, XXIV, 800 (India Office Records).
42 *Ibid.*, p. 903.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 930.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 936.
45 *Ibid.*, vol. XXV, 53b.
46 *Ibid.*, pp. 59a, 59b.
47 *Ibid.*, vol. XXVA, p. 3.

"The Comittee haveing taken into Consideration the many Debts which are remayning Due to the Company and most upon Old Accompts, And the severall Persons haveing notice to meete the Comittee this Day in relation thereunto, which finding them not to comply with, It was therefore Directed that the Sollicitor dos forth with take out Writts against the following Persons and to have them arrested, *vizt.*, . . . Roger Scattergood."

In consequence, "At a Committee for Debts" on the 13th June 1666,[48] several of the debtors appeared and made statements regarding their liabilities :

"Mr. Roger Scattergood Declareth that there is 520 li. Stopt Due to him for Dividents and that hee will pay in 500 li. more next weeke. Whereupon hee Desireth to have 1000 li. Vallue in Goods Delivered him, and that hee will Cleare his whole Accompt Depending with the Company by the 20th Julie next, which beeing taken into Consideration by the Comittee, it was Ordered that hee paying in 500 li. or what more hee pleaseth, may have Libertie to take away Goodes for the same Vallue."

But fresh troubles were in store. Early in September 1666 the Great Fire swept away a large portion of the business premises in the City of London, and some of Roger Scattergood's property, with that of other debtors, was reduced to ashes. At a Court held on the 2nd October,[49] practical sympathy was expressed with the sufferers :

"The Comittee having taken into Consideration the sadd Calamities which amongst many other men have befallen some of their Debtors, whereupon they resolved not to prosecute any this Terme but only the . . . Persons whoe [they] conceive have not been any great sufferers by the late fyer, their houses not being burnt downe."

This concession seems to have encouraged Scattergood to make a further effort to free himself of his embarrassments. At a Court held on the 19th November 1666,[50]

"Mr. Roger Scattergood saith hee will pay a considerable Summe by the latter end of December and will make it up 1200 li. with the Dividents. And that hee will runn all losses and damages by fyer or otherwise, But desires to bee excused as to adjusting his accompt as yett."

And on the 6th December,[51]

"Mr. Roger Scattergood saith he will pay in Soe much mony with his dividents as shall make it up 1500 li. and will cleare all very Suddainly, But desires to take away goodes for Soe much mony as he payes in."

By January 1666-7 the Court's patience was exhausted. On the 5th[52] it was

"Resolved now to resell at next sale the goods bought by the severall Persons following, excepting such as shall bee cleared or mony paid in upon their accompts betweene this and munday night . . . Roger Scattergood."

On the same day[53]

"Mr. Roger Scattergood apeareing and being not willing to adjust his accompt or pay Interest for goodes he bought at sales, which hee did not obleidge himselfe to by bonds and seale, but promisses he will pay in a considerable summe of mony this weeke on his accompt, which the Committee haveing taken into consideration they tould him they were resolved to resell what lawfully they could and would sue him for the rest."

But, at the same time, Mr. Moses, the Company's attorney, was

48 *Court Minutes*, XXVA, 9. 49 *Ibid.*, p. 16. 50 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
51 *Ibid.*, p. 24. 52 *Ibid.*, p. 25. 53 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

"to forbeare prosecutieng Mr. Scattergood for the 20 quilts sould him untill order from the Court, it beeing a thing of noe vallue and of an old Contract."

Scattergood's affairs were now in a critical position and he made a personal appeal to those in authority. On the 23rd January 1666–7,[54]

"The Governour acquainted the Court that Mr. Roger Scattergood had been with him, acknowledging his accompts with the Companie had been too long depending uncleered, but the occasion was the losse hee sustained by 1200 peeces of Sallowes, and by severall houses of his that were lately burnt,[55] That nevertheless he would shortly attend the Court to adjust the same. It was thereupon Ordered that the same bee referred to the Comittee for debts."

This body apparently recommended clemency in dealing with their old client, for, on the 11th February,[56]

"Mr. Moses . . . desireing directions if to prosecute . . . Mr. Scattergood . . . And H. Edwin rendring an accompt that . . . Mr. Scattergood . . . as to his ould accompt hath agreed with the Committee . . . whereupon the Committee directed . . . to Suspend declareing against . . . Scattergood [and others], they paying Mr. Moses his Lawe charges, who are immediately to be sent unto to have notice of the same."

In March Scattergood again sold out E. I. Co. stock,[57] this time to the amount of £1000. After that, his name disappears from the Records until the autumn of 1668. In the interim, he seems to have met a portion of his liabilities, for on the 24th October, when it was ordered that he should be summoned "to cleere his accompt,"[58] the amount in question could not have been excessive, because, "in faileur" thereof, only 104 pieces of taffaties (average price then, £1 a piece) were to be confiscated.

Then, for nearly two years there is again no mention in the Company's Records of Scattergood and his "accompt." That his financial difficulties were not confined to his dealings with the E. I. Co. is shown by his relations with William Lord Sandys, against whom he filed a bill in Chancery in June 1669 in respect of £100 demanded by the latter, but which, Roger claimed, was cancelled by an "account contra."[59]

At this time too, he seems to have had some connection with the shipbuilding trader that is, if, as is most probable, he is identical with Mr. Scattergood of Newgate Market mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* in 1670 as having bought timber suitable for "the new ship at Chatham" from Sir Cecil Bishop.[60]

Roger Scattergood must still have been regarded as solvent at this date, for in August 1670[61] his name reappears in the Company's sales lists as a purchaser of goods to the value of £220, and on these he was allowed six months credit. In November 1671, however,[62]

"On reading a Report from the Committees for lawsuits, It is ordered as followeth, *viz.* . . . . That the Committee for law-suits be desired to give order to Mr. Moses to commence suit against . . . Mr. [Roger] Scattergood for the moneys due from him to the Company."

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54 *Court Minutes*, XXV. 124b.

55 Some of these buildings were on Ludgate Hill and in Pannyer Alley (*Close Roll*, 20 Car. II. Pt. 14, no. 38). Information from Mr. Scattergood.

56 *Court Minutes*, XXVA, 26.

57 *Ibid*, XXV, 137b.

58 *Ibid.*, XXVI, 164b.

59 Information from Mr. Scattergood.

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. VIII, (India Office Records).

62 *Court Minutes*, XXVII, p. 186.

It is sad to find that after all his struggles, Scattergood was at last compelled to compound with his creditors. For it is on record that on the 3rd April 1672,[63]

> "Upon report made by Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Boone, that Mr. Roger Scattergood was willing to pay the Company 40 li., in full of his debt of 164 li : 6s : 5d, at 3 months, and to give sufficient security for payment thereof; the Court (in consideration of his great poverty) and the composition by him made with other his Creditors) were pleased to declare their acceptance of the same."

And on the 26th April,[64]

> "Mr. George Day was this day approved of to be security for Mr. Roger Scattergood for 25 li : 6s : 8d, the one half to be paid 3d October and the other 3d January next; and that upon their giving bond, Mr. Moses is to stay proceedings at law."

The above extract shows the low state of Roger Scattergood's affairs in 1672, but he seems nevertheless to have still enjoyed a certain amount of credit with the Company. In September the Court granted the petition of his son John for a writership in India, and in October Roger Scattergood and Robert Master were approved as securities in £500.[65] In November 1674[66] Roger received permission "to ship out several wines and other necessaries" to India, "he paying freight," these goods being no doubt consigned to his son John, then in Madras.

Four years later Roger Scattergood had a small account of £26 : 13 : 6 with the Company "uncleered." As regards this, on the 14th June 1678,[67] the Court,

> "On reading a report from the Committees for Law Suits and debts . . . did order and direct therein as followes, *Vizt.* . . . That the debts of Edward Harrington . . . and Roger Scattergood remaine as they are now charged in the books."

And in the following year, June 1679,[68] this insignificant item was "written off and placed to the account of Desperate Debts."

But the remarkable thing is that, in spite of all this, the last reference to Roger Scattergood in the Records of the East India Company, six months later, shows him again accepted as security, with Robert Master, in £500 for his son John on the latter's attaining the rank of factor in India.[69] The probable explanation is that the co-surety's bond was considered sufficient guarantee.

Scattergood died intestate in 1681. He was buried on the 26th May at Christ Church Newgate Street, near his home, and on the 5th July his widow, Catherine, took out letters of administration.[70] She survived her husband three years and was buried beside him on the 27th November 1684. Of the six children of the marriage (four sons and two daughters),[71] the eldest son is the subject of the next memoir.

(*To be continued.*)



63 *Court Minutes*, XXVII, 221.

64 *Ibid.*, XVXIII, 2b.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 44a, 65b.

66 *Ibid.*, XXIX, 74a.

67 *Ibid.*, XXXI.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 116b.

69 The name given in the entry referred to above is "Robert Scattergood," but this is obviously a copyist's error, as Mr. Bernard Scattergood assures me that no member of the family called Robert has been traced at that period.

70 P. C. C. Administrations (Somerset House).

71 Information as to death, burial and issue supplied by Mr. Scattergood.